**A Description of Relative Clauses in Dzə[[1]](#footnote-1)**

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**1. Introduction**

* This talk gives a preliminary description of relative clauses in Dzə, an understudied Adamawa language

1. ìbwí [nɨ̀ n bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́]

man [rel 1sg see \_\_ prt rel]

“The man I saw.”

* Goals for the talk:
* Highlight some core properties of relative clauses in Adamawa languages
* Provide a preliminary description of relative clauses in Dzə
* Provide a discussion of *kə̀*, which appears in most relative clauses
* Key observations:
* Relative clauses in Dzə share many commonalities with relative clauses in other Adamawa languages, including being postnominal and externally headed.
* Relative clauses are “doubly-marked” in Dzə as well as other Adamawa languages
* *Kə̀* patterns like a marker of A-bar movement, which has been observed in other languages of West Africa (Torrence 2012, Georgi 2017)

Roadmap:

1. Introduction

2. Relative clauses in Adamawa languages

3. Relative clauses in Dzə

4. Five basic properties of Dzə relative clauses

5. The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

6. The presence of resumptive

7. The distribution of *kə̀* in Dzə relative clauses

8. What is *kə̀*?

9. Summary and Conclusion

**1.1. Language background**

* Dzə, also called Jen, Jenjo, and Janjo, belongs to the Adamawa subgroup of the Niger-Congo family.
* Jen cluster languages (Norton & Othaniel 2020), also known under the terms Burak-Jen (Bennett 1983) and Bikwin-Jen (Kleinewillinghöfer 1996).
* The language has approximately 100,000 speakers as of 2014 according to Ethnologue (Eberhard, Gary & Fennig (2022).
* The data came from my judgment as a native speaker and elicitation from family and friends.

**2. Relative clause in Adamawa languages**

* Our review of several works of literature on Adamawa language relative clauses reveals the following commonalities:
* Postnominal and externally headed
* Doubly marked
* Markers are related to/derived from demonstrative pronouns

***2.1 Postnominal and externally headed***

* The nominal head of the relative clause in Adamawa languages is outside of the relative clause and also precedes the relative clause as in Mbum an (Adamawa-Eastern, Cameroon) and Mambay an (Adamawa-Ubangi Cameroon & Chad)
* *úì* “woman” is the head of the relative clause and it occurs outside of the relative clause in (2) which is also the same for *ʔîg*“thing” in (3).

1. **úì** [àí mì záŋzáŋ́ nú**]** bèlbél

**woman** [rel I met det/rel] is beautiful

“The woman I have met is beautiful.”

*(Mbum, Adamawa-Eastern, Cameroon, Hagège 1971:334 cited in Hagège 1979:199)*

1. mį̀ kó **ʔîg** [nàá Ø pá-lé]

1sg see:pfv **thing:lf** [rel 3:pfv happen:pfv-3sg.refl]

“I see what (lit. the thing that) happened”

*(Mambay, Adamawa-Ubangi Cameroon & Chad; Anonby 2008: 446)*

***2.2 Doubly marked Relative Clause***

* Researchers have reported instances of double marking of relativizers in Adamawa languages (Thomas, 1963; Hagège, 1976; Anonby, 2008; Lesage 2020).
* Doubly marked relative clauses mean the relativizers appear at the beginning and the end of the relative clause

1. àɲá [**ā** ꜜgá ꜜtábí kár **ȃ]**

person **[rel** trap.pfv fish keep **rel]**

“The person that caught fish.”

*(Kam, Adamawa Central Eastern, Nigeria; Lesage 2020:209)*

1. tuga mi gə nii fulon kɛltɨn [**nɨ** nə nəl taal

grandfather my 3s.ipfv give.me news talks **[rel** give heart fear

prog **ɨ**]

lɛ **dep**

“My grandfather would give me a story that would frighten me (lit. be giving heart fear).”

*(Dadiya, Adamawa Northeastern Nigeria, Dettweiler, 2021:41)*

***2.3 Markers are demonstrative pronouns***

* The relative clause markers often are recruited from demonstrative pronoun series, elsewhere in the language, as in (6) for Kam. Compare with (4) above

1. ɲí lɛ́b ə́ꜜʃe **â**

person in bush **this**

“The person in this bush.”

*(Kam, Adamawa Central Eastern, Nigeria; Lesage 2020)*

* There is variation in the occurrence of the double marking relativizers
* Mbum relative clauses are marked by two distinct deictics *àí…nú*
* Kam relative clauses are marked with nearly identical relativizers *ā... â* different tone
* Dadiya relative clauses are marked with *nɨ…-I.* Theaffix *-I* (with allomorphs *-i* and *-ɨ*) appears on all subordinate clauses.

***2.4. Interim summary:***

* Adamawa languages typically employ postnominal and externally headed relative clauses
* Relative clauses in Adamawa languages are characterized by double marking, and the markers used in relative clauses are related to demonstrative pronouns
* Variation exists in the doubly marked relativizers, which can be either distinct or nearly identical often with tonal distinctions
* The next section discusses the relative clauses in Dzə.

**3. Relative clause in Dzə**

* Example (7) provides a baseline for a clause in Dzə

*Baseline*

1. Anna bə́ ìbwí dè

Anna see man DEF

“Anna saw the man.”

*Relative clause*

* The direct object in (7) can be relativized in (8)

1. **ìbwí dè** [nɨ́ Anne bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́]

**man def** [rel Anne see \_\_ prt rel]

“The man whom Anne saw.”

* We note here the presence of the particle *kə̀*, which you will see in all of the following examples of RCs. We’ll return to this morpheme in section 7.

**4. Five basic properties of Dzə Relative Clauses**

* Relative clauses in Dzə have five morphosyntactic features

***4.1. Postnominal and externally headed***

* The relative clauses in Dzə adhere to an externally headed structure for their antecedent noun phrases, with the relative clauses being postnominal.

1. ìbwí dè **[nɨ́ \_\_ jí kə̀ də́rò dè nɨ́]**

man def **[rel \_\_ steal prt book det rel]**

“The man who stole the book.”

***4.2. Doubly-marked*- *nɨ́***

* Similar to other Adamawa languages, Dzə exhibits the characteristic of double marking in its relative clauses, employing the morpheme *nɨ́* in both places.
* (10) & (11) provide examples of a subject relative clause and an object relative clause, showing that there is no difference in marking or order

1. ìbwí dè [**nɨ́** \_\_ bə́ kə̀ Sarah **nɨ́**]

man def **[rel** \_\_ see prt Sarah **rel]**

“The man who saw Sarah.”

1. ìbwí dè [**nɨ́** sarah bə́ \_\_ kə̀ **nɨ́**]

man def **[rel** sarah see \_\_ prt **rel]**

“The man who Sarah saw.”

*4****.3. Nɨ́ as a demonstrative pronoun***

* The marker *nɨ́* can also appear as a demonstrative pronoun. It is the proximal demonstrative.

1. ìbwí nɨ́

man this

“This man.”

1. kə́ nɨ́

tree this

“This tree.”

* Note that there is a distal demonstrative *lé* which is not a relative marker.

1. ìbwí lé

man that

“That man.”

1. kə́ lé

tree that

“That tree.”

* We cannot have *lé* as a relativizer.

1. \*də̀ró dè [**lé** Filli sǎ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

book def [**dem** Filli read \_\_ prt rel]

“Intended: the book that Filli read”

* We can have a demonstrative followed by a relative clause, but it cannot be the same demonstrative
* The relativizer *nɨ̀* is different from the demonstrative *nɨ̀* as observed in example (10) above.

1. ìbwí **lé** [nɨ̀ bɨ̀ bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

man **dem** [rel 3pl see \_\_ prt rel]

“That man that we saw.”

1. \*ìbwí **nɨ̀** **[nɨ̀** bɨ̀ bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

man **dem** [**rel** 3pl see \_\_ prt rel]

“Intended: this man that we saw”

***4.4 Ordering with DP elements***

* When the head noun is further modified by e.g., an adjective or determiner, the relative clause always occurs finally.

*Bare noun*

* Noun only

1. ìbwí [nɨ́ Fillah bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́] sǎ də́rò

man [rel Fillah see \_\_ prt rel] read book

“The man that Fillah saw read a book.”

*Definite marker*

* Noun with definite marker

1. **ìbwí** **dè** [nɨ́ Fillah bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́] sǎ də́rò

**man** **def** [rel Fillah see \_\_ rp rel] read book

“The man that Fillah saw read a book.”

*Adjective*

* Noun with an adjective

1. **ìbwí** **āmwílɨ̀** [nɨ́ Anna bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́] sǎ də́rò

**man** **fat** [rel Anna see \_\_ rp rel] read book

“The fat man that Anna saw read a book.”

***4.5. TAM in relative clauses***

* There is a restriction on some aspectual markers inside relative clauses in Dzə such as *jə́ŋ* “completive” is restricted inside relative clauses
* Verb doubling in the future tense is not permitted in relative clauses
* *Jə́ŋ* has been glossed as completive in Othaniel (2016) and Benson (2018); as an assertive perfective marker in Othaniel (2020).
* *Jə́ŋ* seems to indicate perfective and past action, but it is aspectual.
* Example (22) provides a baseline for a simple clause with the completive *jə́ŋ*.

1. kə̀ bwí **jə́ŋ**

tree die **compl**

“A tree died.”

* Example (23) shows a restriction inside of relatives clauses.

1. kə̀ nɨ̀ \_\_ bwí kə **(\*jə́ŋ)** nɨ̀

tree REL \_\_ die prt **compl** rel

“The tree that died.”

* Example (24) provides the baseline for a clause containing a future tense. In the future, the verb is doubled around the object, in addition to the irrealis *n* pre-verbal element.

1. mì n **dӡə́** də̀ró **dӡə́**

1sg.obj irr **buy** book **buy**

“I will buy a book.”

* In the relative clause, future verb-doubling is not permitted, but *n* is still required

1. də̀ró [nɨ̀ mì n dӡə́ \_\_ **(\*dӡə́)** kə̀ **(\*dӡə́)** nɨ̀]

book [rel 1sg.obj irr buy \_\_ **buy prt (\*buy)** rel]

“The book that I will buy. ”

**5. The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy**

* Any position can be extracted, but resumptive pronouns manifest in certain positions.

*Subject relativization*

* The argument at the subject position can be relativized

1. **ìbwì dè** [nɨ́ \_\_ sɨ̄ n jídì kə̀ Fiyidi nɨ́]

**man det** [rel \_\_ prog irr like prt Fiyidi rel]

“The man that is liking Fiyidi”

1. **íbwí** [nɨ́ \_\_ d͡ʒə́ kə̀ fánɨŋ dè nɨ́]

**man** [rel \_\_ buy prt farm def rel]

“The man who bought the farm.”

*Object relativization*

* The argument at the object position can be relativized

1. **ìbw**í **dè** [nɨ́ Fillah bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́]

**man det** [rel Fillah see \_\_ prt rel]

“The man that Fillah saw.”

1. ò kə́ **fánɨŋ** [nɨ́ ò d͡ʒə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ́]

3.sg.sub clear **farm** [rel 3.sg.sub buy \_\_ prt rel]

“He cleared the farm that he bought. ”

*Oblique relativization*

* An oblique object can be extracted, but note that there is a resumptive pronoun, which we discuss next

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ n nə́ **(kə̀)** bì bè **wə̄** nɨ̀] dɨ́

man det [rel 1sg talk **prt** speech with **rp** rel] cop

ìfɨ̀ɲínāsɨ̀nɨ́ŋ

teacher

“The man that I spoke with is a teacher.”

**6. The presence of a resumptive pronoun**

* A resumptive pronoun in Dzə is required in three contexts:
* When the possessor is relativized, regardless of animacy
* When the object of a preposition is relativized and the antecedent is animate
* When an animate indirect object is relativized in a double object construction

*Possessor relativization*

* The genitive marker *və̀* shows possession in Dzə. It occurs between two nouns to indicate possession as seen in (31) with *və̀* appearing between the possessor and the possessum

*Baseline*

* Example (31) provides a baseline of a possessive structure

1. Fillah jí nǎ və̀ ìmwə̄ lè jə́ŋ

Fillah know mother gen child dem compl

“Fillah knows that child’s mother.”

* The possessor in (31) can be relativized in (32), again with a resumptive strategy
* **Wō** in (32) is a portmanteau form of the resumptive pronoun, presumably the combination of *və̀* and *wə̄*

1. ìmwə̄ dè [nɨ́ Fillah jí kə̀ nǎ **wō** nɨ́] d͡ʒúmwə̄hè

child def [rel Fillah know prt mother **poss.rp** rel] beautiful

mánì

very

“The child whose mother Fillah knows is very beautiful.”

* (33) provides an example of an inanimate possessor which must be resumed

1. kə́ [nɨ̀ n mwə kə̀ jáŋ **wə̄** nɨ̀] hĩ mánì

tree [rel 1sg hold prt leaf **rp** rel] beautiful very

“The tree whose leaves I touched is beautiful.”

*Oblique relativization*

* In (34) when the animate object of a preposition is extracted, we get a resumptive pronoun *wə̄*

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ́ Fillah nə́ **(kə̀)** bi bé \*(**wə̄)** nɨ́] sǎ də̀rò

man det [rel Flilah talk prt speech with **rp** rel]read book

"The man that Fillah talked with read a book.”

(35) provides the example of an inanimate object of preposition being relativized. Here a resumptive is not possible.

1. kə́ [nɨ̀ Fillah gbə kə̀ tè be (\***wə̄)** kə̀ nɨ]

stick [rel Fillah hit prt rock with **rp** prt rel]

“The stick that Fillah hit the rock with.”

*In double object construction*

* Example (36) shows a basic baseline for double-object construction.

*Baseline*

1. n tə́ ìjé dè ìmwə̄

1sg gave woman def child

“I gave the woman a child.”

* Both the direct and indirect objects can be extracted
* When a direct object is relativized, no resumptive is possible as observed in (37) & (38)

1. ìmwə̄ [nɨ́ n tə́ kə̀ ìjé dè **(\*wə̄)** nɨ́]

child rel 1sg give prt woman def **rp** rel]

“The child I gave the woman.”

1. də́rò dè [nɨ́ n tə̀ kə̀ Fiyidi **(\*wə̄)** nɨ́]

book def [rel 1sg gave prt Fiyidi **rp** rel]

“The book that I gave Fiyidi.”

* When the indirect object is relativized, as in (39) & (40), then a resumptive is required

1. ìjé dè [nɨ́ n tə́ \*(**wə̄)** kə̀ ìmwə̄ nɨ́]

woman def [rel 1sg give **rp** prt child rel]

“The woman I gave a child to.”

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ́ Fillah d͡ʒə̄ \*(**wə̄)** sɨ́lə̄ lə̄ kə̀ nɨ́]

man def [rel Fillah buy **rp** trouser exist prt rel]

“The man that Fillah bought trousers for.”

**6.1. Summary table: presence of resumptive**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Subject** | > | **Object** | > | **Indirect Object** | > | **Oblique** | > | **Possessor** |
| No resumptive possible | | |  | Resumptive required if animate | | |  | Resumptive required |

* Subjects and objects cannot be resumed by a pronoun in an RC. All other grammatical roles must have a resumptive pronoun if the head is animate.

**7. The distribution of *kə̀* in Dzə relative clauses**

* Almost every example so far contains *kə̀* which often occurs next to the verb in a relative clause.
* It is not resumptive, because we have shown in (32), (33) & (34) what a resumptive pronoun is and they can co-occur with *kə̀* as observed in (34)
* *Kə̀* appears in almost all the relative clauses, and it is not available in the main clauses, (41).

1. Fiyidi bə́ **(\*kə̀)** ìbwí dè **(\*kə̀)**

Fiyidi see prt man def prt

“Fiyidi saw the man.”

* *Kə̀* occurs almost always directly after the verb, but not always as in (42)

1. ìjé [nɨ́ Fillah gbə́ɥwə bè wə̄ **kə̀** nɨ̀]

woman [rel Fillah fight with rp **prt** rel]

“The woman that Fillah fought with (lit. the woman that Fillah fought with her).”

* However, not every relative clause has to have *kə̀* as in (30) and (35) above and (43) below in which *kə̀* are optional.

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ́ \_\_ sɨ n nə́ **(kə̀)** bì tã̄tã̄ nɨ́]

man def [rel \_\_ prog irr talk prt speech slowly rel]

“The man that is speaking slowly.”

* The optionality of *kə̀* appears sensitive to the information structure inside of the relative clause
  + Without the *kə̀*, the reading is that there is additional “focus” on the adverb *tã̄tã̄* ‘slowly’: ‘The man spoke **slowly** (not fast)’.
* We can have two *kə̀* inside of a relative clause as in (44) when the verb has an inherent complement (i.e., a cognate object) and there is extraction out of a prepositional phrase, as observed in (44)

1. ìjé [nɨ́ Buba bwə **kə̀** də́ŋ bè wə̄ **kə̀** nɨ́]

woman [rel Buba dance prt dance with rp prt rel]

“The woman that Buba danced with (lit. the woman that Buba danced with her.”

* You can get multiple *kə̀* when you relativize out of an embedded clause, but only the bottom *kə̀* is required as observed in (45)

1. və̀ dè [nɨ́ n li **(kə)** Fillah kjẽ **(kə)** sǎ Fiyidi

house def [rel 1sg hear prt Fillah think prt comp Fiyidi

bə \_\_ **\*(kə)** nɨ́]

see \_\_ prt rel

“The house that I heard that Fillah thinks that Fiyidi saw.”

**8. What is *kə̀*?**

* We hypothesize that *kə̀* is a reflex of A-bar movement. Similar phenomena have been noted in other West African languages like Wolof (Torrence 2012) and Ewe, Duala, and Bùlì, etc (Georgi 2017).[[3]](#footnote-3)
* In support, we find *kə̀* in other cases of A-bar movement, like topicalization, shown in (47).
* (46) provides the baseline for the topicalization in (47)

1. n bə́ də̀rò dè

1sg see book def

“I saw the book.”

1. də̀ró dè n bə́ \_\_ **kə̀** nɨ̀

book def 1sg see \_\_ prt rel

“The book, I saw.”

**9. Summary and conclusions**

In this talk, we’ve provided an overview of relative clauses in Adamawa languages, highlighting some shared features

* Postnominal
* Doubly-marked
* Relative marker is a demonstrative

Specifically, for Dzə, in addition to the above, we observed that:

* There are restrictions on tense and aspect in the relative clause
* Argument extraction is fairly free, but sometimes a resumptive is required, depending on the grammatical role of the argument being extracted and animacy.
* The morpheme *kə̀* is hypothesized to be a marker of A-bar movement; further research on this is ongoing.

Thank you!

**Abbreviation**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1SG | First Person Singular |
| 3SG | Third Person singular |
| 3SG | Third Person Plural |
| COMPL | Completive |
| COP | Copula |
| DEF | Definite |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DET | Determiner |
| DEP | dependent |
| EXIST | Existential |
| GEN | Genitive |
| IPFV | Imperfective |
| IRR | Irrealis |
| LF | Linked form |
| OBJ | Object |
| POSS | Possessive |
| PRES | Present tense |
| PROG | progressive |
| PRT | Particle |
| REL | Relativizer |
| RP | Resumptive |

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**Appendix 1**

**Types of Relative Clauses in Dzə**

In Dzə, both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses exhibit identical structures and no differences in the structure.

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ́ \_\_ Fibemi sɨ̄ n jídì kə̀ nɨ́]

man det [rel \_\_ Fibemi prog irr know prt rel]

“The man that Fibemi is liking”

The clause presented in (2) is commonly categorized as a nonrestrictive clause in Dzə. It is noteworthy that the syntactic structure of this nonrestrictive closely resembles that of the restrictive clause above.

1. n bə́ Fibemi [nɨ́ \_\_ pè nɨ́ŋpèkū káhyɛ̃̀ nɨ́]

1sg see Fibemi [rel \_\_ wear hat red rel]

“I saw Fibemi who wore a red hat.”

The next section will show the diagnostics for movement in Dzə relative clauses. This shows the diagnostics taken as an indication of movement (Zeller, 2005; Cheng, 2009). The following are the islands possible in Dzə.

**Long-distance dependency**

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ n lí kə̀ Fila bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

man det [rel 1sg hear prt Fila see \_\_ prt rel]

“The man that I heard that Fila saw.”

The antecedent *ìbwí d*è "the man" is the object of the verb *bə́* “see“. That shows that the object of the verb “see“ moved to its current position creating a gap it moved from. It is at the front of the clause rather than the object position.

All other tests below rely on there being a long-distance dependency.

**Complex NP island**

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ Anne bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀] sǎ də́rò

man det [rel Anne see \_\_ prt rel] read book

“The man that Anne saw read a book.”

1. \*ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ n lì bì dè nɨ̀ Anne bə́ kə̀ nɨl]

man det [rel 1sg hear story det rel Anne see prt rel]

sa dəro

read book

\*“the man that I heard the story that Anne saw read a book“

**Wh-island**

1. \*ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ Fila bípɨ̀ dɨ́wə̄ bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀] sǎ də́rò

man det [rel Fila ask who see \_\_ prt rel read book

\*“The man that Fila ask who saw read a book.”

**Adjunct island**

1. \*ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ n tə́ lòmwè hèbìlə́ Anne bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

man det [rel I go market before Anne see \_\_ prt rel] sǎ də̀ró

read book

“The man that I went to the market before Anne saw read a book.”

**Weak Crossover**

1. \*ìbwídèi [nɨ̀ tǎwōi bə́ \_\_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

man det [rel father 3ob.sg see \_\_ prt rel]

“\*The mani that hisi father saw.”

*“the mani*” and *“hisi*” cannot refer to the same person here. It is bad on the reading *“the man whose father saw”* compare with *“the man that was seen by his father”*. The clause has a Weak Crossover violation which makes it ungrammatical.

**Parasitic gap**

1. ìbwí dè [nɨ̀ à bə́ \_\_ kə̀ hèbìlə́ à tsə́\_ kə̀ və̀

man det [rel 2sg see \_\_ prt before 2sg marry prt house

nɨ̀] bwí jə́ŋ

rel] die compl

“The man you saw before you married is dead.”

Based on the tests above we established that relative clauses in Dzə are formed by A‘ movement. Now, that we have established that there is an A‘ movement in Dzə. It is time to determine what moved, we did the reconstruction tests according to (Sportiche 2006, Barrs 2001). This will enable us to trace the structure of the embedded clauses to a higher clause. This test helps determine whether an element moved or is generated in its observed position. This will provide insights into the underlying syntactic structure of Dzə relative clauses and the sentences at large.

**6.6 Reconstruction tests**

In (10) *bì dè kùwə̄* was at the gap.

**6.6.1 Anaphora**

1. bì dèi kùwə̄i [nɨ̀ Fila jípɨ́ \_\_ nɨ̀] dɨ́ Fiyidi ja

talk det herself [rel Fila know \_\_ rel] cop Fiyidi spread

“The rumor about herself that Fila knows is spread by Fiyidi.”

The constituent *bì dè k̀uwə̄* “the rumor about herself” was at the gap or reconstructed below Fila. This shows *bì dè k̀uwə̄* “the rumor about herself“ started lower before it moved higher. This chunk was bound at the lower position before it moved. This is interpreted as reconstruction. This movement still maintains coherence and connects information.

**6.6.2 Variable Binding**

In (11) we have the bound variable interpretation, in its surface position it must be bound because the co-varying reading is present. *Də́r*ò wō "his book" must be below *kē ìmwə̄ hɛ̃́* “every child“. which shows that there is reconstruction.

1. də̀rówōi [nɨ̀ kē ìmwə̄i hɛ̃́ sǎ \_ kə̀ nɨ̀]

book his [rel every child all read \_ prt rel]

“His book that every child read.”

*Də́r*ò wō "his book" moved from the below the CP.

**6.6.3 Scope**

In (12) there are two readings. In (12a), the interpretation is that three women squeeze themselves to sit in two chairs because there was not enough chair for each of them. The context is that two women were invited to an event and they both brought another woman for the event so there were two chairs for the three of them to share. Three of them have to share two chairs. They brought the two chairs together and the three of them sat on them.

1. a. è Kə́àkúlɨ́ bwə́ŋ [nɨ̀ è ìjé bwātə́ kú kù wə̄ nɨ̀]

pl chair two [rel pl woman three sit on 3obj rel]

“The two chairs that three women sat in.”

Can be scope reconstructed as (12b) below. The interpretation and context of (12b) is that “the three women who sat on two chairs” has the sense that each of the three women had two chairs to sit on. They have a total of six chairs.

b. è ìjé bwātə́ [nɨ̀ kú kù è kə́àkúlɨ́ bwə́ŋ nɨ̀]

pl woman three [rel sit on pl chair two rel]

“The three women who sat on two chairs.”

According to the result of the reconstruction tests, relative clauses in Dzə show a connectivity effect(**=reconstruction**).

1. We choose to use the spelling “Dzə” for the language in question here. Elsewhere (e.g., Ethnoloque), the conventionalized spelling is “Dza.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Thanks to participants in the Field Methods class at the University of Kansas in Spring 2023, and particularly Jamie Hudson for their help with this project. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See the appendix where we show that relative clauses have A-bar movement in Dzə. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)