

The Prosody of Shingazidja Relatives

Cédric Patin

Laboratoire Savoirs, Textes, Langage
(UMR 8168 – Université Lille 3)

cedric.patin@gmail.com

The Prosody and Syntax of Bantu Relative clauses

Workshop – January 9 2010

GOAL OF THE TALK

- Provide some new data on the prosody of Shingazidja relative clauses and compare the results with previous studies on other Bantu languages

(Special) thanks:

Ibrahim Barwane (da guinea pig)
Sophie Manus (da workin' partner)

Thanks to Lisa Selkirk for some usefull comments

Data was inspired by Laura Downing & Al Mtenje's analysis of Chicheŵa relatives

SynPhoni

1

OUTLINE

- Part 1 – Background
- Part 2 – Tone & phrasing in basic restrictive relative clauses
- Part 3 – Tone & phrasing in complex restrictive relative clauses
- Part 4 – Non-restrictives & clefts
- Part 5 – Relatives with *ikáo*
- Part 6 – Comments

Background

Background

- Shingazidja: Bantu language [G44a] spoken on *Grande Comore* (Comoros)
- one of the five **Comorian** languages, along with Shindzuani [G44b], Shimwali [G44c] and Shimaore [G44d]
- Data = recorded in Paris with my main informant, Ibrahim Barwane ('Western' dialect - Moroni)
 - 'Southern' dialect: Said Bacarzme (Fumbuni) – 07/08 & 03/09 S
 - 'Northern' dialect: Mohamed Miraddji Lihoma (Mbeni) – 07/08 & 03/09 N

2

Background – word order

- The basic word order of Shingazidja is SVO (my informants disagree on the possibility for the subject to be placed after the predicate)

(1) (y)e = mw-aná (h)a-lí m̄n-kaŋe
A¹₁=1²-child 1PER³-eat 3-bread
the child ate (some) bread

- Any word order seems however possible as soon as an object marker is prefixed to the verb, but some are rare according to my informants (SOV, VOS, etc.).

(2) ze = m-beré, tsi-zí-réŋge
A¹₁₀=10-ring 1sgPER-OM⁴₁₀-take
the rings, I took them

¹ Aⁱ = augment ² Numbers refer to classes. ³ PER = perfective
⁴ OM = object marker

3

Background – word order

- The indirect object tends to precede the direct object...

(3) ha-níká (y)e = m-limadjí n-úmɓa
 I_{PER}-give A₁=1-farmer 9-house
he gave a house to the farmer

- ...but the reversed order is not uncommon¹.

(4) ha-rémé le = pahá há m-ɓuɗa
 I_{PER}-beat A₅=(5)-cat with 9-stick
he beat the cat with a stick

¹ Some speakers, however, reject this possibility

4

Background – word order

- The Shingazidja basic **noun phrase** linear order is here briefly summarized:

augment – N – Adj (Adv) (Adj) – Dem – Poss – Qf – Rel

(5) a. ze = m-ɓuɗa m-ɓíli n-jeu hálisi z-a háhe
 A₁₀=10-stick 10-two 10-white very 10-of his
his two very white sticks

b. ze = m-ɓuɗa m-ɓíli zi-nu pía
 A₁₀=10-stick 10-small 10-dem all
all these small sticks

5

Background – tone rules

- Rules identified and discussed by Tucker & Bryan (1970), Cassimjee & Kisseberth (1989, 1992, 1993, 1998), Philippson (1988, 2005), Patin (2007, 2008, 2009)

- 'Unbounded' tone shift (evidence for phonological phrase boundaries) blocked by a following underlying tone bearing unit¹:

(6) a. wa-leví drunkards (2)
 b. i. wa-leví wa-raru three drunkards
 ii. wa-leví wa-flí all drunkards
 iii. wa-leví pía all drunkards
 c. i. ha-wono má-ɓaha he saw (some) cats
 ii. ha-wono wa-leví he saw (some) drunkards

¹ In this talk, an underlying TBU is underlined

6

Background – tone rules

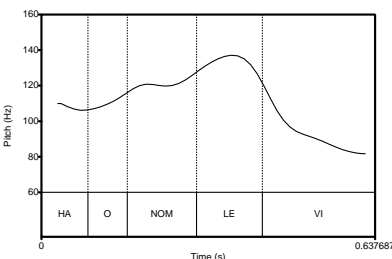
- The tone shift leads to the **deletion** of every even-numbered tone (OCP)

(7) ha-wono wa-leví wa-ilí
 I_{PER}-see 2-drunkard 2-two
he saw two drunkards

(8) ha-wono mf-pira mi-flí
 I_{PER}-see 4-ball 4-two
he saw two balls

7

Background – tone rules



NB: in the pictures of this talk, the F0 curve is smoothed (bandwidth = 10hz)

(9) ha-wono m-leví
 I_{PER}-see 1-drunkard
he saw a drunkard

8

Background – phrasing

- In (10), the tone shifts from the verb to the last word of the sentence

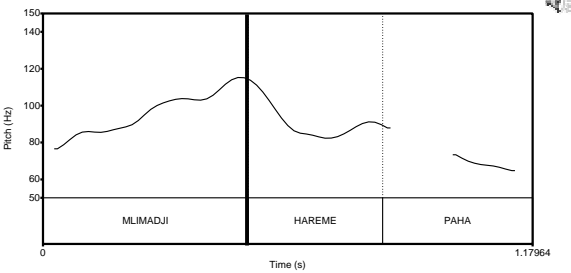
(10) ha-wono n-dovu m-ɓíli
 I_{PER}-see 10-elephant 10-two
he saw two elephants

- However, the tone shift rule **cannot apply** everywhere. In (11), the tone of the subject cannot shift to the verb.

(11) m-limadjí | ha-rémé paha
 1-farmer 1_{PER}-beat (5)-cat
a farmer beat a cat

9

Background – phrasing



(11') (m-limadjf)_φ (ha-rem'ε)_φ paha)_φ
 1-farmer 1PER-beat (5-)cat
 a farmer beat a cat

10

Background – phrasing

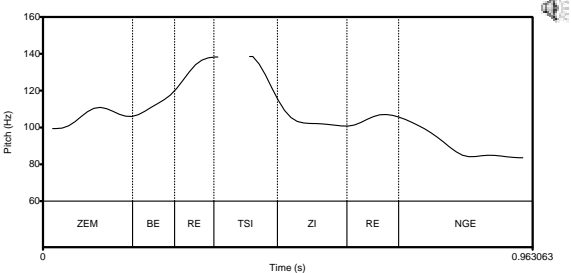
- **Phonological phrase boundaries** – (...) _φ – block the shift of the tone
- The boundary separates the subject NP from the VP (11), or a **dislocated or extracted element** from preceding material (13) or following material (12), two coordinated NPs, etc.

(12) (ze = m-berε)_φ (tsi-zi-r'εŋge)_φ
 A¹₁₀=10-ring 1sgPER-OM₁₀-take
 the rings, I took them

(13) (ha-li)_φ (tunda)_φ (e = mw-lana)_φ
 1PER-eat (5-)orange A¹₁=1-child
 he ate an orange, the child

11

Background – phrasing

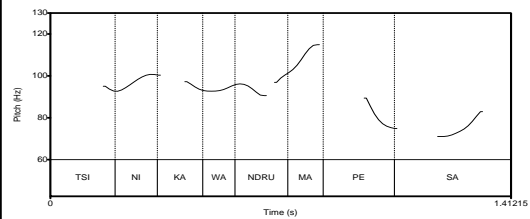


(12') (ze = m-berε)_φ (tsi-zi-r'εŋge)_φ
 A¹₁₀=10-ring 1sgPER-OM₁₀-take
 the rings, I took them

12

Background – phrasing

- **Phonological phrases** roughly correspond to XP_{MAX}



(14) (tsi-nika)_φ (wa-ndu)_φ (ma-pes'a)_φ
 1sgPER-give 2-person 6-money
 I gave money to people

13

Background – phrasing

- The augment, as in other Bantu languages, is preceded by a PP boundary...

S

(15) (ha-niká)_φ (ye = n-unḡu)_φ n-dz'fro)_φ
 1PER-give A¹₉=9-pot 9-heavy
 he gave the heavy cooking pot

- ...except when it **cliticises** to a preceding element.

(16) (ha-nik' = ε)_φ (n-unḡu)_φ n-dz'fro)_φ
 1PER-give=A¹₉ 9-pot 9-heavy
 he gave the heavy cooking pot

14

Background – phrasing

- The phrasing is also conditioned by **Focus** in Shingazidja
- In (17b), the focalised verb phrases separately from the object

(17) a. ([ŋg]am-andzo tʃáɣ¹)_φ
 1sgPRE-like (9-)tea
 I like tea


b. ([ŋg]am-andzó)_φ (tʃáɣ)_φ
 I LIKE tea

¹ /tʃaf/

15

Background – phrasing

- In (15) – repeated here (18a) –, the tone stops on the *penultimate* syllable of the sentence, not the *last* (18b)

(18) a. (ha-níká)_φ (ye = n-ungu n-dz'író)_φ
IPER-give A₉=9-pot 9-heavy
he gave the heavy cooking pot 

b. * (haníká)_φ (ye = nungu ndziró)_φ

- In Shingazidja, the last syllable is 'extraprosodic', i.e. cannot be the target of tone shift¹
- 'Extraprosodicity' / Non-finality is the clue for the **Intonational Phrase** (Patin 2007), now IP


¹ But it can bear a 'lexical tone' - cf. (7a) , (8) , etc.


16

Background – phrasing

- An IP boundary always occurs at the end of a sentence, 'optionally' at the end of a clause or an XP_{MAX}, depending on several parameters: speech rate, (contrastive) focus, etc.

- Compare (19a) and (19b)¹:

(19) a. ((le = pahá)_φ (e = m-limadjí)_φ (ha-l'í-reme)_φ)_i
A₅'=(5-)cat A₁'=1-farmer IPER-OM₅-beat 
the cat, the farmer beat it

b. ((le = páha)_φ)_i ((e = m-limadjí)_φ (ha-l'í-reme)_φ)_i
A₅'=(5-)cat A₁'=1-farmer IPER-OM₅-beat 
the CAT, the farmer beat it


¹ NB: The last syllable of a non-final IP is raised.

17

Background – other prosodic phenomena

- Other phenomena, optional, of phonetic nature (?), may intervene; they will be included in the data
- They mostly occur when the speech rate is high

- SPREADING: most of the time on a [i] or when the two high-toned vowels are identical (e.g. uCu)

(20) (ze = m-búda m-bílí n-dziro)_φ 
A₁₀'=10-stick 10-two 10-heavy
the two heavy sticks

18

Background – other prosodic phenomena

- PEAK DELAY: a tone that is supposed to appear on one of the two first syllables shifts on its right when the sentence is not short

(21) a. (nd' ' = e¹ = má-βáh(a))_φ
STAB = A₆'=6-cat
It is the cats

b. (nd' ' = e = ma-βáha ma-ilí)_φ
STAB = A₆'=6-cat
It is the two cats

¹ The augment gets a high tone when it is preceded by the stabiliser.

19

Background – other prosodic phenomena

- PENULT RAISING: the UPT penult of a prosodic word is raised when the last syllable of the same word bears a surface high¹

(22) (ye = ma-βáha pía)_φ
A₆'=6-cat all
All the cats

- Lexical tones may also be added or dropped depending on various parameters (e.g. there is a constraint against consecutive words without surface tones)
 - cf. for instance (31a), where the noun *ndóvu* 'elephant', which usually has no lexical tone – cf. (31b), is lexically HL (see Cassimjee & Kisseberth 1989, 1992 for a discussion).

¹ Especially at the end of a phonological phrase

20

Tone & phrasing in

basic restrictive

relative clauses

Basic restrictives – structure

- 'Basic' restrictive relative clauses: here = the verb of the relative follows the head immediately
- At the perfective tense, 'the relative clause is identified by having the relative form of the subject marker on the relative verb for both subject and object relatives'¹ (23):

(23) a. ye = m-lev̄i	ha-h̄u <u>zu</u>	NB: the final vowel of many verbs harmonizes with the vowel of the root at the perfective tense. Cf. <i>haw̄ono</i> 'he has seen', <i>halim̄</i> 'he has cultivated', etc.
A ₁ = 1-drunkard the drunkard sold	1PER-sell	
b. ye = m-lev̄i	yá-h̄u <u>za</u>	
A ₁ = 1-drunkard the drunkard who sold	IREL-sell	

¹ Cheng & Downing 2007, about zulu

Basic restrictives – structure

- There is thus no relative pronoun
- In (24) = the paradigms of the verb *hu-rénga* 'to take'

(24) Perfective (matrix)		Perfective (relative)
tsi-réngé	<i>I took</i>	na-rénga (that) <i>I took</i>
hu-réngé	<i>you took</i>	wa-rénga (that) <i>you took</i>
ha-réngé	<i>he took</i>	ya-rénga (that) <i>he took</i>
ri-réngé	<i>we took</i>	ra-rénga (that) <i>we took</i>
m-déngé	<i>you took</i>	mwa-rénga (that) <i>you took</i>
wa-réngé	<i>they took</i>	wa-rénga (that) <i>they took</i>

Basic restrictives – structure

- Question: *ya-rénga* or *y-a-rénga*¹?
 - Cf. the other classes: *larénga* (5), *zarénga* (8, 10), *farénga* (7), *yarénga* (4, 6), etc.
 - The answer is not clear:
- The prefixes at the **present tense** are not as regular

1 = (w/h)u-, 2 = wa-, 6 = ya-, 9 = yi-, 10 = zi-, etc.

¹ Cassimjee & Kisseberth (in prep.)

Basic restrictives – structure

- Class 1: the prefixes at the **present tense** are not the same in the subject relative (25a) and the object relative (25b)
- (25) a. nd' = e = m-lévi (w)u-w̄ono¹
 STAB = A₁ = 1-drunkard IREL-see(REL)
It is the drunkard who sees
- b. ndé = le = páha ya-lí-wona = ó¹
 STAB = A₃ = (5-)cat IREL-OM₅-see=REL
It is the drunkard who sees
- In this talk, I will use the form *ya-* instead of *y-a-*

¹ The morphology of the present tense in relatives is discussed in the next slide

Basic restrictives – structure

- In the present tense, an enclitic ' = ó' is added to the verb
- This is true for **both the matrix verb and the relative verb**, except for Cl. 1 and 1sg and 2sg¹.

(26) a. (ŋ)u-w̄on' = o	(w)u-w̄on = o	ya-lí-won = ó
1INA ² -see(PRE)	1REL-PRE-see(PRE)	1REL-OM ₅ -see=REL
<i>he sees</i>	<i>(that) he sees</i>	<i>(that) he sees (it)</i>
b. (ŋ)wa-woná = o	wa-woná = o	
2INA-see=REL	2REL-see=REL	
<i>they see</i>	<i>(that) they see</i>	
c. ŋgalí-woná = o	lí-woná = o	
5INA-see=REL	5REL-see=REL	
<i>it (the cat) sees</i>	<i>(that) it (the cat) sees</i>	

¹ The enclitic is also present in these cases, ² INA = *inaccompli* deleting the final -a, but it lacks its high tone

Basic restrictives – structure

- At a high speech rate, at the present tense, verbs of a matrix clause and a subject relative clause do not differ in cl. 1 & 2

(27) a. (ŋ)uw̄ono	vs.	(w)uw̄ono	[that] <i>he sees</i>
b. (ŋ)wawonáo	vs.	wawonáo	[that] <i>they see</i>

- REMARK:** monosyllabic verbal stems are preceded in perfective tense relatives by a **prefix -ha-**, that has no associated meaning

(28) m-budá	i-yú ¹	vs.	m-budá	ya-há-wa
9-stick	9PER-fall		9-stick	9REL-?-fall
<i>a stick fell</i>			<i>a stick that fell</i>	

¹ / í-wú /

Basic restrictives – structure

- **IMPORTANT:** there is no tone associated with the object markers in perfective relatives

- (29) a. ha-lf-wono b. ya-li-wóna *ya-lf-wóna
 1PER-OM₅-see 1REL-OM₅-see
he saw it *(that) he saw it*
- c. ya-lf-wona = ǒ
 1REL-OM₅-see=REL
(that) he sees it

- The object marker is most of the time dropped, but not always, when the antecedent is an inanimate

27

Basic restrictives – structure

- The relative marker 'o' can also be found in other positions (see also the slide 53):

- (30) ((e = fundi ri-ko]m-wándza)_ϕ (wa-nazyóní¹)_ϕ
 A'₁=(1-)pot 1p1REL-REL-OM₁-like 2-student
 (wa-m-mono)_ϕ)_ι
 2PER-OM₁-see
the teacher that we like, the students see him

¹ From wána 'children' + zi(y)ǒ = ni'school'

28

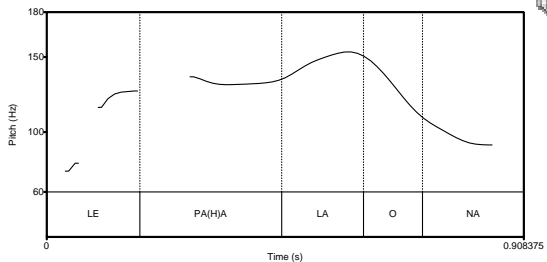
Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

- While a subject NP phrase separately from the VP (31a), the head of a relative and the relative verb phrases together (31b)
- In (31b), the tone of the head-NP e = mwídzí is free to shift on the relative verb

- (31)
 a. ((e = m-wídzí)_ϕ (ha-íbí)_ϕ (e = n-dovu y-íá hahe)_ϕ)_ι
 A'₁=1-thief 1PER-steal A'₉=9-elephant 9-of his
the thief stole his elephant
- b. ((e = m-wídz' yá-íba n-dovu)_ϕ (ha-t'áwa)_ϕ)_ι
 A'₁=1-thief 1REL-steal 9-elephant 1PER-run away
the thief who stole an elephant ran away

29

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing



- (32) (le = pa(h)a lá-(w)ona)_ϕ
 A'₅=(5-)cat 5REL-see
the cat who saw

30

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

- There is also no boundary in object relatives, whether the object is direct, indirect, etc.

- (33)
 a. ((wo = wa-leví wa-w'á-ona)_ϕ (ngwa-ǒǒ-tsunǵa)_ϕ)_ι
 A'₂=2-drunkard 2sgREL-OM₂-see 2INA-FUT-swim
the drunkards who you saw are going swimming
- b. ((wa-ǒǵeni wa-wá-nika ma-ǵamǒ'ú)_ϕ (wa-ǒǵíǵiwa)_ϕ)_ι
 2-visitors 2REL-OM₂-give 6-present 2PER-please(PAS)
the visitors to whom they gave gifts are pleased
- c. ((le = paha na-li-vúmǵu(w)a)_ϕ (l'f-yu)_ϕ)_ι
 A'₅=(5-)cat 1sgREL-OM₂-speak about 5PER-fall
the cat I talked about has fallen

31

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

- Remark 1: the last syllable of the head is frequently **lengthened**, even if it phrases with the relative verb (33a, 33b)

(33a) (33b)

- Remark 2: regularly, especially at a high speech rate, all the tones of a relative but the last tend to disappear (34)

- (34) ((ye = n-ungu¹ na-tsaǵu(h)a ni = y-ǒ)_ϕ \$ ((i)-yú)_ϕ)_ι
 A'₉=9-pot 1sgREL-play by=9-REF 9PER-fall
the cooking pot I played with fell

¹ 'y' = a 'lexical tone' is deleted

32

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

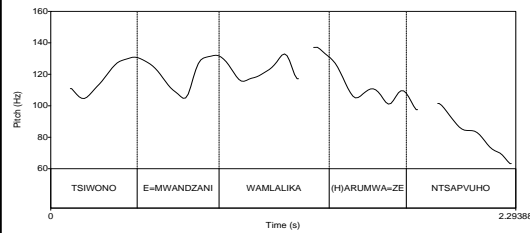
- There **is** however a (PP?) boundary between the head and the relative verb when the relative specifies an object NP

(35) a. ((η g)wa-n-saídfya = \acute{o}) $_{\phi}$ (ri-balíy- \acute{e}) $_{\phi}$
 2INA-OM_{1sg}-help-PRE 1plTAM-carry-SUBJ
 (ye¹ = zí-nqú) $_{\phi}$ (na-réngá) $_{\phi}$ (ho = dáho² = ni) $_{\phi}$ _i
 A¹₇=8-thing 1sgREL-take A¹₁₇=8-thing=in
They are helping me carry the things which I took from the house

b. ((tsi-wónó) $_{\phi}$ (ye = mw-andzání) $_{\phi}$ (wa-m-lalíká) $_{\phi}$
 1PER-see A¹₁=1-friend 2REL-OM₁-give
 ((h)arumwa = z'é) $_{\phi}$ (n-tsaβ'úwo) $_{\phi}$ _i
 inside=A¹₁₀ 10-party
I saw the friend whom you invited to the party

¹ The augment should be ze = (8) ² C&K (in prep): **dáho**

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing



(36) ((tsi-wónó) $_{\phi}$ (e = mw-an(d)zání) $_{\phi}$ (wa-m-lalíká) $_{\phi}$
 1PER-see A¹₁=1-friend 2REL-OM₁-give
 ((h)arumwa = z'é) $_{\phi}$ (n-tsaβ'úwo) $_{\phi}$ _i
 inside=A¹₁₀ 10-party
I saw the friend whom you invited to the party

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

- Question / to do: would that always be true with the following structure?

[_{VP} V [_{NP} N V_{REL}] NP]

- There is also no boundary when the head is a locative, temporal, etc. – e.g. the conjunction *yéssa* (37)

(37) ((yesa rí-la = \acute{o} ma- \acute{c} wáý) $_{\phi}$ \S^1 ,
 when 1plREL-eat=REL 6-egg
 (sí-hú-ya-(í)á \int i-ngo) $_{\phi}$ _i
 1sg-TAM-TAM-put 7-salt
when we eat eggs, we put salt on it

¹ NB: a pause does not necessarily mean 'IP boundary'

Basic restrictives – tone & phrasing

- Last remark: in Southern Shingazidja, it seems that there is a boundary between the head and the relative verb

(38) ((ye = mw-izí) $_{\phi}$ (ya-híba n-dóvu) $_{\phi}$ _i **S**
 A¹₁=1-thief 1REL-steal 9-elephant
the thief who stole an elephant

- To sum up:

Sub. pos.: (H_D V) $_{\phi}$

Obj. pos.: (H_D) $_{\phi}$ (V) $_{\phi}$ **??**

¹ Unfortunately, I have not recorded this example. But it is consistent with the fact that there are more boundaries in this variety (Patin 2009)

Tone & phrasing in

complex restrictive

relative clauses

Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing

- Complex restrictives, here = when a subject NP precedes the relative verb:

[H_D [NP V_{REL}]]


- Once again, it seems¹ that there is a difference in phrasing according to the position


- When the relative specifies a subject NP, there is **no** boundary between the head and the following NP
- When the relative specifies an object NP, there **is** a boundary between the head and the following NP

¹ I do not have enough data to be positive about it

Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing

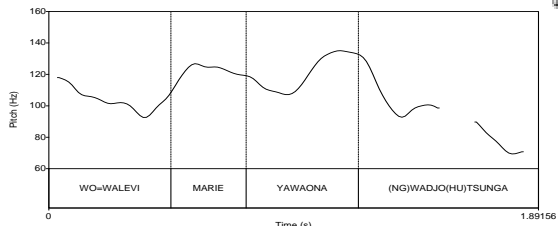
- There is no boundary when the head is in the subject position, either between the subject NP and the relative verb nor the head and the subject NP

(39) a. ((w-ana-wá-jé ?))_φ (?¹ Mari ya-w'á-wona)_φ 
 2-child-2-woman Marie 1REL-OM₂-see
 ((ηg)wá-č̣'ó-tsun̄ga)_φ)_i
 2INA-FUT-swim
 (some) girls who Mary saw are going swimming

b. ((wo = wá-levi Mári ?))_φ (? ya-wa-w'óná)_φ 
 A₂¹=2-drunkard Marie 1REL-OM₂-see
 ((ηg)wá-č̣'o-(h)'ú²-tsun̄ga)_φ)_i
 2INA-FUT-TAM-swim
 the drunkards who Mary saw are going swimming

¹ The upstep seems to indicate that there is no boundary ² The morpheme is ~ 'optional' 38


Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing



(39b') ((wo = wá-levi Mári ?))_φ (? ya-wa-w'óná)_φ
 A₂¹=2-drunkard Marie 1REL-OM₂-see
 ((ηg)wá-č̣'o-(h)'ú²-tsun̄ga)_φ)_i
 2INA-FUT-TAM-swim
 the drunkards who Mary saw are going swimming

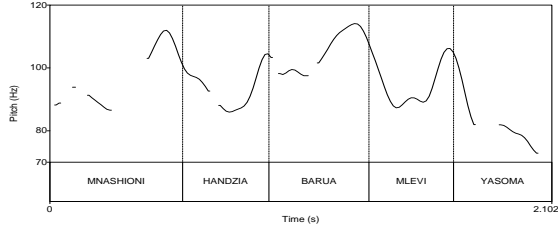
Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing

- There is a boundary between the head and the following noun when the head of the relative is in an object position

(40) ((m-naŋ'óni)_φ)_i ((h-an(d)ziá barúá)_φ)_i 
 1-student 1PER-write (9-)letter
 ((m-leví)_φ)_i ((ya-s'óma)_φ)_i
 1-drunkard 1REL-read
 the student wrote a letter that a drunkard read

- Note that in this case – vs. (39) – there is a boundary between the subject NP of the relative and the relative verb (see below)


Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing



(40') ((m-naŋ'óni)_φ)_i ((h-an(d)ziá barúá)_φ)_i
 1-student 1PER-write (9-)letter
 ((m-leví)_φ)_i ((ya-s'óma)_φ)_i
 1-drunkard 1REL-read
 the student wrote a letter that a drunkard read

Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing

- However, the boundary that separates the subject from the relative verb is not obligatory – e.g. if the head phrases separately from the matrix verb.

(41) ((m-naŋ'óni)_φ)_i ((h-an(d)ziá)_φ)_i (e = bárua)_φ
 1-student 1PER-write A₂¹=(9-)letter
 ((e = fundi y'á-soma)_φ)_i
 A₂¹=(9-)letter 1REL-read
 the student wrote a letter that a teacher read 

Complex restrictives – tone & phrasing

- To sum up:

Sub. pos.: (H_D N V)_φ

Obj. pos.: (H_D)_φ (N |_φ V)_φ
 ?

Non-restrictives

Non-restrictive relatives

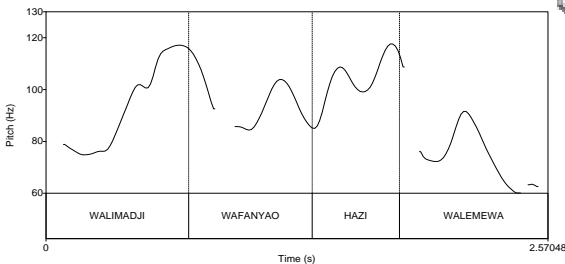
- Non-restrictive relatives phrase separately (with optional pauses – §) from their heads:

(42) a. ((Marí)_φ (§) (u-ɕo-(h)ú-jinda)_φ (ya-tɕung-é)_φ
Marie IREL-TAM-TAM-write ITAM-swim-SUBJ
 (n-ɕ)_φ (§) (ye =mw-an(d)zani w'á (h)ang'ú)_φ)_i
well A'₁=1-friend 1-of my
Marie, who can swim well, is my friend 🎧 § 🎧

b. ((wa-limáɕi)_φ (§) (wa-faná=o házi)_φ (§)
2-farmer 2REL-do-REL work
 (wa-l'émewa)_φ)_i
2PER-be tired
Farmers, who work, are tired 🎧 § 🎧

44

Non-restrictive relatives



(42b') ((wa-limáɕi)_φ (wa-faná=o házi)_φ (wa-l'émewa)_φ)_i
2-farmer 2REL-do-REL work 2PER-be tired
Farmers, who work, are tired

45

Non-restrictive relatives

- As expected, the non-restrictive can be bounded by intonational phrase boundaries:

(43) ((wa-limáɕi)_φ)_i § ((wa-faná=o házi)_φ)_i §
2-farmer 2REL-do-REL work
 (wa-l'émewa)_φ)_i
2PER-be tired
Farmers, who work, are tired 🎧

- Focus? Emphasis? Something else...

46

Non-restrictive relatives

- As in other bantu languages (Bemba – Cheng & Kula 2006, Chicheŵa – Downing & Mtenje to appear, Zulu – Cheng & Downing 2007) a non-restrictive relative phrases separately from its head :

- To sum up:

(H_D)_φ¹(NV)_φ

¹ Or an IP boundary in some situations

47

Clefts

- The head of the cleft is also followed by a phological phrase:

(44) ((nd' '=o= wa-nána-wa-ɕé)_φ (wa-tsaɕu(h)á=ɕ)_φ
 STAB= A'₂=2-child-2-child 2REL-play-REL
 (karíbu =n=ɕ)_φ (m-ɕ(o) w-á m-ɕɕi)_φ)_i
near=with=A'₃ 3-river 3-of 6-water
It is the girls who play by the river 🎧

48

Clefts

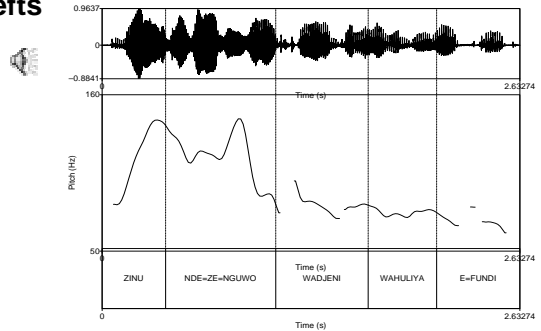
- Preceded by a demonstrative (contrastive focus), the head of a cleft is followed by an Intonational phrase boundary and the relative (given) is low and less intense

- (45) a. ((ndè = zè = η-gùwó)_φ (o = wa-ɕɛní)_φ¹
STAB = A¹₁₀ = 10-clothes A¹₂ = 2-visitor
 (wa-huliyá)_φ (ye = fúndi)_φ_i
2REL-buy(APP) A¹₉ = 9-teacher
It is the clothes the visitors bought for the teacher
- b. ((zínú)_φ (ndè = zè = η-gúwo)_φ_i
DEM.10 STAB = A¹₁₀ = 10-clothes
 ((o = wa-ɕɛní)_φ (wa-huliyá)_φ (ye = fúndi)_φ_i
A¹₂ = 2-visitor 2REL-buy(APP) A¹₉ = 9-teacher
These are the clothes the visitors bought for the teacher

¹ Note that the subject of the relative verb phrases separately.

49

Clefts



- (45b') ((zínú)_φ (ndè = zè = η-gúwo)_φ_i
 ((o = wa-ɕɛní)_φ (wa-huliyá)_φ (ye = fúndi)_φ_i
These are the clothes the visitors bought for the teacher

50

Relatives with *ikáo*

Relatives with *ikáo*

- Relatives with *ikáo* usually come with 'with/to-which' relatives, but it seems that the structure can be used as an alternative for any kind of relative, when the head is known (given) by the speakers
- *ikáo* follows immediately the head, and is followed by a verb which is *not* relative
- *ikáo* is now a frozen form – it has the same form whatever the class of the head is. The structure:

i + ká + ó
 9 – be – REL

50

Relatives with *ikáo*

- The head phrases with *ikáo*, which as expected phrases separately from what follows, at least when it is a verb

- (46) a. ((le = paha na-li-vúmbú(w)a)_φ (!f-yú)_φ_i
A¹₅ = (5-)cat 1sgREL-OM₂-speak about 5PER-fall
the cat I talked about has fallen
- b. ((le = paha **ikáo**)_φ (tsi-li-vúmbú(w)a)_φ (!f-yú)_φ_i
A¹₅ = (5-)cat REF 1sgREL-OM₂-speak about 5PER-fall
the cat I talked about has fallen

¹ I have no '*ikáo* + NP' sequence in my data

53

Comments

Comments

- The results of this study are consistent with the results that were obtained in other studies
- As in other (Bantu) languages (Bemba, Chicheŵa, Zulu), the phrasing of a restrictive relative (the head phrases with the relative) and the phrasing of a non-restrictive relative or a cleft (the head phrases separately) do not correspond
- However, there is in Shingazidja a distinction between restrictive relatives that specify a subject and those that specify an object: in the latter case the head (always?) phrase separately. If I am not mistaken, such a distinction has not been mentioned in the other studies

54

Comments

- The level of *embeddedment* may explain this distinction (?):

[_{NP} N [Rel]]

[_{VP} [_{NP} N [Rel]]]

55

References

- Cassimjee, F. & C. Kisseberth. In prep. *The Shingazidja Lexicon identified*. ILCAA.
- Cassimjee, F. & C. Kisseberth. 1998. Optimal Domains Theory and Bantu Tonology: a Case Study from Isixhosa and Shingazidja. In Hyman, L. & C. Kisseberth (eds.), *Theoretical Aspects of Bantu Tone*. Stanford: CSLI, pp. 33--132.
- Cassimjee, F. & C. Kisseberth. 1993. The phrasal tonology of Shingazidja. 24th Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Ohio State University, 23--25 Juillet 1993.
- Cassimjee, F. & C. Kisseberth. 1992. Metrical Structure in Shingazidja. *CLS* 28, pp. 72--93.
- Cassimjee, F. & C. Kisseberth. 1989. Shingazidja Nominal Accent. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 19.1.
- Cheng, L. & L. Downing. 2007. The Phonology and Syntax of Relative Clauses in Zulu. *Bantu in Bloomsbury: Special Issue on Bantu Linguistics*. SOAS WPL 15, 51-63
- Cheng, L. & N. Kula. 2006. Syntactic and phonological phrasing in Bemba relatives. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 43, 31-54.

56

References

- Downing, L. & A. Mtenje. to appear. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*.
- Patin, C. 2009. Shingazidja Prosodic Dialectology, 3rd International Conference on Bantu Languages. Tervuren (MRAC), 25-27 mars 2009
- Patin, C. 2008. Focus and Phrasing in Shingazidja. *Papers in Phonetics and Phonology, ZAS papers in Linguistics* 49, Marzena Zygis et Susanne Fuchs (eds.), pp. 167-189.
- Patin, C. 2007. La tonologie du shingazidja, langue bantu (G44a) de la Grande Comore : nature, formalisation, interfaces. Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 3.
- Philippson, G. 2005. Pitch accent in Comorian and Proto-Sabaki tones. In Bostoen, K. & J. Maniacky (eds.), *Studies in African Comparative Linguistics with special focus on Bantu and Mande: Essays in Honour of Y. Bastin & C. Grégoire*. Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, pp. 199--220.
- Philippson, G. 1988. L'accentuation du comorien : essai d'analyse métrique. *Etudes Océan Indien* (Paris) 9, 35-79

57

Clefts?

- The head of the cleft phrases with what *follows*:

- (a) a. (nd' = e = m-lévíf ya-m-móna)_ϕ 🔊
 STAB= A¹₁=1-drunkard IREL-OM₁-see
It is the drunkard whom he saw
- b. (ndè = zè = n-dovu wa-zí-ona)_ϕ 🔊
 STAB= A¹₁₀=10-elephant 2REL-OM₁₀-see
It is the elephants which they saw
- c. (nd' = ó = m-kòbè ya-ú-ona)_ϕ 🔊
 STAB= A¹₃=3-spoon IREL-OM₃-do
It is the spoon that you saw

a

Clefts?

- (b) (nd' = e = n-dovu yá-ona)_ϕ 🔊
 STAB= A¹₉=9-elephant IREL-see
It is the elephant which saw

b

