GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT RELATIVE CLAUSES

IN MIXE-ZOQUE LANGUAGES

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The following observations are made on the basis of the
data papers on relative clauses in Sayula Popoluca, Totontepec
Mixe, Isthmus Mixe and Copainalá Zoque. They are preliminary
observations because none of the four data papers pretends to
be an exhaustive study of relative clauses in the particular
language. Never-the-less it seems worth-while to make the
observations at this point with the hope that further studies
will sharpen the observations and relate the phenomenon in
relative clauses to the rest of the grammar of the languages
involved.

1. NOMINALIZED CLAUSES. The clause is introduced by a
demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun acting as an
article. The verb of the relative clause has a nominalizing
suffix. Clauses of this type are used in Copainalá Zoque and
Isthmus Mixe. (They are also reported for Sierra Popoluca.)
The nominalized clause has a certain independence of its
'antecedent'. It may occur without an 'antecedent' or in apposi-
tion to it; it may be juxtaposed to the 'antecedent' or it may
be discontinuous to it.

2. RELATIVE PRONOUNS. The relative clause in Sayula Popo-
luca and Totontepec Mixe is introduced by a relative pronoun,
related in form to the corresponding interrogative pronoun.
Zoque also has clauses introduced by a relative pronoun, but
these seem to be less central to Zoque structure than the nominal-

ized clause. The verb in the clause introduced by the relative pronoun is subordinated in some a way. In Sayula Papoluca and in Totontepec Mixe the verb is in the 'conjunct' form. There are exceptions to this generalization in Tlahuitoltepec Mixe, where some relative pronouns call for the 'conjunct' form of the verb but others call for the 'nonconjuct' form. Zoque clauses with relative pronouns don't have any difference in the verb in the relative clause.

3. SYNTACTIC ROLE IN MAIN CLAUSE. The relative clause may modify nouns with differing syntactic functions in the main clause: they may modify the subject or the object or even a locational or temporal noun. When there is no overt antecedent they may stand alone as the subject or object, etc.

4. SYNTACTIC ROLE IN RELATIVE CLAUSE. The relative pronoun which introduces the relative clause may have differing functions within the relative clause. That syntactic function is indicated in the verb, by pronominal affix or by an affix marking a further participant such as the beneficiary of an the action or the instrument used to perform the action. The syntactic function of the relative pronoun may also be signaled by the ergative suffix (Zoque) on on one of the clause elements or by a possessive prefix on a noun.

5. REFERENTIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RELATIVE AND MAIN CLAUSE. If the subject of the main clause is subject or object of the relative clause, this fact may be marked (as in the case of Totontepec Mixe) by the choice of pronominal affixes. This is true of those that differentiate a third person of higher rank operating

on a third person of lower rank from the reverse situation where
a ~~subjectxof~~ third person of lower rank operates on a third person
of higher rank. The subject of the main clause counts as the
person of higher rank. Sayula Popoluca and Totontepec Mixe make this distinction.

6. OVERT OR COVERT ANTECEDENT. It is not uncommon to have
no overt antecedent, perhaps because the verb includes so much
information marked in its morphology.

7. ABERRANT RELATIVE CLAUSES. The temporal relative clause
in Zoque has the supposed 'antecedent' following the temporal
relative pronoun.

8. ADVERBIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES. The locative relative clause
is quite parallel to the adjectival relative clauses in that it
often modifies an overt locative element. The temporal and
manner relative clauses parallel the locative clause in that all
are introduced by ~~xxm~~ relative adverbs and these parallel the ~~the~~
interrogative adverbs, but the temporal and manner adverbial re-
lative clauses rarely have an overt antecedent. This fact often
results in their analysis as subordinate clauses rather than
relative clauses.

9. NONRESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES. These do not pattern
at all as relative clauses in Mixe-Zoque languages. Additional,
nonrestrictive, information is expressed by a juxtaposed or con-
joined clause.

10. EXTRAPOSITION AND RELATIVE CLAUSE. No data was presented
about nominalized or relative clauses that are used in constructions
with an extraposed topic. This is one of many aspects of relative
clauses still to be investigated.

Lawrence Clark (80)

Relative clauses in Sayula Popoluca are introduced by a relative pronoun: pɨn 'who', jeme 'he who', ti 'what' and loque (Spanish) 'that which'. The verb in the relative clause is a subordinate one. The verb ends in the relative indicator -ay. The subordinate verbs take a different set of person markers from that of the independent verbs (see Clark 1961: 194-5; 1962: 184-5).

The relative clause can modify nouns with a variety of syntactic functions in the main clause. The relative pronoun can have a variety of syntactic functions in the relative clause.

(1) The relative clause modifies the object of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause.

š ⇒ ẛ

tɨn-iš   ayé   jayau   jeme   minw-ay

I-saw   the   man   who   he-came-REL

'I saw the man who came.'

(2) The relative caluse modifies the subject of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause.

ayé jayau jeme minw-ay,   ayé   tɨn-ajch

the man   who he-came-REL the my-uncle

'The man who came is my uncle.'

(3) The relative clause modifies the object of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the object of the relative clause.

tɨn-iš   ayé   jayau   jeme   mi   iniščap-ay

I-saw   the   man   whom   you   you-know-him-REL
'I saw the man whom you know.'

(4) The relative clause modifies the subject of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the object of the relative clause.

ayé jayau jeme mi iniścap-ay mimp jinap

the man who you you-know-him-REL he-comes today

'The man whom you know is coming today.'

(5) The relative clause modifies the object of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the possessor of the subject of the relative clause.

tʉn-munipajtʉu ayé jayau jeme igui-o'jcaw-ay i-pagaś

I-met-him the man who it-died-to-him-REL his-cow

'I met the man whose cow died.'

(6) The relative clause modifies the object of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the indirect object of the relative clause.

tʉn-munipajtʉu ayé jayau jeme iśto'jcaw-ay tu'k pagaś

I-met-him the man who you-sold-it-to-him-REL a cow

'I met the man to whom you sold a cow.'

(7) The relative clause modifies the object of the main clause; the relative pronoun is the associative subject of the relative clause.

tʉn-munipajtʉu ayé jayau jeme in-muyoświatp-ay

I-met-him the man who you-work-with-him-REL

'I met the man you work with.'

There is a Sayula Popoluca proverb that uses a relative clause. The prefix on the verb in the relative clause, i-, is that for a

a third person acting on a fourth person (of lower rank, in this case an animal); the prefix on the verb in the ~~independent~~ _main_ clause, igui-, is that for a fourth person acting on a third person (of higher rank, in this ~~ease~~ case a human).

(8) jeme i-ago?cp-ay cajau, igui-ago?campey cajau
-REL
    he who he-kills-him∧tiger, he-will-kill-him tiger

    'He who kills a tiger will be killed by a tiger.'

Relative clauses may appear without an antecedent to serve as a nominalized clause. A derived noun may be formed by suffixing -na' to the relative form of the verb or predicate adjective.

(9) a. yoswatp   'he works'

    b. jeme yoswatp-ay   'he who works'

    c. yoswatpay-na'   'the worker'

(10) a. tsabats   'red'

     b. tsabats ayé   'it is red'

     c. jeme tsabatsw-ay   'that which is red'

     d. tsabatsway-na'   'the red one'

(11) tun-ma'cš   jeme tsabatsw-ay

      my-dress   which is-red

(12) tun-wamp tsabatsway-na'

      I-want-it the-red-one

(13) a. tun-wamp   tun-tsabatsway   ma'cš

         I-want-it my-which-is-red dress   (less common)

     b. tun-wamp   tun-tsabats   ma'cš

         I-want-it my-red   dress (more common)

There are some lexical items which have a frozen   relative indicator -ay.

(14) naʔw-ay   old man

(15) toʔš-ay   woman

(16) kiš-ay   young woman (virgen)

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TOTONTEPEC MIXE

Alvin Schoenhals (4/80)

Relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun, the most common ones being hu:ʔ 'who/which', pen 'who' and pen haty 'whoever'. The relative pronouns are related to the corresponding interrogative pronouns. The relative clause usually follows the noun it modifies, although a short relative clause may precede the noun.

One function of the relative clause is prevent a large number of modifiers from clustering before the head noun. All but one of a string of modifiers is postposed to the noun via a relative clause. The stative clauses thus postposed, as stative clauses elsewhere in Totontepec Mixe, do not have a copula verb.

(1) hae   mehɨ   tehk   hu:ʔ   pɔ:ʔp   haeʦ   teha   me:t
    the   big   house   which   white   and   tiles   with

    'The big white tiled house'

There are two contrastive clause types in Mixe: stage and event (Schoenhals 1979), which are inflected for person and tense by two different sets of markers. A relative clause belongs to the system of the stage clause.

If the relative pronoun functions as the subject of the relative clause it has the same subject prefix as the verb in the corresponding independent clause.

(2) Juan   hæ   ši:št   dɨ-pe:m
    John   the   chest   he-made

    'John made the chest.'

(3) Juan ša   hæˀæ veˀe hu:ˀ hæ ši:št dɨ-peːm

    John equative he   --- who the chest he-made

    'John is the one who made the chest.'

On the other hand, if the relative pronoun is the object of
the relative clause, the verb is inflected with the pronominal
object prefix y-, which metathesizes with the first consonant of
the verb word.

(4) yeˀe ša   hæˀæ veˀe hæ ši:št hu:ˀ Juan   p-y-eːm

    this equative it   ---   the chest which John he-made-it

    'This is the chest which John made.

When first person occurs in the relative clause, the verb
is inflected for first person, whether subject or object. When
second person occurs in the relative clause and first person does
not, the verb is inflected for second person, whether subject or
object. This is due to the person ranking system of Mixe (see
Schoenhals 1979 for more details).

(5) First person transitive subject n-.

    Juan ša   hæˀæ veˀe hu:ˀ ec n-cʉhkp

    John equative he   ---   who(m) I/me I-like-him

    'John is the one whom I like.'

(6) First person object š-.

    Juan ša   hæˀæ veˀe hu:ˀ ec   š-cɔhkp

    John equative he   ---   who(m) I/me he-likes-me

    'John is the one who likes me.'

(7) Second person transitive subject m-.

    Juan ša   hæˀæ veˀe hu:ˀ   mic m-cehkp

    John equative he   --- who(m)   you you-like-him-

    'John is the one whom you like.'

(8) Second person object m- ... -hu.

Juan ša   hæ ?æ ve?e hu:? mic   m-c̷ǝhk-hu-p

John equative he   ---   who(m) you he-likes-you

'John is the one who likes you."

When the object of the relative clause is anaphoric and
both subject and object are third person, the verb is inflected
with the third person transitive marker Ø- ... -hu. *This form of the verb orients the actiᵒ toward the obj*
The verb of the main clause has the prefix dɨ-;
(9) The relative clause verb is inflected for third person

transitive subject with the object outside the relative

clause: Ø- ... -hu.

Juan c̷e?e dɨ-c̷i:?k hæ meš hu:? Ø-c̷ohk-hu-p

John$_i$--- he-hit-him the boy$_j$ who$_j$ he-likes-him$_i$

'John hit the boy who likes him (John).'

The following examples illustrate the different possibilites
of relationship between the participants of the relative clause
and those of the independent clause.

(10) The main clause is marked by the third person prefix dɨ-

and the verb in the relative clause is marked by dɨ-.

Juan c̷e?e dɨ-c̷i:?k   hæ meš hu:? hae ji:š dɨ-c̷ohkp

John$_i$--- he-hit-him the boy$_j$who $_j$ the girl$_k$he-likes-her$_k$

'John hit the boy who likes the girl.'

(11) The main clause verb has the prefix dɨ-; the relative

clause verb has the prefix y- (which metathesizes with

the first consonant of the verb word).

Juan c̷e?e dɨ-c̷i:?k   hæ meš hu:? hæ ki:š c-y-ǝhkp

John$_i$ --- he-hit-him the boy$_j$ who(m)$_j$ the girl$_k$

'John hit the boy whom the girl likes.'   she$_k$-likes-him$_j$

(12)   The verb of the main clause has the prefix y-;

the verb of the relative clause has the prefix dɨ-.

Juan $\overset{ts}{ce}$ʔe $\overset{ts}{c}$y-i:ʔk   hæ meš hu:ʔ hae ki:š dɨ-$\overset{ts}{c}$ɔhkp

$John_i$ --- he-hit-him the boy_j who(m)$_j$ the $girl_k$ he-$likes-her_k$

'The boy who likes the girl hit John.'

(13)   The verb of the main clause has the prefix y-;   the

verb of the relative clause has the prefix y-.

Juan ceʔe c-y-i:ʔk   hae meš hu:ʔ   hæ ki:š $\overset{ts}{c}$-y-ehkp

$John_i$ --- he-hit-him the boy_j who(m)$_j$ the $girl_k$ she-$likes-him_j$

'The boy whom the gɪl likes hit John.'

(14)   The verb of the main clause has the prefix y-; the

verb of the relative clause has the prefix Ø-...-hu.

Juan $\overset{ts}{ce}$ʔe $\overset{ts}{c}$-y-i:k   hæ meš hu:ʔ   Ø-$\overset{ts}{c}$ɔhk-hu-p

$John_i$ --- he-hit-him- the boy_j who(m)$_j$ he-$likes-him_i$

'The boy who likes John hit him (John).'

Schoenhals, Alvin. 1979. Totontepec Mixe stage and event clauses. Discourse Processes 2, 57-72.

1. NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES. Nominal relative clauses are marked by two features: (1) they begin with a relative pronoun which relates to a noun or noun phrase in the main clause; (2) the clitic -pɨ is present in the clause and is usually, but not always, attached to the end of the verb.

Relative pronouns ~~may be identified with~~ *are the same in form as* the definite articles that ~~may~~ optionally precede a noun in a noun phrase. *(or demonstrative adjectives)*

The relative pronouns (née definite articles) are:

?ɨdá: 'this', 'this one who', etc.

yɨ́ 'that', 'that one who', etc.

hǎ, ha: 'the', 'the one who', 'he who'.

In example 1 hǎ is marked by the verb to be the agent.

(1) mo·ktahɨ́: mɨ·bɨk̂y hě yñɨ·nɨ·mp̂y [hǎ
    corn-nagual actually he he-talks-about that-which

    mo·k ha·n̂cy tɨ?m yag?oyɨ́bɨ]
    corn very much he-causes-it-to- prosper

    'It is the spirit of the corn that he is actually talking

    about, the one that causes the corn to produce abundantly.'

In example 2, yɨ́ is marked by the verb to be the direct object.

(2) hɨdu?n hǎ hɨyǎy?ahŝy hɨdá?aty ym̂ɨnǎ̂y [ma:
    thus the people these-days say where

    yɨ́ libro ym̂ɨññɨ́n], [yɨ́ hermano?ahŝy
    that book comes the-one-which the-brothers

    ym̂ɨ·wɨwɨdiĥp̂ɨ]
    they-walk-around-with-it

'That is what people say these days about that book
the evangelicals are involved in teaching.'

In example 3, the first person is marked in the verb to be
the agent and ha² is marked to be the direct object.

(3) ýta:ȼ́ʦ   nnɨmàt   ko: myahmézɨt

    here-I I-tell-you   that   you-should bring-it

    [ha²   nyahtuná·mbʸ ɨȼ́pɨ   ko: ʔɨnahtɨ́ mye:gáñ]

    that-which I-will-use-it   when PERFECT you-will-grow

    'Now I will tell that you should bring the things that
    I will use in making you grow.'

2. ADVERBIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES. Adverbial relative clauses
are marked by the presence of the clitic -ɨn, which usually but
not always is attached to the end of the verb. (In this section
the clitic -ɨn will be underlined.) Relative adverbs are identical
to interrogative adverbs. An adverbial pronoun may occur in the
main clause as the antecedent of the relative clause.

2.1. LOCATIONAL RELATIVE CLAUSES.

In example 4, the main clause is an adverb functioning as
a stative clause.

(4) [ma: ha²   tu²   ýñaźɨyɨn]

    where the   trail it-passes-that-way

    tunbágɨȼ́ʦ   he²

    at-the-side-of-a-hill   it-is

    'It is at the side of the hill that the trail passes.'
    or 'The trail skirts the side of a hill.'

(5) hi:ʔa:mp̂y̦   ha: salvaje yʔɨ̌štây

over-that-way the   dragon   he-looks-for-him

[ma: he ñɨkṣ̌ɨyɨn.]
where he   he-goes-that-way
'The dragon was looking for him over that way where

(he thought) he had gone.'

(6) tu̦   he̦   yʔɨ̌šta:p̂y   [ma: ha: wah

trail he   he-looks-for-him where the cattle

yñɨ·gɨdâg̣ɨn]   ko: ʔaĥy̦yñɨ:ʔûk̂y

they-gather-together when they they-drink-water

'He looks for the trail that the cattle follow to

the water hole.

2.2. TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES. Temporal adverbial
clauses are very rare in texts. They are usually supplanted by
ko:-initial clauses (see ex. 6).

(7) [mɨna: ha̦   na·šwi·mbɨ yʔa·wiĥĥɨn   tɨʔštâg̣ɨn],

when   the earth   it-was-created

kabɨ pɨn ʔɨnaĥty hi:.

not   no-one PERFECT there

'Nobody existed yet when the world was created.

In example 8, the manner adverb is used instead of the
temporal adverb.

(8) [nep̂y ha: conejo yĥa wohpɨn],

as   the   rabbit was-tried-to-be-hit

p̌âk̂ɨ   conejo yp̂ikpɨyɨʔk̂y
quickly   rabbit he-ran-in-a-circle

'When (the dragon) tried to hit the rabbit, the rabbit ran around him quickly.'

2.3. MANNER RELATIVE CLAUSES.

(9) ?a: ha: mɨ́dɨhk, ha mɨkɨ:p̂y

   and the man   in-vain he-gets-strong

ɲ ho·t   he ko: nɨkŝy ɲŵoba·mbɨ,

   his-heart he that he-goes he-hits-too

[nep̂y ha· conejo ɲm̂ɨ·wóp̂ɨn]

   as   the rabbit he-was-hitting

'The man was getting up courage to go and hit (the dragon) too as the rabbit was doing.'

In example 10, a ko:-initial clause functions as a temporal relative clause.

(10) mɨnítɨgɨ¢ he ɲtɨ́pŝtâky   [nep̂y he

   then   he he practices-jumping how he

ɲĉugaɲɨn]   ko: wah ɲñaẑâñy

   he-will-cut-it when cattle they-will-pass

'Then he began to practice jumping like he was going to cut off (the testicles) when the cattle passed by.'

Λ → ɨ

4.2 Relative clauses:

4.1 ~~Appositional phrase use~~ Relative Clause with a nominalized verb.

The most common way to express relative clauses in Zoque is to nominalize the ~~word~~ verb in the clause that stands in apposition to the head noun or antecedent. This is done by adding the nominalizing suffix -pʌ/-wʌ to the ~~word in apposition~~ verb. This nominalized word may precede or follow the antecedent. *The clause with the nominalized verb is usually introduced by the article te'.*

(1) Ngenu'ʌs [te' minupʌ]   pʌn.
    I-saw-him the one-who-came man
    I saw the man who came.

(2) Ngenu'ʌs te' pʌn, [te' minupʌ   tʌ'ʌk]
    I-saw-him the man the one-who-came yesterday
    I saw the man who came yesterday.

The relative clause in ~~the first~~ example[1] te' minupʌ "the one who came" precedes the antecedent pʌn "man" and in ~~the second example~~[2] the relative clause te' minupʌ tʌ'ʌk "the one who came yesterday" follows the antecedent pʌn "man".

A relative clause may stand in apposition to the subject or object of the sentence.

(3) Te' pʌn [tihupʌ   tʌ'ʌk] 'ʌste' ndzʌni.
    the man one-who-came yesterday my-the my-uncle
    The man who came yesterday is my uncle.

(4) Ngenu'ʌs te' pʌn, [te' 'ispʌkpapʌmis.]
    I-saw-him the man the one-whom-you-know
    I saw the man whom you know.

In ~~the first example~~ example 3 the bracketed relative clause stands in apposition to the subject pʌn "man" and in ~~the second~~ example 4 the bracketed relative clause is in apposition to the object pʌn "man".

When a nominalized word is formed from a transitive verb by the addition of the suffix -pʌ/-wʌ, the resultant form refers to the object of the verb: čʌhkupʌ "one that was made".

(5) Te' tʌk [čʌhkupʌ́ te' pʌ́'nis]suñ́ipʌte'.
the house one-that-was-made the man   pretty-one-the
The house that the man made is pretty.

When the suffix -'is/-'s is added to the nominalized word(verb),

the resultant form refers to the subject of the verb: čʌhkupʌ's

"one who made it".

(6) Te' pʌn [čʌhkupʌ́'s   tyʌ́k]   'ʌ́ste' ndzʌ́ni.
the man one-who-made-it his-house my-the my-uncle
The man who built his house is my uncle.

~~More examples from the outline:~~

(7) Ndzoŋu'ʌ́s te' pʌ́n [ka'upʌ́'s   wyakas.]
I-met-him the man one-who-died (poss.) his-cow
I met the man whose cow died.

The normal way to say "I met the man to whom you sold a cow"

would be "I met the man who bought your cow."

(8) Ndzoŋu'ʌ́s te' pʌ́n [hyuyupʌ́'s   mis nwakas.]
I-met-him the man one-who-bought-it your your-cow

The normal way to say "I met the man because of whom you

don't have a job" would be "I met the man who took away your work."

(9) Ndzoŋu'ʌ́s te' pʌ́n [yahʌ́kʌ́'hayupʌ́'s   mis nyoskuy.]
I-met-him the man the-one-who-took-away-from your work

(2) Relative Clause introduced by a relative pronoun.
~~This type of~~ The relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun ^seems to be influenced by Span-

ish syntax.

'Iwʌ is the chief relative pronoun used as a relative clause

introducer.

(10)a. Ndzoŋu'ʌ́s te' pʌn ['iwʌ́hi'ŋmih nyospa.] (10)b. ... [te' nyospapʌ́ hi'ŋmih
I-met-him the man who-with-you you-work   The you-work-Nom with you
I met the man with whom you work.

(11)a. Ndzoŋu'ʌ́s te' pʌn ['iwʌkotoyamih nyospa.] (11)b. [te' nyospapʌ́ kotoya mih
I-met-him the man who-for-you you-work   ... the you-work-Nom for you
I met the man for whom you work.

Another relative pronoun that has been observed as a clause

If a relative pronoun introduces the clause, there is no nominalizing suffix on the verb, as in 10a and 11a. If there is no relative pronoun, then the verb has the nominalizer -pʌ and the clause is usually introduced by the article te' as in 10b and 11b.

introducer is huhče'ŋ following mumu i.e. mumu huhče'ŋ

"all, as many as". *In this case the verb in the relative clause has the nominalizing suffix*

(12) Ngoyohwa'mᴀ́s mumu[huhče'ŋ yohšahupᴀ́ ŋgamo'mo]
I-already-paid all as-many-as ones-who-worked my-cornfield-in
I already paid all those who worked in my cornfield.

Relative clause indicated by locative suffix on verb.

(3.) Another kind of relative clause is that which expresses lo-

cation, "the place where" something happened. This "where" idea

is expressed by a suffix -mᴀy on the verb.

(13) Maŋba'ᴀ́h ndziŋu   sawa meya'ohmo [wombamᴀ́y   nᴀ́'.]
I'm-going to-bathe Wind Lake-in   where-springs-forth water
I'm going to bathe in Wind Lake where water bubbles out.

(14) [Ñipyahumᴀ́y   te' 'aksah] ñᴀhayahpa   'aksatᴀ́k
where-they-planted the cane they-call-it canefield
A canefield is where they plant cane.

In the first example,[13] the antecedent is sawa meya'ohmo

"Wind Lake" and the relative clause is bracketed [wombamᴀ́y nᴀ́']

"where water bubbles out".

In the second example,[14] the antecedent is 'aksatᴀ́k "canefield"

and the relative clause is bracketed [ñipyahumᴀ́y te' 'aksah] "where

they planted the cane".

Relative clause introduced by the pronoun tiyᴧ́.

(4.) The Zoques have a way of expressing the "time when" something

happened, but it *does not parallel the other* relative clauses. They do not say

"the day that something happened " but literally "what day". *The verb in the*
relative clause
does not have
the nominalizing
suffix; in this
way it is parallel
to clauses
introduced
by the relative
pronoun iwᴧ

(15) [Tiyᴧ́ hamamis nyahtukhapya 'ᴧs ndᴧk] ŋgoyohpa'ᴧsmih.
what day-you finish-for-me my house pay-I-you
The day that you finish my house, I'll pay you.

Note that there is no antecedent to "what day" tiyᴧ hama.

Restrictive and nonrestrictive:

The relative clause in Zoque *is* would always seem to be res-

trictive, [in that it refers only to the one or ones included in the

¶ "Nonrestrictive relative clauses" in Zoque would simply be two

antecedent word. In order to express the nonrestrictive idea of *clauses*
juxtaposed

all being included, a relative clause would not be used. Using

the example in the outline it might be expressed as follows:

All linguists tire easily and never seem to finish.