HEADLESS RELATIVE CLAUSES IN PESH

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The aim of this study is to describe the two main kinds of headless relative clauses that are attested in Pesh, a Chibchan language spoken in Honduras: free relative clauses, which use a *wh*-word that functions as a relative pronoun at their left edge and a subordinator at their right edge, and headless relative clauses, which lack a *wh-* word but show a case marker or the topic marker at the right edge of the clause. The first type is less frequently attested in the natural corpus this study relies on, although the corpus does contain various instances of maximal, existential, and free-choice free relative clauses. Each of the constructions is distinguished by features of the *wh*-word and/or by certain restrictions regarding the tense of the verb in headless relative clauses or the type of verb in matrix clauses. The second type of headless relative clause, the ones that do not use a *wh*-expression, are much more frequent in the corpus and behave like headed relative clauses that lack a *wh*-expression. They are like noun phrases marked by a phrase-final case marker or the topic maker. The case or topic markers are used for light-headed relative clauses and for almost all types of maximal headless relative clause that have neither a light head nor a *wh*-expression, in contrast to maximal free relatives, in which only locative *wh*-words occur.

1. Introduction and Basic Features of Pesh

The aim of this chapter is to describe headless relative clauses in Pesh, a Chibchan language spoken in Honduras. Pesh possesses two main types of headless relative constructions. Free relative clauses are one of these two types. They use a *wh*-expression (see §2) that functions as a relative pronoun at their left edge, and a subordinator at their right edge (see §4.1). Pesh exhibits all three main subtypes of free relative clauses that are attested across languages: maximal, existential, and free choice. Each of these is distinguished by features of the *wh*-expression and/or by certain restrictions regarding the tense of the verb of the free relative clause or the nature of verb in the matrix clause. The other type of headless relative clause lacks a *wh*-expression and features a case marker or the topic marker at its right edge (see §4.2), analogous to headed relative clauses that lack *wh*-expressions (see §3). This second type encompasses light-headed relative clauses and headless maximal relative clauses without a *wh*-expression.

1.1. Background on Pesh distribution

Pesh (Pech, Paya, ISO 639-3: [pay]) is the northernmost of the sixteen living Chibchan languages (Constenla Umaña, 2012; Quesada, 2007), and the only one spoken in Honduras. It is classified as an isolate within the Chibchan family: it is the sole language that does not belong to Core Chibchan (see Figure 1).
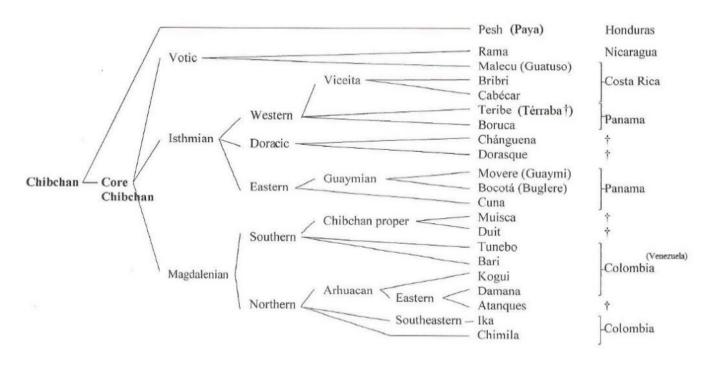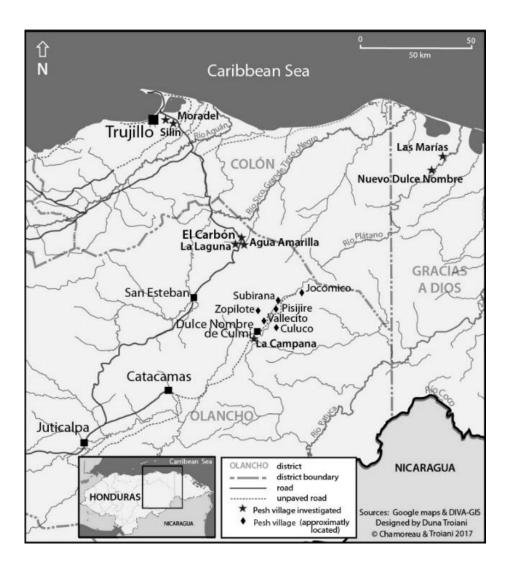
Figure 1. Chibchan language family (adapted from Constenla Umaña 2012)

Pesh (Paya) — Honduras
Votic — Rama, Malecu (Guatuso) — Nicaragua
Viceita — Bribri, Cabécar — Costa Rica
Western — Teribe (Térraba†), Boruca — Panama
Isthmian — Doracic — Chánguena †, Dorasque †
Eastern — Guaymian — Movere (Guaymi), Bocotá (Buglere), Cuna — Panama
Chibchan — Core Chibchan
Southern — Chibchan proper — Muisca †, Duit †
Tunebo, Bari — (Venezuela) Colombia
Magdalenian
Northern — Arhuacan — Eastern — Kogui, Damana, Atanques †
Southeastern — Ika, Chimila — Colombia

Pesh is endangered: it has roughly 500 speakers, 80% of whom are over sixty years old. The language is spoken in fourteen villages. Figure 2 shows the area where Pesh is spoken; the stars indicate the eight villages where the data used in this research were collected. There are three dialects in total: the Carbon dialect, spoken in Carbon, La Laguna, and Agua Amarilla; the Las Marias dialect, which is spoken in Las Marias by five speakers; and the Culmi dialect, which is spoken in the remaining ten villages.

There is little information in the literature on Pesh. An overview dating from 1928 contains a list of Pesh words translated into Spanish (Conzemius, 1928). More recently, an incomplete overview of the grammar was published by Holt (1999). The data presented here were collected as part of the Major Documentation Project "A cross-varietal documentation and description of Pesh, a Chibchan language of Honduras," funded by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Programme (HRELP).[1]

Figure 2. Pesh speaker location in Honduras

1.2. Basic Clause Features

Pesh exhibits the main features associated with verb-final languages. The respective roles of the noun phrases preceding the verb are indicated by their position, as shown in (1), where the subject *wiʃã a-kaki* 'the mother of the fishes' precedes the object *ã arwã* 'that man'. Postpositional phrases (PPs) usually appear before the verb and are marked by an enclitic such as the comitative *=yo* or the locative *=yã*, as shown in (2).

(1) wìʃã̀ àkákì ã̌ áɾʰwɔ̃́ kì:ná[2]

S		O		V

wiʃã **a-kaki** **ã** **arwã** Ø-kaʔ-Ø-i=na
fish POSS3SG-mother DEM.DIST man OBJ3SG-make-SBJ3SG-PST=REP[3]
'The mother of the fishes did it to that man, they said.' {txt}[4]

(2) tàhŋã́ tàrkìyó ás kàpáʃkɔ̃́ĩ̌wĩ́

LOC	COM		V

taha=yã ta-arki=**yo** as kapaʃ-k-a-i=wĩ
path=LOC POSS1-man's_brother=COM/INS one speak-K-SBJ1SG-PST=long_ago
'Long ago, I spoke with one of my brothers on the path.' {txt}

Pesh features a split alignment that is conditioned by the way the arguments are expressed. It has a nominative-accusative alignment for indexing argument-verb agreement affixes, and a differential ergative-absolutive alignment for flagging free NP arguments. Pesh is a double marking language: it can simultaneously index and flag the same participant.[5] Pesh has obligatory verb agreement. The sole argument of an intransitive verb, as in example (2), and the two arguments of a monotransitive verb, as shown in (3), are obligatorily encoded in the verb. A verb has two argument slots. In the case of a ditransitive verb, Pesh exhibits a secundative alignment (or a primary object) for indexing: the recipient is the only argument that can be encoded, as shown in (4) and (5), while the patient cannot (Chamoreau, 2017).

Monotransitive verb:
(3) ùtʃà àkwã̌sárā àrkàpàrkrà

utʃa a-kwãsa=ra **a**-r-kapar-k-**er**-wa
fish POSS3SG-spirit=ABS OBJ3SG-APPL.P-thank-K-SBJ3PL-PFV
'They thank the spirit of the fish.' [and no other spirit] {txt}

Ditransitive verb:
(4) tàtùs tàs tàsùwá wíʃkrí

ta-tus tas ta-suwa **Ø**-wiʃ-k-**er**-i
POSS1-father PRO1 POSS1-grandmother OBJ3SG-give.OBJ3-K-SBJ3PL-PST
'My parents entrusted me **to my grandmother**.'

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[2] In the Pesh examples in this chapter, the first line represents a phonetic transcription. The accents indicate types of stress and tone, and the tilde indicates nasalization. The second line gives the phonological transcription without stress/tone marks, the third the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and the fourth the English translation. In some examples, an extra line occurs between the first one and the second one in which the main syntactic roles are highlighted.

[3] Abbreviations not listed in the Leipzig Glossing Rules: CONT: container (nominalizer); CRT: certainty subordinator; DES: desiderative; DBT: dubitative subordinator; EHRC: externally headed relative clause; FT: formative; IHRC: internally headed relative clause; K: unknown suffix; MC: matrix clause; MED: medial; MID: middle; MIR: mirative; NUM: numeral; PRO: pronoun; PSB: possibility; QUANT: quantifier; R: recipient; RC: relative clause; REAS: reason; REC: recent; REP: reportative; SIM: simulative; TEMP/MAN: temporal/manner; UNCRT: uncertainty subordinator; WH: constituent question marker; Y/N: polar question marker.

[4] {txt} means that the example comes from the corpus. For examples that come from elicited data, nothing is indicated.

[5] "Flagging" is the operation of using/marking a substantive/pronoun by a case marker.

(5) tàsùwá tã̀ỹhèrí́
  ta-suwa   **ta-**ãyh-er-i
  POSS1-grandmother   OBJ1-give.OBJ1/2-SBJ3PL-PST
  'They entrusted my grandmother **to me**.'   {txt}

Pesh is a case-marking language with the six phrasal case enclitics listed in (6).

(6) Phrasal case enclitics:
  =*ya*   Ergative
  =*ra*   Absolutive (=*ro*, a dialectal variation used in the Carbon dialect)
  =*yã*   Locative
  =*yo*   Comitative/instrumental
  =*kan* Similative (=*ken*, a dialectal variation used in the Carbon dialect)
  =*ri*   Temporal/manner

Case-marking enclitics are phrase final, as shown in (3) above and (7) below. A differential ergative and absolutive enclitic marking is displayed. Ergative and absolutive markers are triggered by focus (Chamoreau, 2018). For flagging, the subject of a transitive verb may be indicated by the ergative marker =*ya,* as in (7). In contrast, the subject of an intransitive verb, as shown in (8), the object of a monotransitive verb, as shown in (3) and (7), and both objects in a ditransitive verb may all be marked by the absolutive case marker =*ra*. The marker =*ra* is never used with the subject of an intransitive verb in the Culmi dialect. In a ditransitive verb, Pesh exhibits a neutral alignment for flagging.

(7) tíkíí tóʔmànìhyá ã́kò̀rèrò
  Ø-ti-k-i-i   **toʔ**   **manih=ya**   **ã**   **kõre=ro**
  OBJ3SG-say-K-SBJ3SG-PST   DEM.MED   rabbit=ERG   DEM.DIST uncle=ABS
  'The rabbit said [something] to that uncle.'   {txt}

(8) wã́tárá tòkkí
  wãta=ra   tok-k-Ø-i
  shaman=ABS   enter-K-SBJ3SG-PST
  'The shaman got in.'   {txt}

Tense is obligatory on finite verbs. Four tense markers exist: *i* / *ri* 'PST', as in (8), *ʃi* 'PST.REC', as in (9), *wa* 'PFV', as in (3), and *pi* 'FUT', as in (10a). The future tense can display potential values and is also used in conjunction with past and recent past, as seen in (10b) and (10c) respectively.

(9) kwákwánàrí kápà̀ʃkúʃí́
  kwakwana=ri   kapaʃ-k-u-**ʃi**
  hardness=TEMP/MAN   speak-K-SBJ3SG-PST.REC
  'He spoke with severity.'   {txt}

(10) a. àsòrò ũ̀ʔmústépí
     aso=ro   ũʔ-mus-t-Ø-**pi**
     water=ABS   CAUS-fill-DUR-SBJ3SG-FUT
     'The water will rise.'   {txt}

b. kàʔpárí
   Ø-kaʔ-**pa-ri**
   OBJ3SG-make-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST
   'I was going to do it.' {txt}

c. nə̀píʃí
   nã-u-**pi-ʃi**
   go-SBJ2-FUT-REC.PST
   'You were going to go (recently).'   {txt}

1.3. The Noun Phrase

A simplified template for the NP is provided in (11):

(11) *Pesh noun phrase:*
   Dem + Poss-**Root**-{Indf.Art / Pl.Poss} + Adj + {Num / Quant} + =Case + ={Top / Foc}

The properties of the NP are those typically associated with head-final characteristics. The possessor occurs before the possessum; that is, in an NP the modifier is preposed to the head, as in (12a). The indefinite article *-s* is always postposed, as shown in (12b), as are numerals, shown in (13).

Possessor–Possessum (modifier–head):
(12) a. ta-yeʔ   a-**wãri**
        POSS1-small   POSS3SG-pig
        'My son's pig'   (Lit. "My son, his pig")   {txt}

     b. **korta-**s
        woman-INDF.ART
        'a woman'   {txt}

(13) tóʔ íspáràh àmùktá tẽ̀náhpó:kyó kàtṹʃkáwá
     toʔ   **isparah**   amukta tẽnah   po:k=yo   katũʃ-k-a-wa
     DEM.MED machete   rotten   heavy   two=COM/INS   work-K-SBJ1SG-PFV
     'I worked with these two rotten, heavy machetes.'   {txt}

Demonstratives indicate definiteness, such as *toʔ* in (13), while indefinite determiners, such as indefinite quantifiers and indefinite articles like *-s*, express indefiniteness, as in (12b). Nevertheless, bare NPs are frequently used. Usually the context is sufficient to encode definiteness, as in (14), or indefiniteness, as in (15). In (14) the noun *takaskro* constitutes the definite NP 'the Sisimite',[6] and in (15) the noun *arwã* constitutes the indefinite NP 'a man'.

(14) ĩ́kã̀kɛ́s tàkáskrò kàũ̀tɾóʔtíhéré
     ĩ=kan   akẽs **takaskro** ka-ũtɾoʔ-Ø-tV-i=here
     DEM.PROX=SIM   thus   Sisimite   OBJ3PL-kidnap-SBJ3SG-NEG-PST=MIR
     'Thus, the Sisimite kidnapped them.' {txt}

(15) krís árwã́ tʃìrí;
     kris **arwã** tʃa-i-ri
     time man   be_there-SBJ3SG-PST
     'Some time ago, there was a man.' {txt}

The three demonstrative pronouns—that is, proximal *ĩ,* medial *toʔ* (*tuʔ*), and distal *ã* (*ta*)—play an important role for indefinite pronouns and *wh*-words (Table 1).

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[6] The Sisimite is a mythological character in Central America. He is described as a hairy monster with manlike characteristics and feet that are turned backwards, who kidnaps women to take them into his cave.

Table 1. Demonstrative pronouns and determiners

Deictic feature	Demonstrative
Proximal	*ĩ*
Medial	*toʔ / tuʔ* (dialectal variant)
Distal	*ã / ta* (dialectal variant)

Demonstratives may serve as pronouns or determiners. Examples (16a-c) illustrates their use as pronouns; as such they can optionally be marked by the topic marker, as in (16b) (see §1.4.5), or a case marker, as in (16c) (see §1.2). By contrast, when used as determiners they cannot be marked by a case marker or the topic marker. If such markers occur in the NP they will be phrase final, as shown in (7), (13), and (16b).

Demonstrative pronoun:
(16) a. àkrékè yèʔmà ĩ́ kàtʃúíʃkàlèryó àtʃúíʃkèrpé
      akreke ye?=ma   **ĩ**   ka-tʃuiʃ-k-a-ler=yo
      but   small=TOP DEM.PROX APPL.R-learn-K-NMLZ-PL=COM/INS
      a-tʃuiʃ-k-er-pi
      OBJ3SG-learn-K-SBJ3PL-FUT
      'But the young will learn this (one) with the teachers.' {txt}

   b. tóʔmà ã́yèkórtàrá éhkíí, kwã̀sà wárkì pàkérpírírás
      toʔ=ma   ã   ye   korta=ra   Ø-eh-k-i-i   kwãsa   warki
       DEM.MED=TOP DEM.DIST small woman=ABS OBJ3SG-treat-K-SBJ3SG-PST spirit   bad
      Ø-pa-k-er-pi-ri=ras
      OBJ3SG-take-K-SBJ3PL-FUT-PST=REAS
      'This one treated this young girl because the bad spirits were going to take her.' {txt}

   c. táyá takìúsí
      ta=ya   ta-ka-u-si
      DEM.DIST=ERG OBJ1-make-SBJ3SG-PST.REC
      'That one struck me.' {txt}

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *ĩ* and the distal demonstrative pronoun *ta* (see Table 1) are also used as indefinite pronouns. The non-human indefinite pronoun is *ĩ=na* 'something', as seen in (17a), with the marker *=na* expressing indefiniteness. The human indefinite pronoun is *as=na* (or less frequently *as* alone), that is, the numeral *as* 'one' and the marker of indefiniteness, shown in (17b).

(17) a. ĩ̀ktã̄mã̀ ĩ́ɲà úʔtʃàhítʃí
      ĩkata=ma   **ĩ=na**   Ø-uʔtʃah-i-tʃi
      now=TOP   DEM.PROX=INDF OBJ3SG-sell-SBJ2-PST.REC
      'Did you sell something today?' {txt}

b. ásnà kàʔotʃúíʃkó tʃã̀ã́rí
as=na kaʔo-tʃuiʃ-ko Ø-tʃã-a-ri
one=INDF house-learn-CONT OBJ3SG-ver-SBJ1SG-PST
'I saw someone in the school.' {txt}

The non-human indefinite pronoun for 'nothing' is *ĩ=ri=na*—that is, the combination of the proximal pronoun *ĩ*, the coordinator *=ri* and the indefinite marker *=na*; an example is given in (18a). The human indefinite pronoun for 'no one, nobody' is *as=na=ri=na*, shown in (18b), or *ta=ya=ri=na*, as shown in (18c). The former is used as the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb; the latter is used as the subject of a transitive verb. In these clauses, the verb always contains the negative marker, shown in (18b); its absence is ungrammatical, as seen in (18d), and it cannot be used to mean 'someone' either.

(18) a. ĩ́rínà úʔtʃãhtátʃí
ĩ=ri=na Ø-uʔtʃah-a-tV-tʃi
DEM.PROX=COORD=INDF OBJ3SG-sell-SBJ1SG-NEG-PST.REC
'I sold nothing.' (Lit. "I didn't sell nothing.") {txt}

b. ásnàrínà àkàitì̀ʃtèrí
as=na=ri=na a-ka-itiʃ-er-tV-ri
one=INDF=COORD=INDF REFL/RECP-APPL.R-steal-SBJ3PL-NEG-PST
'They stole no one.' (Lit. "They didn't steal no one.") {txt}

c. ĩ̀ktã̃̀mã̀ pàtàòryàŕĩ́mã̀ː táyàrínà kìtwɔ́
ĩ̀kita=ma pa-ta orya=ri=ma **ta=ya=ri=na**
now=TOP INCL-POSS1 culture=TEMP/MAN=TOP DEM.DIST=ERG=COORD=INDF
Ø-ka-i-tV-wa
OBJ3SG-make-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV
'Nowadays, no one makes (anything) by means of our culture.' (Lit. "Nowadays, no one doesn't make (anything) by means of our culture.") {txt}

d. *ásnàrínà àkàitì̀ʃkèrí
***as=na=ri=na** a-ka-itiʃ-k-er-ri
*one=INDF=COORD=INDF REFL/RECP-APPL.R-steal-K-SBJ3PL-PST
['They stole no one.' or 'They stole someone.']

1.4 The Predicate Enclitic Markers

Five predicate enclitics among those that are attested in Pesh are particularly relevant for this study; these are shown in Table 2 below. Two of them mark matrix interrogative clauses, while the other three mark subordinate clauses. They always occur at the right edge of the predicate, and none can co-occur with any of the others.

Table 2. Relevant predicate enclitic markers

Marker	Function	Distribution
=*sa*	*wh-* interrogative marker	matrix *wh-* interrogative clause
=*reʔ*	polar interrogative marker	matrix polar interrogative clause
=*kan*/=*ken** =*sri* =*ma*	dubitative marker uncertainty marker certainty marker	embedded declarative/interrogative/relative clauses

* =*kan* is =*ken* in the Carbon dialect.

Although the predicate is usually in clause-final position, when it is followed by some other constituent, the enclitic still combines with the predicate, as shown in (19b). I discuss each enclitic in turn below.

1.4.1. *Wh*-interrogative marker

The enclitic =*sa* characterizes matrix *wh-* interrogative clauses, as shown in (19a,b). A comparison of (16c) and (19a) shows that only the presence of =*sa* distinguishes the two clauses and allows the interpretation of (19a) as a constituent (or *wh-*) interrogative clause and of *ta=ya* 'DEM.DIST=ERG' as a *wh*-word.

(19) a. táyá pìkìúsísà
      ta=ya   pi-ka-u-si=**sa**
      DEM.DIST=ERG OBJ2-make-SBJ3SG-PST.REC=WH
      'Who struck you?' {txt}

    b. tárá kàkàpéʔkísísà ùtʃà
      ta=ra   ka-ka-peʔ-k-i-si=**sa**   utʃa
      DEM.DIST=ABS OBJ3PL-APPL.R-bring-K-SBJ2-PST.REC=WH   fish
      'For whom (pl) did you (sg) bring the fish?' {txt}

1.4.2. Polar interrogative marker

The enclitic =*reʔ* characterizes matrix polar interrogative clauses in the Carbon dialect, as shown in (20a). In the Culmi dialect, however, matrix polar interrogative clauses are not marked with any special enclitic and are identical to declarative clauses in form. A final higher pitch distinguishes polar interrogative clauses, like (17a) above, from declarative clauses. Interestingly, =*reʔ* is used in the Culmi dialect to trigger doubt about whether an event will happen or has happened; this is shown in (20b).

(20) a. nɛ̀ríré?   (Carbon dialect)
     nã-er-ri=**re?**
     go-SBJ3PL-PST=Y/N
     'Did they go?' {txt}

   b. tè?nɛ̀rítípíríré?   (Culmi dialect)
     te?-nã-i-tV-pi-ri=**re?**
     come-go-SBJ3SG-NEG-FUT-PST=Y/N
     'He was going to come (but) did he come or not?' {txt}

The remaining three enclitics mark different degrees of probability or possibility that the event described in the respective embedded clause will happen or has happened (Bybee 1985).

1.4.3. Dubitative marker

The use of *=kan/=ken* expresses doubt or the weak possibility that the event described in the clause may occur or may have occurred ('irrealis'). For instance, in (21), the speakers do not know whether they can take the grandmother somewhere, or how to take her there.

(21) ĩ́kànkà pàbèrpékén ũ̀ntãkàtʃúà
     [ĩ=kan-ka-a   Ø-pa-ber-pe=**ken**]
     DEM.PROX=SIM-make-SBJ1   OBJ3SG-take-SBJ1PL.EXCL-FUT=DBT
     ũn-ta-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa
     EXCL-OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
     '[It is not sure whether] we can [and we are not sure how to] take her.'   {txt}

   The dubitative enclitic *=kan* is related to the similative case maker *=kan* used with NPs (see §1.2). Crosslinguistically, the relation between similarity and irrealis or doubt is well known (Creissels 2017).

1.4.4. Uncertainty marker

The enclitic *=sri* signals uncertainty about whether an event will happen or has happened. Usually the speaker knows various conditions that make it probable, but uncertainty still exists. In (22), the speaker knows how to take the grandmother; the uncertainty resides in whether or not they will take her. Example (22) can be compared to example (21) with the dubitative enclitic *=kan*.

(22) ĩ́kànkà pàbèrpésrí ũ̀ntãkàtʃúà
     [ĩ=kan-ka-a   Ø-pa-ber-pe=**sri**]
     DEM.PROX=SIM-make-SBJ1   OBJ3SG-take-SBJ1PL.EXCL-FUT=UNCRT
     ũn-ta-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa
     EXCL-OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
     'We may have a way to take her.'

In (23) below, the speaker knows that he will eat, but he doesn't know if the person he is speaking with will agree to cook something for him. The bracketed embedded clause in (23) is a free-choice free relative clause, and the free-choice expression that is translated with *whatever* results from the

repetition of the demonstrative proximal. We will discuss free-choice free relative clauses and their *wh-*expressions in §4.1.3.

(23) íɾ̃íɾ̃í tàkàtùhúpísrí ɚ̃pɚ̃hɚ̃ʔ
    [ĩ=ra   ĩ=ra   ta-ka-tuh-u-pi=**sri**]
    DEM.PROX=ABS DEM.PROX=ABS   OBJ1-APPL.R-cook-SBJ2-FUT=UNCRT
    Ø-ã-pa=hã?
    OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG.FUT=FOC
    'I will eat whatever you may cook for me.'

1.4.5. Certainty marker

The use of the enclitic *=ma* at the end of a predicate indicates that the event has happened or is in the process of happening. In (24), this is an affirmation that the narrator and his brothers know how to take the grandmother to hospital. Example (24) can be compared with (21), which contains the dubitative marker *=kan*, and with examples (22) and (23), which contain the uncertainty marker *=sri*.

(24) ĩkànkà pàbèrpémà ũ̀ntãkàtʃúà
    [ĩ=kan-ka-a   Ø-pa-ber-pe=**ma**]
    DEM.PROX=SIM-make-SBJ1   OBJ3SG-take-SBJ1PL.EXCL-FUT=CRT
    ũn-ta-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa
    EXCL-OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
    'We have a way to take her.'

In (25), the meal is already prepared and the narrator is about to eat it. The certainty marker *=ma* corresponds to a realis interpretation. Compare (25) with (23), where the uncertainty marker *=sri* is used.

(25) íɾ̃íɾ̃í tàkàtùhúpímà ɚ̃pɚ̃hɚ̃ʔ
    [ĩ=ra   ĩ=ra   ta-ka-tuh-u-pi=**ma**]
    DEM.PROX=ABS DEM.PROX=ABS   OBJ1-APPL.R-cook-SBJ2-FUT=CRT
    Ø-ã-pa=hã?
    OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG.FUT=FOC
    'I will eat whatever you cooked for me.'

   The certainty marker *=ma* is related to the topic marker *=ma* in an NP. Topic and certainty markers share the same characteristic of introducing a given or actualized participant or event. The topic marker is optional and usually correlates with thematic discontinuity or referent complexity—that is, with the need to identify and encode the topic to maintain discourse coherence (Chamoreau, forthcoming.a). The NP that contains the topic is usually preposed, as in (26). When the topic marking enclitic *=ma* occurs on a subject or object NP, it is impossible to add the ergative or absolutive case marker on the same constituent (again, shown in (26)).

(26) tàsùwámà ɚ̃kɚ̃n ò̃:nínà wíhnà:yó
    ta-suwa=ma   ã=kan   õ-n-Ø-i=na   wihna=yo
    POSS1-grandmother=TOP DEM.DIST=SIM   sleep-DUR-SBJ3SG-PST=REP shaman=COM/INS
    'They said that my grandmother died like this, due to the shaman.'   {txt}

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2. *Wh-* interrogative clauses

This section introduces *wh*-interrogative clauses in Pesh and their *wh*-expressions, which will be relevant for our discussion of free relative clauses in §4.1. Matrix *wh-* interrogative clauses are presented first, followed by embedded *wh-* interrogative clauses. The two constructions exhibit a key difference, which will be important for free relative clauses as well.

Pesh forms *wh*-expressions from five different sources, as shown in (27):

(27) 1. *ta* DEM.DIST [+ HUMAN] for 'who'
2. *ĩ* DEM.PROX [− HUMAN] for 'what', 'how', 'why', 'when'
3. *ã* DEM.DIST for 'when'
4. the verb *pi-* 'place, put down' for 'where', 'which'
5. *piʃ* for 'how many', 'how much'

The complete list of *wh*-expressions in Pesh is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Inventory of *wh*-expressions in interrogative clauses

Basic meaning	Further specifications	*Wh*-expression	Gloss
'who'	'who' + V$_{tr}$	*ta=ya*	DEM.DIST=ERG
	'who' + V$_{intr}$	*ta=ra*	DEM.DIST=ABS
	'to who' + V$_{tr}$		
	'with who'	*ta=yo*	DEM.DIST=COM/INS
	'in whose house'	*ta=yã*	DEM.DIST=LOC
	'whose' + N	*ta-ʔeh*	DEM.DIST=FT.POSS.PRO
'what'	'what' + V$_{tr}$	*ĩ=ya*	DEM.PROX=ERG
	'what' + V$_{intr}$	*ĩ=ra*	DEM.PROX=ABS
	'to what' + V$_{tr}$		
	'with what'	*ĩ=yo*	DEM.PROX=COM/INS
'where'		*pi-ah*	place-NMLZ
		pi=kan	place=SIM
'when'	'when' (past)	*ĩ=kawar*	DEM.PROX=?
	'when' (perfective/future)	*ã=hĩ*	DEM.DIST=?
	'at what time'	*ã-pe=ri*	DEM.DIST-TIMES=TEMP/MAN
'how'		*ĩ=kan(-ka)*	DEM.PROX=SIM-('make')
'why'		*ĩ=reʃ*	DEM.PROX=REAS
'what'/'which'		*pi-ah=ra*	place-NMLZ=ABS
'how much'/ 'how many'		*piʃ*	

To form *wh*-expressions, the case markers are obligatory with the demonstratives, as already shown in (19a,b), and with the verb *pi-*, as shown in (28). For some *wh*-expressions, instead of a case enclitic, a possessive or a nominalizer is used, as shown in (29) and (30) respectively. This feature contrasts with the optionality of a case marker when the demonstratives function as pronouns in an NP (see §1.3). A *wh*-expression must occur in clause-initial position, never in situ. The predicate usually occurs at the

right edge; it is obligatory marked by the *wh-* interrogative marker *=sa*. For reasons of information structure some adverbs may appear after the predicate, as shown in (30).

(28) pìáhrà kúhísísà
    pi-ah=ra   Ø-kuh-i-si=**sa**
    place-NMLZ=ABS   OBJ3SG-buy-SBJ2-PST.REC=WH
    'Which one did you buy?'

(29) táʔà tùsrà wàháyá̌ ně̀ísà
    ta-ʔeh   tus=ra   waha=yã nã-Ø-i=**sa**
    DEM.DIST-FT.POSS.PRO father=ABS hill=LOC go-SBJ3SG-PST=WH
    'Whose father went to the hill?' ('the father of whom')   {txt}

(30) pyá̌h   nõ̀písà tʃá
    pi-ah   nã-u-pi=**sa**   tʃa
    place-NMLZ go-SBJ2-FUT=WH tomorrow
    'Where will you go tomorrow?'   {txt}

Embedded *wh-* interrogative clauses require a *wh-*expression at the left edge of the clause, like matrix *wh-* interrogative clauses. But the two types of clauses differ: embedded *wh-* interrogative clauses need one of the three subordinators we discussed in §1.4: the uncertainty marker *=sri* (cf. (31)), the dubitative *=kan* (cf. (32)), or the certainty marker *=ma* (cf. (33)). Embedded interrogative clauses always follow their matrix clause.

(31) àhírtáwá táyó tè̀ʔkúrísrí
    a-hir-a-tV-wa   [**ta=yo**   teʔ-k-u-ri=sri]
    OBJ3SG-know-SBJ1SG-NEG-PFV DEM.DIST=COM/INS come-K-SBJ2-PST=UNCRT
    'I don't know who you should have come with.'   {txt}

(32) àhíríʃkíwá á̌hì̌ àtʃà̀mìrmkánwá̌ʔ
    a-hir-iʃ-k-i-wa   [**ã=hĩ**   a-tʃã-ber-pi=kan=wãʔ[7]]
    OBJ3SG-know-DES-K-SBJ3SG-PFV DEM.DIST=? REFL/RECP-see-SBJ1PL.EXCL-FUT=DBT=PSB
    'He wants to know when we may be able to see each other.'{txt}

(33) ɲà̀hrí̌ í̌ɲá kàtʃúíʃkámà
    Ø-yẽh-a-ri   [**ĩ=ya**   ka-tʃuiʃ-k-Ø-wa=ma]
    OBJ3SG-say-SBJ1SG-PST DEM.PROX=ERG   APPL.R-learn-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=CRT
    'I told him who teaches.'   {txt}

3. Headed Relative Clauses

This section introduces the three main types of restrictive headed relative clauses that are found in Pesh. The crucial factor that distinguishes them is the syntactic role of the head noun within the relative clause (RC) (Chamoreau, forthcoming.b). The first type occurs when the head noun is a genitive or an argument in the RC. The enclitic that occurs at the end of the RC, which may be a case marker or the

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[7] The co-occurrence of the subordinator *=kan* and the marker of weak possibility *=wãʔ* expresses that there is both a doubt and a weak possibility that the event described in the clause will take place or has taken place.

topic marker, corresponds to the syntactic role of the noun in the matrix clause (MC). In (34), the accusative[8] =*ra* marks the fact that the noun *korta* 'the woman' is the primary object in the MC regardless of its role in the RC. In (34), the noun *korta* 'the woman' is the subject of the RC. This behavior coincides with Comrie's (1989 [1981]) description of an internally headed relative clause.

(34) tàsmà [kàpàn kàpàn kórtà tà-yèʔ kàtʃɛ̃̀mirà] wíʃkárí
  tas=ma [kapani kapani **korta** ta-yeʔ
  PRO1=TOP morning morning woman POSS1-small
  Ø-ka-tʃã-Ø-pi]_{RC} =**ra**   Ø-wiʃ-k-a-ri
  OBJ3SG-APPL.R-see-SBJ3SG-FUT=ACC OBJ3SG-give.OBJ3-K-SBJ1SG-PST
  'I entrusted him to the woman who will take care of my son every morning.' {txt}

 The second type of relativization is used when the head noun has a non-argumental, non-genitive, peripheral (oblique or adjunct) role in the RC. The case marker that obligatorily occurs at the end of the RC corresponds to the syntactic role of the noun in the RC. In (35), the comitative/instrumental =*yo* indicates that the noun *kukarska* 'the hoe' is the instrument in the RC, regardless of its role in the matrix clause. (In this example the noun *kukarska* 'the hoe' is the object in the matrix clause.) The noun that functions as the head of the RC occurs outside of it, being represented in the RC by a gap marked by __ in (35). The whole construction is an externally headed relative clause.

(35) [kúkàrskà yèʔhá tàkíyó] úhàrí
  [**kukarska** [yeʔ-ha   __ ta-ka-Ø-i=**yo**]_{RC}]   Ø-uh-a-ri
  hoe   small-NMLZ OBJ1-hit-SBJ3SG-PST=COM/INS OBJ3SG-hide-SBJ1SG-PST
  'I hid the hoe with which the small boy hit me.' {txt}

 The third type of relativization is observed when the head has the role of a locative adjunct in the RC, regardless of its role in the matrix clause. In this case, a locative *wh*-expression can introduce the RC and function as a relative marker. Thus in (36) below the noun *taha* 'the path', the object in the matrix clause which functions as the head of the RC, occurs outside the RC but is referred to inside it by means of the clause-initial locative *wh*-expression *pikan* 'where, in which direction', which shows its semantic role within the RC. Syntactically speaking, the movement of the constituent indicating the locative role to the fronting position leaves a trace marked by *t* in the original position (Comrie 1989 [1981]). The relative clause is obligatorily marked by a subordinator encliticized at the end of the verb: for example, with the uncertainty subordinator =*sri*, as in (36), or the dubitative subordinator =*kan*, as in (37). When the head noun is locative in the RC and the matrix clause, it is flagged by the locative case, as in (37). This feature distinguishes this kind of headed relative clause from those without a *wh*-expression, where it is impossible for the case to mark the head noun (cf. (35)). The *wh*-expressions *pikan* 'where/in which direction' in (36) and *piah* 'where' in (37) are the only two that are used in headed relative clauses.

(36) tàhà pìkàn nɛ̃̀rísrí tʃã̀árí
  [[taha]_N [**pi=kan** *t* nã-er-ri=sri]_{RC}]   Ø-tʃã-a-ri
  path   place=SIM go-SBJ3PL-PST=UNCRT OBJ3SG-see-SBJ1SG-PST
  'I saw the path that they went toward.' {txt}

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[8] In headed relative clauses, the alignment is nominative-accusative (Chamoreau, forthcoming.b).

(37) tàpàtʃà kúʔkàkáyá̃ pìáh tʃèʔèríkén tèʔkrí

    ta-patʃa   [[**kuʔk** aka]ₙ =yã   [**pi-ah**   *t*   tʃaʔ-er-i=ken]_RC]

    POSS1-man's_sister   earth big=LOC   place-NMLZ   be_there-SBJ3PL-PST=DBT

    teʔ-k-ir-i

    come-K-SBJ3PL-PST

    'My sisters came from the spacious land where they lived.'   {txt}

In the first two kinds of headed relative clauses, the marker that obligatorily occurs at the end of the relative clause is a case marker or the topic enclitic prototypically used at the end of noun and postpositional phrases. In contrast, the third kind of headed relative clause is marked by the clause-initial locative *wh*-expression and a clause-final subordinator. The head noun may be marked by the locative case marker. This is impossible in headed relative clauses that lack *wh*-words, where the case marker always occurs clause finally.

The distribution of the three kinds of restrictive headed relative clauses thus clearly responds to the accessibility restrictions on specific roles summarized in Table 4: arguments and genitives with internally headed relative clauses, obliques and adjuncts (comitatives, instrumentals, locatives, and objects of comparison) with externally headed relative clauses, and locatives with relative clauses with a *wh*-expression.

Table 4. Accessibility for relativization to different syntactic roles in headed RCs

Strategy	**SBJ**	**OBJ (1º/2º)**	**GEN**	**INS**	**COM**	**LOC**
Internally headed RC	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
Externally headed RC	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓
RC with locative *wh-*	*	*	*	*	*	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable.

4. Headless Relative Clauses

This section describes the two main types of headless relative clause in Pesh and their various subtypes. §4.1 introduces the first type, i.e. the free relative clause, which is characterized by a *wh*-expression at the left edge and a subordinator at the right edge. §4.2 discusses the second type of headless relative clause, which lacks a *wh*-expression: both the subtype known as a light-headed relative clause and the subtype that has neither a light head nor a *wh*-expression, in which a case marker or the topic marker is found at its right edge.

4.1. Free Relative Clauses

Free relative clauses are headless relatives that are introduced by a *wh*-expression. A subordinator appears at the right edge of the predicate, as in embedded interrogative clauses (§2). However, free relative clauses occur before their matrix clauses, while embedded interrogative clauses follow their matrix clauses. All three kinds of subordinators are used. Maximal, existential, and free-choice FRs are distinguished from each other by the type of *wh*-expression they employ: in maximal FRs (§4.1.1) only the two locative *wh*-words may be used; in existential FRs (§4.1.2) different *wh*-words are used; and in free-choice FRs (§4.1.3) the *wh*-word is reduplicated.

4.1.1. Maximal free relative clauses

Maximal free relative clauses (Max-FRs) are limited in Pesh; there are very few examples in the corpus. The majority of headless relative clauses with a maximal interpretation are constructed without a *wh*-expression. Only the locative *wh*-expressions *piah* 'where' (cf. (38)) and *pikan* 'where, in which direction' (cf. (39)) can occur, as was the case in headed relative clauses with a *wh*-expression (§3). The subordinator may be any of the three subordinators discussed in §1.4: the uncertainty marker *=sri,* as in (38), the dubitative *=kan*, as in (39), or the certainty marker *=ma*, as in (40).

(38) pyā́h nằísrí pàyó nằíʃtàkíwá
    [**pi-ah**   nã-u-i=sri]   pa=yo   nã-iʃ-ta-ka-i-wa
    place-NMLZ go-SBJ2-PFV=UNCRT   PRO2=COM/INS   go-DES-OBJ1-make-SBJ3SG-PFV
    'I want to go with you where you should go.'

(39) pìkḗ pāɣɔ̀kḗ ʃɛ́nínã́
    [**pi=ken**   Ø-pa-k-Ø-i=ken]   Ø-ʃã-Ø-tV-i=na
    place=SIM OBJ3SG-take-K-SBJ3SG-PST=DBT   OBJ3SG-see-SBJ3SG-NEG-PST=REP
    'They said that he didn't see where she could have taken him.'   {txt}

(40) pyā́h tʃórímà tʃằbrí
    [**pi-ah**   tʃa-u-ri=ma]   Ø-tʃã-ber-i
    place-NMLZ be_there-SBJ2-PST=CRT   OBJ3SG-see-SBJ1PL.EXCL-PST
    'We saw where you were born.'   {txt}

The structures in (38)-(40) are attested in the corpus for Max-FRs, but as stated above, the most frequent strategy for the locative role is the one illustrated in (41), which lacks a *wh*-expression. We discuss it in §4.2.2.

(41) tʃóríyã́ tʃằbrí
    [tʃa-u-ri=**yã**]   Ø-tʃã-ber-i
    be_there-SBJ2-PST=LOC   OBJ3SG-see-SBJ1PL.EXCL-PST
    'We saw where you were born.'   {txt}

Example (42a) was found in a text; it shows the construction of a headless relative clause without a *wh*-expression and receives a maximal interpretation. My informants reject the corresponding sentence containing the Max-FR in (42b).

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(42) a. tùhúrímà ä̀ʔáʃí
    [Ø-tuh-u-ri=**ma**]   Ø-ã̀ʔ-a-ʃi
    OBJ3SG-cook-SBJ2-PST=TOP   OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG-PST.REC
    'I ate what you cooked.' {txt}

  b. *ĩrá tùhúrísrí ä̀ʔáʃì
    [**ĩ=ra**   Ø-tuh-u-ri=sri]   Ø-ã̀ʔ-a-ʃi
    DEM.PROX=ABS   OBJ3SG-cook-SBJ2-PST=UNCRT   OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG-PST.REC
    ['I ate what you cooked.']

4.1.2. Existential Free Relative Clauses

In this section, I discuss existential *free relative clauses (Ex-FRs).* The Pesh corpus contains several examples of Ex-FRs. As in all other Mesoamerican languages with Ex-FRs, they occur as the complement of a matrix predicate conveying a meaning of existence. The predicate most commonly used for Ex-FRs in Pesh is *tʃa* 'be there, inhabit, exist, have', seen in (43) and (44).

'Who' / Subject in the Ex-FR:
(43) ã́yã̂ʰmã̀   táyá   éɲèyèʃpísrí tʃúà
    ã=yã=ma   **[ta=ya**   eɲa   Ø-eyeʃ-Ø-pi=sri]
    DEM.DIST=LOC=TOP DEM.DIST=ERG good OBJ3SG-sing-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT
    tʃa-Ø-wa
    be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
    'There, there is someone who may sing it well.'   {txt}

'What' / Instrument in the Ex-FR:
(44) ĩ́yó   kàkòrspésrí tàkàtʃítwa
    [**ĩ=yo**   Ø-ka-kors-Ø-pi=sri]
    DEM.PROX=COM/INS   OBJ3SG-APPL.R-write-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT
    ta-ka-tʃa-i-tV-wa
    OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV
    'I don't have anything to write with.'

   In Ex-FRs, as in all other *wh*-clauses in Pesh we have seen so far, *wh*-expressions occur in clause-initial position – though for discourse reasons, an adverb such as *ĩyãma* 'here' can appear before the *wh*-expression, as seen in (45). The verb of the Ex-FR is in clause-final position and is marked by one of the three subordinators (§1.4): the uncertainty marker *=sri* (cf. (44) above), the certainty marker *=ma* (cf. (45) below), or the dubitative *=kan* (cf. (51) below).

'Which' / Subject in the Ex-FR:
(45) yã́ʰmã̀ pìyàrà téʔũntãtʃémímà tʃítwà
    [ĩ=yã=ma   **pi-ah=ra**   teʔ-un-ta-tʃã-Ø-pi=ma]
    DEM.PROX=LOC=TOP   place-NMLZ=ABS   come-EXCL-OBJ1-see-SBJ3SG-FUT=CRT
    tʃa-i-tV-wa
    be_there-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV
    'There is no one who will come here to see us.' (Lit. "There isn't who will come here to see us.")
      {txt}

The verb of the Ex-FR always appears marked by a future tense that expresses the possibility that the event will happen or has happened, even if the event at issue seems to be real and current. Thus in (46) below, despite the subordinator being the certainty marker *=ma,* the tense is obligatorily future, as indicated by the future marker *–pi*. My consultants reject any other tense marking for this example, like the perfective marker *-wa* in (47). Ex-FRs carry the future marker even if the matrix clause is marked as past, triggering a counterfactual interpretation of unrealized possibility, as in (48).

'Where' / Locative in the Ex-FR:
(46) pyã́h tʃópímà pìkàtʃúà
    [**pi-ah**   tʃa-u-pi=ma]   pi-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa
    place-NMLZ   be_there-SBJ2-FUT=CRT   OBJ2-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
    'You have a place where you may live.'   {txt}

(47) *pyã́h tʃówámà pìkàtʃúà
    pi-ah   tʃa-u-wa=ma   pi-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa
    place-NMLZ   be_there-SBJ2-PFV=CRT   OBJ2-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
    ['You have a place where you live.']

(48) pyã́h nã̀párísrí tàkàtʃíí
    [**pi-ah**   nã-pa-ri=sri]   ta-ka-tʃa-i-i
    place-NMLZ   go-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST=UNCRT   OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PST
    'I had a place where I could have gone.'

Besides *tʃa* 'be there, inhabit, exist, have', other matrix verbs are attested with Ex-FRs in Pesh, such as *proh* 'look for', in (54), and *pãs* 'find', in (49) and (50).
All in all, sixteen of the seventeen *wh*-expressions available in the language are used in Ex-FRs. Four of these occurred in examples (43)-(46) above; the other twelve are given in (49)-(60):

'Who' / Object in the Ex-FR:
(49) tárá èyèʃpísrí pã́skútʃí
    [**ta=ra**   Ø-eyeʃ-Ø-pi=sri]   Ø-pãs-k-u-tʃi
    DEM.DIST=ABS   OBJ3SG-sing-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT   OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ3SG-PST.REC
    'He found someone to sing for.'

'Who' / Comitative in the Ex-FR:

(50) táyó kàtṹʃpésrí pã́skí

    [**ta=yo**   katũʃ-Ø-pi=sri]   Ø-pãs-k-Ø-i

    DEM.DIST=COM/INS work-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ3SG-PST

    'He found somebody to work with.' {txt}

'Who' / Locative in the Ex-FR:

(51) táyã́ nã̀pákánwã́ tàkàtʃítwa

    [**ta=yã**   nã-pa=kan=wã]   ta-ka-tʃa-i-tV-wa

    DEM.DIST=LOC go-SUBJ1SG.FUT=DBT=PSB OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV

    'I don't have anyone's house to go to.' {txt}

'Who' / Genitive in the Ex-FR:

(52) táʔà àkàʔórá sẽ́hpísrí pã́skárí

    [**ta-ʔeh**   a-kaʔo=ra   Ø-seh-Ø-pi-i=sri]

    DEM.DIST-FT.POSS.PRO POSS3SG-house=ABS OBJ3SG-burn-SBJ3SG-FUT-PST=UNCRT

    Ø-pãs-k-a-ri

    OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ1SG-PST

    'I found anybody whose house they said was burnt.'

'What' / Subject in the Ex-FR:

(53) ĩ́yá àhírpísrí tʃùá

    [**ĩ=ya**   a-hir-i-pi=sri]

    DEM.PROX=ERG OBJ3SG-know-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT

    tʃa-Ø-wa

    be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV

    'There is something he would like to know.' {txt}

'What' / Object in the Ex-FR:

(54) ĩ́rá pã̀yhpásrí próhàwà

    [**ĩ=ra**   pi-ãyh-pa=sri]   Ø-proh-a-wa

    DEM.PROX=ABS OBJ2-give.OBJ1/2-SBJ1SG.FUT=UNCRT OBJ3SG-look_for-SBJ1SG-PFV

    'I'm looking for something I should give you.' {txt}

'How' / Manner in the Ex-FR:

(55) ĩ́kàn pàbèrpékén ũ̀ntãkàtʃùá

    [**ĩ=kan**   Ø-pa-ber-pe=ken]

    DEM.PROX=SIM OBJ3SG-take-SBJ1PL.EXCL-FUT=DBT

    ũn-ta-ka-tʃa-Ø-wa

    EXCL-OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV

    'We may have a way to take it.' {txt}

'When' / Temporal in the Ex-FR:
(56) ĩ́kàwàr tèʔpárísrí próhàrí
    [ĩ=kawar   teʔ-pa-ri=sri]   Ø-proh-a-ri
    DEM.PROX=? come-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST=UNCRT OBJ3SG-look_for-SBJ1SG-PST
    'I looked for him at a time when I was supposed to come.'

(57) ã́hĩ̀ nã̀pámà pã́skàrí
    [ã=hĩ   nã-pa=ma]   Ø-pãs-k-a-ri
    DEM.DIST=? go-SBJ1SG.FUT=CRT OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ1SG-PST
    'I found a moment in which I was able to go (somewhere).' {txt}

(58) ãpérí tèʔpámà kè tàkàtʃtùá
    [ã-pe=ri   teʔ-pa=ma]   ke
    DEM.DIST-times=TEMP/MAN come-SBJ1SG.FUT=CRT already
    ta-ka-tʃa-i-tV-wa
    OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV
    'I haven't decided on a time at which I will come.' {txt}

'Where' / Locative in the Ex-FR:
(59) píkán õ̀:npárísrí tàkàtʃíí
    [**pi=kan**   õ:-n-pa-ri=sri]   ta-ka-tʃa-i-i
    place=SIM sleep-DUR-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST=CRT OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PST
    'I had a place where I could have slept.' {txt}

'How many'/'how much' / Subject (quantity) in the Ex-FR:
(60) píʃ tèʔkèrpírímà pã́skàrí
    [**piʃ**   teʔ-k-er-pi-ri=ma]   Ø-pãs-k-a-ri
    how_many/much come-K-SBJ3PL-FUT-PST=CRT OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ1SG-PST
    'I found several (people) who would have come.' {txt}

In Ex-FRs, the enclitic case of the *wh*-word always marks the role of the *wh*-word in the FR. Table 5 summarizes the distribution of *wh*-expressions in Ex-FRs.

Table 5. Distribution of *wh*-expressions in Ex-FRs

Basic meaning	Further specifications	*Wh*-expression	Ex-FRs
'who'	'who' + V$_{tr}$	*ta=ya*	✓
	'who' + V$_{intr}$	*ta=ra*	✓
	'to who' + V$_{tr}$		
	'with who'	*ta=yo*	✓
	'in whose house'	*ta=yã*	✓
	'whose' + N	*ta-ʔeh*	✓
'what'	'what' + V$_{tr}$	*ĩ=ya*	✓
	'what' + V$_{intr}$	*ĩ=ra*	✓
	'to what' + V$_{tr}$		
	'with what'	*ĩ=yo*	✓
'where'		*pi-ah*	✓
		pi=kan	✓
'when'	'when' (past)	*ĩ=kawar*	✓
	'when' (perfective/future)	*ã=hĩ*	✓
	'at what time'	*ã-pe=ri*	✓
'how'		*ĩ=kan(-ka)*	✓
'why'		*ĩ=reʃ*	*
'what'/'which'		*pi-ah=ra*	✓
'how much'/ 'how many'		*piʃ*	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable.

The construction with *ĩ=reʃ* 'why' is the only one that is impossible. Instead the subordinator for reason *=reʃ* is used, as in (61a); that the *wh*-word is ungrammatical is seen in (61b).

(61) a. árwã̌ òníh tàkàkìyó àrkàpáʃtèʔnȅ̀ríréʃ tʃìrí
    [arwã onih ta-kaki=yo   a-r-kapaʃ-teʔ-nã-er-ri**=reʃ**]
    man dead POSS1-mother=COM/INS OBJ3SG-APPL.P-speak-come-go-SBJ3PL-PST=REAS
    tʃa-i-ri
    be_there-SBJ3SG-PST
   'There is some reason why the dead men came to speak with my mother and went away.' {txt}

   b. *ĩ́réʃ wéʔ kàtṹ̀ʃpísrí pã̌skàrí
    *[**ĩ=reʃ**   weʔ katũʃ-Ø-pi=sri]   Ø-pãs-k-a-ri
    * DEM.PROX=REAS a_lot work-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT OBJ3SG-find-K-SBJ1SG-PST
    ['I found a reason why he could work hard.']

When *piah* 'where' and *pikan* 'where, in which direction' are used (these are the only wh-expressions that can be used in both kinds of FRs), it is easy to distinguish between Ex-FRs and Max-FRs (§4.1.1): first, the tense of the verb is always the future in Ex-FRs; and second, the verb of the matrix clause in Ex-FRs is an existential predicate.

4.1.3. Free-Choice Free Relative Clauses

Free-choice free relative clauses (FC-FRs) are easily distinguishable from the two preceding FR types because the *wh*-expression is reduplicated. In Pesh, verbs and nouns may be reduplicated with an iterative meaning, and adjectives may be reduplicated to mark intensity. For FC-FRs, there are two possibilities: either only the *wh*-expression is reduplicated, as in (62), or the coordinator *=ri* and the indefinite marker *=na* (§1.4) are added to each element, as in (63).

'Who' / Subject in the FC-FR:
(62) táɾé táɾə́ tókkī̄ʰʃkúkán nàspé

    [**ta=ra**   **ta=ra**   tok-k-iʃ-Ø-ka-i-wa=kan]
    DEM.DIST=ABS DEM.DIST=ABS enter-K-DES-OBJ3SG-make-SBJ3SG-PFV=DBT
    nas-Ø-pi
    jump.AFF-SBJ3SG-FUT
    'Whoever would like to enter will jump.'   {txt}

'Who' / Comitative in the FC-FR:
(63) tàyórínà tàyórínà tèʔpísrí wípá

    [**ta=yo=ri=na**   **ta=yo=ri=na**
    DEM.DIST=COM/INS=COORD=INDF DEM.DIST=COM/INS=COORD=INDF
    teʔ-Ø-pi=sri]   wi-pa
    come-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT dance-SBJ1SG.FUT
    'I will dance with whoever comes.'

   Usually, the verb of the FC-FR is in the future tense. It can appear in another tense, but when this happens, the verb of the matrix clause must be in the future tense. The predicate may end with the uncertainty marker *=sri*, as in (63), the dubitative *=kan*, as in (62), or the certainty marker *=ma,* as in (67). The reading is generally that of indifference to available choices, but an ignorance reading is also a possible, as shown by (62).
   In FC-FRs, the enclitic case of the *wh*-word always marks the role of the FR in the matrix clause. See examples (63), (69), and (73), where the two roles – the one in the FR and that in the matrix clause – are different.
Fourteen of the seventeen *wh*-expressions are used in FC-FRs. Two of them appeared in examples (62) and (63); the other twelve are given in (64)-(74):

'Who' / Subject in the FC-FR:
(64) táyá táyá kàkòrspésrí kàkòrspí

    [**ta=ya**   **ta=ya**   Ø-ka-kors-Ø-pi=sri]
    DEM.DIST=ERG   DEM.DIST=ERG OBJ3SG-APPL.R-write-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT
    Ø-ka-kors-Ø-pi
    OBJ3SG-APPL.R-write-SBJ3SG-FUT
    'Whoever can write may do so.' {txt}

'Who' / Locative in the FC-FR:

(65) táyã́rínà táyã́rínà éɲpítíʃpísrí nã̀úh

[**ta=yã=ri=na**　　　　　　**ta=yã=ri=na**　　　　　　eɲa

DEM.DIST=LOC=COORD=INDF　DEM.DIST=LOC=COORD=INDF　good

pi-tiʃ-Ø-pi=sri]　　　　　　nã-u-h

OBJ2-become-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT　go-SBJ2SG-IMP

'Go to whichever house you'd like.'

'Who' / Genitive in the FC-FR:

(66) táʔàrínà táʔàrínà àkákì ò̰:nípírísrí ṵ̀ɲàhárí

[**ta-ʔeh=ri=na**　　　　　　**ta-ʔeh=ri=na**

DEM.DIST-FT.POSS.PRO=COORD=INDF　DEM.DIST-FT.POSS.PRO=COORD=INDF

a-kaki　　　　õ-n-i-pi-ri=sri]　　　　　　ṵ-yẽh-a-ri

POSS3SG-mother　sleep-DUR-SBJ3SG-FUT-PST=UNCRT　CAUS-say-SBJ1SG-PST

'I greeted whoever's mother is supposed to be dead.' {txt}

'What' / Subject in the FC-FR:

(67) ĩ́yá ĩ́yá bõnpémà éɲàtíʃpí

[**ĩ=ya**　　　　**ĩ=ya**　　　　bõ-n-Ø-pi=ma]

DEM.DIST=ERG　DEM.DIST=ERG　bloom-DUR-SBJ3SG-FUT=CRT

eɲa　　Ø-tiʃ-Ø-pi

good　OBJ3SG-become-SBJ3SG-FUT

'No matter what blooms, it will be beautiful.' {txt}

'What' / Object in the FC-FR:

(68) ĩ́rĩ́rĩ́ tàkàtùhúmà ã́pã́hã́ʔ

[**ĩ=ra**　　　　**ĩ=ra**　　　　ta-ka-tuh-u-wa=ma]

DEM.PROX=ABS　DEM.PROX=ABS　OBJ1-APPL.R-cook-SBJ2-PFV=CRT

Ø-ã-pa=hã́ʔ

OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG.FUT=FOC

'I will eat whatever you cook for me.'

'What' / Instrumental in the FC-FR:

(69) ĩ́yó ĩ́yó tã̀yhúpékán kàtṵ̀ʃpá

[**ĩ=yo**　　　　　　**ĩ=yo**　　　　　　ta-ãyh-u-pi=kan]

DEM.PROX=COM/INS　DEM.PROX=COM/INS　OBJ1-give.OBJ1/2-SBJ2-FUT=DBT

katṵʃ-pa

work-SBJ1SG.FUT

'I will work with whatever (instrument) you might give me.'

'When' / Temporal in the FC-FR:

(70) ã́pérírnà　ã́pérírnà nò̰písrí nã̀pá

[**ã-pe=ri=ri=na**　　　　　　　　　　　**ã-pe=ri=ri=na**

DEM.DIST-times=TEMP/MAN=COORD=INDF　DEM.DIST-times=TEMP/MAN=COORD=INDF

nã-u-pi=sri]　　　　nã-pa

go-SBJ2-FUT=UNCRT　go-SBJ1SG.FUT

'I will come at whatever time you're able to come.' {txt}

'Where' / Locative in the FC-FR:

(71) pjá^h pjā tèʃpāmə̀ pɾòʰáwáː

    [**pi-ah**   **pi-ah**   teʃ-pa=ma]   Ø-proh-a-wa

    place-NMLZ   place-NMLZ   travel-SBJ1SG.FUT=CRT OBJ3SG-look_for-SBJ1SG-PFV

    'I am looking for anywhere to travel to.'   {txt}

(72) píkánrínà píkánrínà ã́ʔpárísrí òhárí

    [**pi=kan=ri=na**   **pi=kan=ri=na**   Ø-ã́ʔ-pa-ri=sri]

    place=SIM=COORD=INDF place=SIM=COORD=INDF OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST=UNCRT

    oh-a-ri

    run-SBJ1SG-PST

    'I was running to wherever I could eat (something).' {txt}

'Which' / Object in the FC-FR:

(73) pìhàrà pɨ̀ỳã̀rà próhnã̀ùmà àrkàpàhã́ʔ?

    [**pi-ah=ra**   **pi-ah=ra**   Ø-proh-nã-u-wa=ma]

    place=NMLZ=ABS place=NMLZ=ABS OBJ3SG-look_for-go-SBJ2-PFV=CRT

    a-r-ka-pa=hã?

    OBJ3SG-APPL.P-make-SBJ1SG.FUT=FOC

    'I will hit whichever thing you go looking for.'   {txt}

'How many'/'how much' / Subject (quantity) in the FC-FR:

(74) piʃrínà piʃrínà nèpísrí doña Juana Carolina pàtàóhɾɲɛ̀hwá

    [**piʃ=ri=na**   **piʃ=ri=na**

    how_many/much=COORD=INDF how_many/much=COORD=INDF

    nã-i-pi=sri]   doña Juana Carolina pa-ta-ohria   Ø-yẽh-Ø-wa

    go-SBJ3SG-FUT=UNCRT doña Juana Carolina INCL-POSS1-culture OBJ3SG-say-SBJ3SG-PFV

    'Doña Juana Carolina talks about our culture to anyone who can come.' {txt}

  Of the seventeen *wh*-expressions, fourteen can function in free-choice free relatives (Table 6).

Table 6. Distribution of *wh*-expressions in FC-FRs

Basic meaning	Further specifications	*Wh*-expression	FC-FRs
'who'	'who' + V_{tr}	*ta=ya*	✓
	'who' + V_{intr}	*ta=ra*	✓
	'to who' + V_{tr}		
	'with who'	*ta=yo*	✓
	'in whose house'	*ta=yã*	✓
	'whose' + N	*ta-ʔeh*	✓
'what'	'what' + V_{tr}	*ĩ=ya*	✓
	'what' + V_{intr}	*ĩ=ra*	✓
	'to what' + V_{tr}		
	'with what'	*ĩ=yo*	✓
'where'		*pi-ah*	✓
		pi=kan	✓
'when'	'when' (past)	*ĩ=kawar*	*
	'when' (perfective/future)	*ã=hĩ*	*
	'at what time'	*ã-pe=ri*	✓
'how'		*ĩ=kan(-ka)*	n/a
'why'		*ĩ=reʃ*	*
'what'/'which'		*pi-ah=ra*	✓
'how much'/ 'how many'		*piʃ*	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; n/a: data not available.

As with Ex-FRs, the construction for *ĩ=reʃ* 'why' is not possible in FC-FRs; a subordinate clause is used instead. This is seen in (75a) with the subordinator *=ras* (a dialectal variation of *=reʃ* used in the Culmi dialect). The construction in (75b) is ungrammatical; according to my informants the only possibility is the construction in (75a).

(75) a. kàtṳ̀ʃkáwá éɲtátíʃkùrás
       katũʃ-k-a-wa   [eɲa   ta-tiʃ-k-Ø-wa=**ras]**
       work-K-SBJ1SG-PFV good OBJ1-become-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=REAS
       'I work because I like it.' {txt}

    b. *ĩ́réʃ ĩ́réʃ éɲtátíʃkwásrí kàtṳ̀ʃpá
       [ĩ=reʃ   **ĩ=reʃ**   eɲa   ta-tiʃ-k-Ø-wa=sri]
       DEM.PROX=REAS   DEM.PROX=REAS good OBJ1-become-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=UNCRT
       katũʃ-pa
       work-SBJ1SG.FUT
       ['I work whether I like it or not.']

  Contrary to Ex-FRs, in FC-FRs the constructions for 'when'—that is, *ĩ=kawar* for a past event, as in (76), and *ã=hĩ* for a perfective or future event, as in (77)—are also ungrammatical. My informants always propose constructions with the temporal subordinator *=mã* instead, as in (78).

(76) *ĩ́kàwàr ĩ́kàwàr paulina wàpírísrí kètʃá tèʔpárí
    [**ĩ=kawar**   **ĩ=kawar**   Paulina wa-Ø-pi-ri=sri]   ketʃa
    DEM.PROX=? DEM.PROX=? Paulina wake_up-SBJ3SG-FUT-PST=UNCRT yesterday
    teʔ-pa-ri
    come-SBJ1SG.FUT-PST
    ['Yesterday, I would have come whenever Paulina woke up.']

(77) *ã́hĩ́ ã́hĩ́ tèʔpímà nàpá
    [**ã=hĩ**   **ã=hĩ**   teʔ-Ø-pi=ma]   na-pa
    DEM.DIST=? DEM.DIST=? come-SBJ3SG-FUT=CRT   go-SBJ1SG.FUT
    ['I will go whenever he comes.']

(78) nàpá tèʔpímã̀
    na-pa   [teʔ-Ø-pi=**mã**]
    go-SBJ1SG.FUT   come-SBJ3SG-FUT=when/if
    'I will go when he comes.'

However, in FC-FRs, the temporal *wh*-expression that indicates a precise moment, *ã=pe=ri* 'at what time', is used, as was shown in (70).

4.1.4. Summary

A free relative construction that uses a *wh*-expression at its left edge and a subordinator at its right edge is used for maximal, existential, and free-choice FR clauses. Each of the constructions is distinguishable by features of the *wh*-expression and/or by certain restrictions regarding the tense of the verb in the free relative clause or the type of verb in the matrix clause. In Max-FRs, only the locative *wh*-words *piah* 'where' and *pikan* 'where, in which direction' can appear, as in the case of headed relative clauses with *wh*-expressions. In Ex-FRs a much wider range of different *wh*-words can be used, but there is a restriction since only the future tense is available for the FR verb. In FC-FRs, the *wh*-word is obligatorily reduplicated.

   Table 7 shows the distributions of *wh*-expressions across clause types. Four points stand out. First, the two locative *wh*-words, which are the most widespread, appear in all types of clauses. Second, the *wh*-expressions for 'which', 'who', 'what', and 'how many, how much' appear in both Ex-FRs and FC-FRs. Third, two *wh*-expressions for tense, *ĩ=kawar* and *ã=hĩ* 'when', show a different behavior according to the type of FR in which they appear: they can never appear with headed RCs and Max-FRs, but are in fact used with Ex-FRs (interestingly, only the more precise *wh*-word *ã-pe=ri* 'at what time' can be used in FC-FRs). And fourth, the *wh*-word *ĩ=reʃ* 'why' is not used in relative clauses at all. Data are not available for the *wh*-expression *ĩ=kan* 'how' in FC-FRs.

Table 7. Distribution of *wh*-expressions across constructions

Basic meaning	Further specifications	*Wh*-expression	Headed RCs	Max-FRs	Ex-FRs	FC-FRs
'who'	'who' + V$_{tr}$	*ta=ya*	*	*	✓	✓
	'who' + V$_{intr}$ 'to who' + V$_{tr}$	*ta=ra*	*	*	✓	✓
	'with who'	*ta=yo*	*	*	✓	✓
	'in whose house'	*ta=yã*	*	*	✓	✓
	'whose' + N	*ta-ʔeh*	*	*	✓	✓
'what'	'what' + V$_{tr}$	*ĩ=ya*	*	*	✓	✓
	'what' + V$_{intr}$ 'to what' + V$_{tr}$	*ĩ=ra*	*	*	✓	✓
	'with what'	*ĩ=yo*	*	*	✓	✓
'where'		*pi-ah*	✓	✓	✓	✓
		pi=kan	✓	✓	✓	✓
'when'	'when' (past)	*ĩ=kawar*	*	*	✓	*
	'when' (perfective/future)	*ã=hĩ*	*	*	✓	*
	'at what time'	*ã-pe=ri*	*	*	✓	✓
'how'		*ĩ=kan(-ka)*	*	*	✓	n/a
'why'		*ĩ=reʃ*	*	*	*	*
'what'/'which'		*pi-ah=ra*	*	*	✓	✓
'how much'/ 'how many'		*piʃ*	*	*	✓	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; n/a: data not available.

Ex-FRs and FC-FRs show a relevant difference according to the role of the *wh*-expression: in Ex-FRs, the enclitic case of the *wh*-expression marks the role of the *wh*-expression in the FR, whereas in FC-FRs, the enclitic case of the *wh*-expression marks the role of the FR in the matrix clause.

4.2. Headless Relative Clauses That Lack a *Wh*-expression

In headless relative clauses that lack a *wh*-expression, a case marker or else the topic marker is found to the right edge of the RC, as in headed relative clauses that lack *wh*-expressions (see §3). Two types will be described: first, light-headed relative clauses (§4.2.1), and second, headless relatives without a light head or a *wh*-expression (§4.2.2).

4.2.1. Light-Headed Relative Clauses

Light-headed relative clauses (LHRs) behave like headed relative clauses that lack *wh*-expressions (§3). The enclitic that occurs at the end of an LHR may be a case marker or the topic marker. When the light head is a genitive or an argument in the LHR, the enclitic corresponds to the syntactic role of the light head in the matrix clause (MC), as comitative/instrumental, seen in (79).

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Medial demonstrative 'toʔ': Subject in the LHR; Instrumental in the MC:
(79) tóʔ tàkàtʃùwáyó kàtũ̀ʃkáwá

    [**toʔ**   ta-ka-tʃa-i-wa]=**yo**   katũʃ-k-a-wa

    DEM.MED   OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV=COM/INS   work-K-SBJ1SG-PFV

    'I work with the one I have always worked with.'   {txt}

   If the light head functions as the genitive and the subject in the LHR, the marker =*ma* is used, as seen in (80), (81). In such a context, this marker does not indicate the topic, as no opposition with focus is possible. The alignment in light-headed relatives is nominative-accusative (see §3 for headed relative clauses and Chamoreau, forthcoming.b). The marker =*ma* is the nominative marker and it is used unambiguously for the subject and the genitive.

Distal demonstrative 'ã': Subject in the LHR and in the MC:
(80) ã̀ tőʃkũ̀mārề pàtàsyã́hí::

    [**ã**   ta-õʃ-k-Ø-wa]=**ma=re**   pa-tas=yã=hi

    DEM.DIST MID-lose-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=NOM=? INCL-PRO1=LOC=COP.SBJ3SG.PFV

    'What has been lost (i.e., the Pesh language) has been lost with you (i.e., your generation).' {txt}

Medial demonstrative 'toʔ': Genitive in the LHR; Subject in the MC:
(81) tóʔ àwã̀rí kàʔyèʔímà àsìrà éɲẽpé

    [**toʔ**   a-wãri   Ø-kaʔ-yeʔ-Ø-i]=ma   a-sira   eɲa

    DEM.MED POSS3SG-pig OBJ3SG-make-small-SBJ3SG-PFV=NOM   POSS3SG-food good

    Ø-ã-Ø-pi

    OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ3SG-FUT

    'The one whose sow gave birth will eat well.'

The three demonstrative pronouns, medial *toʔ*, as in (81), distal *ã*, as in (80), and proximal *ĩ*, as in (82), can function as light heads.

Proximal demonstrative 'ĩ': Subject in the LHR; Manner in the MC:
(82)   ãɲã ĩtʃííkàn sài

    [ã=yã   **ĩ**   tʃa-i-i]=**kan**   sa=i

    DEM.DIST=LOC   DEM.PROX be_there-SBJ3SG-PST=SIM   rock=COP.SBJ3SG.PFV

    'What seems to be here is a stone.'   {txt}

Light heads are generally demonstratives; cf. (80)-(82). The quantifier 'all', seen in (83), and the numeral 'one', in (84), can also introduce LHRs, but these elements are very infrequent.

Quantifier 'krih' ('all'): Object in the LHR and in the MC:
(83)   kètʃá krìh tùhúrímà ã̀ʔáʃí

    [ketʃa   **krih** Ø-tuh-u-ri]=ma   Ø-ãʔ-a-ʃi

    yesterday   all   OBJ3SG-cook-SBJ2-PST=TOP OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG-PST.REC

    'I ate all (the things) you cooked yesterday.'   {txt}

Numeral 'as' ('one'): Subject in the LHR; Instrumental in the MC:
(84) kàpákàpá ás tàkàt͡ʃ ̀ùáyó kàtṹʃkáwá

    [kapakapa   **as**   ta-ka-t͡ʃa-Ø-wa]=**yo**   katũʃ-k-a-wa

    always   one OBJ1-APPL.R-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV=COM/INS work-K-SBJ1SG-PFV

    'I work with the one (machete) that I have always had.'   {txt}

   The light head usually has the role of an argument (or genitive) in the LHR, as seen in (79)-(84), but occasionally it can have another role, as in (85), (86). In this context, the marker corresponds to the syntactic role of the light head in the LHR.

Medial demonstrative 'toʔ': Comitative in the LHR; Object in the MC:
(85) tóʔ tèʔkúríyó kàhírtáwá

    [toʔ   te?-k-u-ri=**yo**]   ka-hir-a-tV-wa

    DEM.MED   come-K-SBJ2-PST=COM/INS   OBJ3PL-know-SBJ1SG-NEG-PFV

    'I don't know (that one) with whom you came.' {txt}

Proximal demonstrative 'ĩ': Manner in the LHR; topicalized subject in the MC:
(86) ĩ kàtùhúkánmà tàhtétwá

    [ĩ   Ø-ka-tuh-u-wa=**kan**=**ma**]   ta-hte-Ø-tV-wa

    DEM.PROX   OBJ3SG-APPL.R-cook-SBJ2-PFV=SIM=TOP   OBJ1SG-like-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV

    'I don't like this way you cook it.' {txt}

   For LHRs, the accessibility to different roles is wide: the only role that has not been found is the locative; cf. (87a). In example (87b) the combination of the proximal demonstrative and the locative case *ĩyã* means 'here'. The resulting construction is the headless relative clause in (87c), which will be discussed in §4.2.2.

(87) a. ĩ t͡ʃàúɲãtèʔkí

       *[ĩ   t͡ʃa-a-wa=yã]   te?-k-Ø-i

      * DEM.PROX   be_there-SBJ1SG-PFV=LOC   come-K-SBJ3SG-PST

     ['He came to the place where I am.']

    b. ĩyã́ t͡ʃàúɲãtèʔkí

       [ĩ=yã   t͡ʃa-a-wa=yã]   te?-k-Ø-i

       DEM.PROX=LOC be_there-SBJ1SG-PFV=LOC   come-K-SBJ3SG-PST

      'He came here where I am.'

    c. t͡ʃàúɲãtèʔkí

       [t͡ʃa-a-wa=yã]   te?-k-Ø-i

       be_there-SBJ1SG-PFV=LOC   come-K-SBJ3SG-PST

      'He came where I am.'

Table 8 shows the accessibility to different roles for light-headed RCs.

Table 8. Accessibility for relativization to different syntactic roles in LHRs

Strategy	SBJ	OBJ (1º/2º)	GEN	INS	COM	MAN	LOC
LHRs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; OBJ (1º/2º): primary and secondary objects.

4.2.2. Headless Relative Clauses Without a Light Head or *Wh*-expression

In headless relative clauses without a light head or *wh*-expression (Ø-HRs), a case or topic marker occurs in clause-final position. This is a very frequent strategy used for definite-like maximal headless relative clauses. Various types of syntactic role are possible, as shown in (88)-(94):

Subject in the Ø-HR and in the MC:
(88)   kàpáʃkúmà tàyèʔí
    [kapaʃ-k-Ø-wa=**ma**]   ta-yeʔ=i
    speak-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=NOM[9] POSS1-small=COP.SBJ3SG.PFV
    'The one who is speaking is my daughter.'   {txt}

Object in the Ø-HR and in the MC:
(89)   tùhúrímà ã̀ʔáʃí
    [Ø-tuh-u-ri=**ma**]   Ø-ã̀ʔ-a-ʃi
    OBJ3SG-cook-SBJ2-PST=TOP   OBJ3SG-eat-SBJ1SG-PST.REC
    'I ate what you cooked.' {txt}

Object in the Ø-HR and in the MC:
(90)   ɲẽ̀herìrà kàrɲāwĩ̀
    [Ø-yẽh-er-i=**ra**]   Ø-ka-er-i=na=wĩ
    OBJ3SG-say-SBJ3PL-PST=ACC   OBJ3SG-make-SBJ3PL-PST=REP=long_ago
    'Long ago, they said that they made what they said.'   {txt}

Comitative in the Ø-HR and in the MC:
(91)   wíʔtúpíríyó wíʔtúrí
    [wiʔ-t-u-pi-ri=**yo**]   wiʔ-t-u-ri
    dance-DUR-SBJ2-FUT-PST=COM/INS   dance-DUR-SBJ2-PST
    'You danced with the one you were going to dance with.'   {txt}

Instrumental in the Ø-HR; object in the MC:
(92)   tàyèʔ kàtṹʃkúyó àkìṍh kàárí
    [ta-yeʔ   katũ̀ʃ-k-i-wa=**yo**]   akiõh Ø-ka-a-ri
    POSS1-small work-K-SBJ3SG-PFV=COM/INS edge OBJ3SG-make-SBJ1SG-PST
    'I sharpened the one that my son uses to work with.' {txt}

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[9] The alignment is nominative-accusative as for headed relative clauses and light-headed relative clauses.

Manner in the Ø-HR; object in the MC:
(93) kàtùhúkán tàhtétwá
  [Ø-ka-tuh-u-wa=**kan**]   ta-hte-Ø-tV-wa
  OBJ3SG-APPL.R-cook-SBJ2-PFV=SIM   OBJ1SG-like-SBJ3SG-NEG-PFV
  'I don't like the way you cook it.'   {txt}

Locative in the Ø-HR; object in the MC:
(94) tʃóríyǽ tʃ̀àbrí
  [tʃa-u-ri=**yã**]   Ø-tʃã-ber-i
  be_there-SBJ2-PST=LOC   OBJ3SG-see-SBJ1PL.EXCL-PST
  'We saw where you were born.'   {txt}

   The accessibility to different roles is different for Ø-HRs than LHRs. As with the examples in (87), the locative is not available for LHRs, but it is for Ø-HRs, as seen in (94). Conversely, the genitive is available for LHRs but not for Ø-HRs, as seen in (95a). This is probably due to the fact that in Ø-HRs, the possessor cannot be expressed. For this case, my informants proposed a LHR, namely (95b).

(95) a. *àkákì ò̀:nímà carboɲã àsùwáyó nèt̃ʃúá
      [a-kaki   õ-n-Ø-i]=ma   Carbon=yã
      POSS3SG-mother   sleep-DUR-SBJ3SG-PST=NOM   Carbon=LOC
      a-suwa=yo   nã-tʃa-Ø-wa
      POSS3SG-grandmother=COM/INS   go-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
      ['(The one) whose mother died is going to live in Carbon with his grandmother.']

   b. tóʔ àkákì ò̀:nímà carboɲã àsùwáyó nèt̃ʃúá
      [**toʔ**   a-kaki   õ-n-Ø-i]=ma   Carbon=yã
      DEM.MED   POSS3SG-mother   sleep-DUR-SBJ3SG-PST=NOM   Carbon=LOC
      a-suwa=yo   nã-tʃa-Ø-wa
      POSS3SG-grandmother=COM/INS   go-be_there-SBJ3SG-PFV
      'The one whose mother died is going to live in Carbon with his grandmother.'

Table 9 shows the accessibility to different roles for Ø-RCs.

Table 9.

Accessibility for relativization to different syntactic roles in Ø-HRs

Strategy	SBJ	OBJ (1º/2º)	GEN	INS	COM	MAN	LOC
∅-HRs	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; OBJ (1º/2º): primary and secondary objects.

5. Conclusion

Pesh possesses two types of headless relative constructions: the first type, free relative clauses, uses a *wh*-expression at the left edge and a subordinator at the right edge of the RC. This construction manifests itself in three subtypes: maxima, existential, and free-choice FRs. Its structure is similar to that of headed relative clauses with a *wh*-word. The second type of headless relative clauses—LHRs

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and Ø-HRs—lacks a *wh*-expression and may or may not contain a light head; here the topic marker rather than a subordinator is found at the right edge of the construction. Tables 10 and 11 compare the two types with respect to their accessibility to different syntactic roles. The higher frequency of headless relatives without *wh*-expression correlates with the higher frequency headed relative clauses without *wh*-expression.

Table 10. Free relative clauses: Accessibility to syntactic roles by means of a *wh*-expression

Construction		SBJ	OBJ (1º/2º)	GEN	INS	COM	MAN	LOC	QUANT	REAS	TEMP
Headed RCs		*	*	*	*	*	*	✓	*	*	*
FRs	Max.	*	*	*	*	*	*	✓	*	*	*
	Ex.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
	FC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	n/a	✓	✓	*	*/✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; n/a: data not available.

Table 11. LHRs and Ø-HRs: Accessibility to syntactic roles without using a *wh*-expression

Construction	SBJ	OBJ (1º/2º)	GEN	INS	COM	MAN	LOC
Headed RCs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
LHRs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
Ø-HRs	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note. ✓: acceptable; *: not acceptable; OBJ (1º/2º): primary and secondary objects.

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