

# THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN IZI<sup>1</sup>

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The purpose of this paper<sup>2</sup> is to examine the structural and tonal features that characterize the relative clause in Izi.<sup>3</sup>

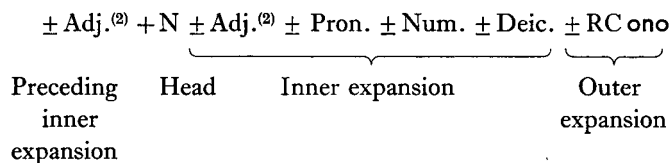
## 1. THE FUNCTION OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase occurs in the clause as subject, object, adverb, equation or complement.

## 2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE

There are two types of nominal phrases, simple and complex. This paper is limited to the simple nominal phrase, since as far as the relative clause is concerned there is no difference between these two types.

The structure of the simple nominal phrase may roughly be diagrammed as follows:



The simple nominal phrase consists of a head which is preceded and/or followed by an inner expansion. The outer expansion is the final element of the nominal phrase.

### THE ELEMENTS OF THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The HEAD of the nominal phrase consists of a nominal<sup>4</sup> of any class or an adjective preceded by the nominalizing particle 'kè.

The relative noun only occurs as head of a nominal phrase if it is immediately followed by a relative clause (or by a deictic). Nominal phrase + relative clause:

<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented to the VIIth West African Languages Congress, held at the University of Lagos, March 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Research for this paper has been carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Linguistics of West Africa in co-operation with the University of Nigeria. Field-work has been undertaken at Èbya-Unuphu, south of Abakaliki, for a total of about 24 months spread over the last three years. I have appreciated the opportunity to discuss the analysis with Dr John T. Bendor-Samuel, with whose help this presentation has been worked out. I am also indebted to many Izi people who have helped me in different ways, especially to Chief Echięęü Ōgaleęü and to Samuel Iyokü, our main language assistant. It is hoped to publish the result of this field-work in the form of a full-scale description of Izi.

<sup>3</sup> Izi is spoken by a population of 200,000 which belong to the north-eastern group of Igbos. They live around Abakaliki in Eastern Nigeria. Izi is related to Igbo. About 50% of the words in the vocabulary listed in M. M. Green and G. E. Igwe, *A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF IGBO* (1963), are cognates.

<sup>4</sup> The following classes of nominals are distinguished here: general noun, adjectival noun, adverbial noun, relative noun, pronoun, numeral and deictics.

ò bụwà ẹkà, á`ák'ò   òtá <sup>5</sup>	OP 49	'it is where one is farming now'
òphù, 'àniyí tsòswèrù ètsòòswè	PR 303	'the one which we followed wrongly'
òphù, 'àniyí tsòswèrù ètsòòswè		

Not all deictics occur as the head of a nominal phrase: the two demonstratives òwá 'this' and òphù 'that', for example, cannot serve as head.

Not all sets of pronouns can occur. Possessive pronouns are substituted by personal pronouns where the two sets are not identical in form. Otherwise the same pronoun is used as head and as extension. When a relative clause occurs, the personal pronouns are not frequently found functioning as head. Instead of ò 'he who' the relative noun ónyé (class 1) 'person who' is found frequently. The other personal pronouns are preferably substituted by the corresponding members of the emphatic set; for example, instead of mú '1PS', mb'édúà '1PS!' is used.

The nominalized pronouns (possessive) òkè mú 'mine', 'kànyí 'ours' may also serve as heads qualified by a relative clause (RC).

The INNER EXPANSION of the simple nominal phrase is optional and consists of one or two adjectives or adjectival nouns which may precede or follow the head, and of a possessive pronoun, a numeral and a deictic which follow the head. The deictics consist of demonstratives, back-reference and question pronouns.

All elements except the relative clause may be preceded by 'kè. It is probably derived from the noun òké 'the one', òkè replaces 'kè in the possessive pronouns 1-3 PS and 3 PP; òkè ~ 'kè has nominalizing, selective function and thus changes numerals into ordinals. More than one 'kè has not been found apart from elicitation.

The adjective and the possessive pronoun may change their order, i.e. the possessive pronoun may precede the adjective. If the head is not followed by an adjective the possessive pronoun and the numeral may change their order, i.e. the numeral may precede the possessive pronoun.

The OUTER EXPANSION consists of an RC and this may be followed by the back-reference pronoun ònó or ònó'yá 'that' when that pronoun has occurred in the inner expansion.

#### THE RESTRICTIONS AND PREFERENCES

It is not usual for the inner expansion to consist of more than two or three elements. More than one adjective was not found in a sample of texts.<sup>6</sup> If more than two elements occur

<sup>5</sup> A phonemic transcription is used and tones are also written phonemically with high', low ` , downstep ' and upstep ' (this is defined as a stepping up from the downstepped level to a level of the preceding high tone and not from a low to a high or from a high to a raised high level). It should be noted that non-low before low is raised; but since this is automatic it is treated as non-phonemic. For convenience the outer expansion is used with an initial comma in the examples. In the breakdown of the examples the relative clause is given in square brackets and the following symbols are used: NP = nominal phrase, s = subject, o = object, comp. = complement, VP = verb phrase, RVP = relative verb phrase, AP = adverbial phrase, H = head, CVP = complex verb phrase, Eq. = equation, A 1 = active verb class I, S I = stative verb class I.

<sup>6</sup> A concordance made of a body of text of 3,000 words proved to be of invaluable help in the analysis of Izi. The concordance was made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Retrieval project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and sponsored by grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. The references given for the examples refer to this concordance. Examples with starred references are from elsewhere.

any additional expansion is usually in the form of a relative clause. In any case the relative clause is preferred to an adjective or a nominal adjective.

Relative clauses usually occur in nominal phrases which have a general noun as head and only a very short inner expansion if any. With a relative noun as head no inner expansion is found. When the head is not a general noun both inner and outer expansions are further restricted.

### 3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Any verbal clause type may function as a relative clause. This is shown in a citation paradigm in the appendix. The relative clause can be DIVIDED INTO THREE TYPES.<sup>7</sup> These are abbreviated as RC 1, RC 2, and RC 3.

#### RC 1: THE HEAD OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE IS A SHARED ELEMENT OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

This is by far the most frequent type. The head of the nominal phrase also functions as one of the phrases of the relative clause. Where the clause, for instance, has no subject of its own the head of the nominal phrase is also the subject of the clause. Thus the head of the nominal phrase has a double function. A clause with a shared element does not constitute a different clause type.

- |                               |                  |  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--|
| (1) nwátá,                    | l'jérú   l'égú   | 'The boy who went to the field'                |
| $\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}$ | [VP AP]          | The head of the NPs is also the NPs of the RC. |
| boy                           | went to field    |  |
| (2) nwátá,                    | é`ékùjé Óp'hóké  | 'The boy whom one calls Ophoke'                |
| $\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}$ | [NPs VP NPo]     | The head of the NPs is also an NPo of the RC.  |
| boy                           | one calls Ophoke |  |
| (3) únúphú,                   | ó nò             | 'The compound in which he is'                  |
| $\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}$ | [NPs VP]         | The head of the NPs is also the AP of the RC.  |
| compound he                   | is               |  |

#### RC 2: THE HEAD OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE IS REFERRED TO BY A POSSESSIVE PRONOUN IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

One of the elements of the clause is in a genitival relationship to the head. This is shown by a substitutionary possessive pronoun following the element under focus and this pronoun is in singular or plural agreement with the head. This type is much less frequent than the first.

<sup>7</sup> A fourth type might be set up. In this type the whole clause modifies the nominal phrase head. This is the rarest group and can also be treated as a subgroup of RC 1.

á kwà íphé,	mú gùdè p'fúá íp'hé ònó b'p' l'è...	IO 239
NPs VP NPo	[NPs VP VP NPo ]	
it is thing	I hold speak thing that	'The reason why I said that
reason		thing is that...'

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) nwá, nwún'é íy'á gbàlàrù<br/> <math>\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}</math> [NPs Pron. VP]<br/>         child brother his ran away</p>                  | <p>'The child whose brother<br/>         ran away'</p>    |
| <p>(2) m̀kp̀̀kp̀̀, íp'hé ph'è pàr̀̀ éká<br/> <math>\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}</math> [NPs Pron. VP NPo]<br/>         village thing their is too much</p> | <p>'Villages whose possessions<br/>         are many'</p> |
| <p>(3) ónyé, é bù l'íb'è íy'á<br/> <math>\frac{\text{NPs}}{\text{H}}</math> [NPs VP AP Pron.]<br/>         person who one lives in place his</p>          | <p>'Someone in whose place<br/>         one lives'</p>    |

RC 3: RELATIVE CLAUSES WHICH ARE MARKED BY PARTICLES

There are relative clauses which are marked off by ± be... ± nu. These are outside the scope of this present paper.

4. THE PROBLEM UNDER FOCUS

With RC 1 and RC 2 there are no markers. The problem arises as to how to distinguish the relative clause from the rest of the clause, for example, the following occur:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| NP+VP   |   |
| <p>(1) nwata jeru l'ègù<br/>         child went to field</p>                                  | <p>RC 1 may mean:<br/>         'the boy went to<br/>         the field'<br/>         or 'the boy who went<br/>         to the field'</p>            |
| Noun+noun   |   |
| <p>(2) m̀p̀ h̀mar̀ Nwibo Echiègù z̀tar̀ eghu<br/>         I saw Nwibo Echiegu bought goat</p> | <p>RC 1 may mean:<br/>         'I saw N.E. who<br/>         bought a goat'<br/>         or 'I saw N. for whom<br/>         E. bought a goat'</p>    |
| Noun noun Possessor   |   |
| <p>(3) nwa nwune iya gbalarù<br/>         child brother his ran away</p>                      | <p>RC 2 may mean:<br/>         'the child of his<br/>         brother ran away'<br/>         or 'the child whose<br/>         brother ran away'</p> |

Frequently the potential ambiguity is resolved by the larger context but there are also tonal signals which mark the construction as a relative clause. The above three examples represent the structures which are ambiguous.

(1) Noun + Verb may be a subject followed by a verb or a head followed by a relative clause

(2) Noun<sub>1</sub> + Noun<sub>2</sub>

(3) Noun<sub>1</sub> + Noun<sub>2</sub> + Possessive Pronoun<sup>8</sup>

In the second and third cases the two nouns could be N<sub>1</sub> qualified by N<sub>2</sub> or a head followed by a relative clause. Note that a relative clause may begin with a verb or with a nominal phrase.

The tonal signals which mark the constructions as relative clauses have to be considered within the framework of the tone patterns of the nominals.

5. THE TONE PATTERNS OF NOMINALS

Nominals are found to be marked by different tone patterns depending on two factors: (1) the tone level of the syllable immediately preceding the nominal, i.e. whether it is the high, the downstepped high or low level (i.e. H, D, L in Table 1); (2) the relationship of the following word to it, whether that word is qualifying it or not. The word may be qualifying the nominal directly or as part of the qualifying relative clause.<sup>9</sup>

Table 1 displays the tone patterns of 15 tonal nominal classes. Column a shows the tone patterns when the nominal is not qualified, column b shows the tone patterns when the nominal is qualified but not followed by the verb phrase of the relative clause, column c shows the tone patterns of a nominal before the verb phrase of a relative clause.

It is the first of any two nominals which may be qualified (this is found even where an adjective or an adjectival nominal precedes the head of a nominal phrase; tonally the adjective or the adjectival nominal is qualified and not the head). The qualifying element may be a nominal or a relative clause.

THE NON-QUALIFIED NOMINAL is found in a nominal functioning as subject, as object or as the qualifying, i.e. the second of two nouns<sup>10</sup> where the second nominal is neither part of a relative clause nor immediately precedes the verb phrase of a relative clause.

THE QUALIFIED NOMINAL is the first of two nominals within a nominal phrase.<sup>11</sup> It is important to note that ANY NOMINAL PRECEDING THE VERB PHRASE OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE ALSO FALLS INTO THIS CATEGORY. There is no tonal difference therefore between the nominals of

NP, [NP + VP] and NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub>, [VP...] and of NP, [NP + poss. Pron. + VP]<sup>8</sup>  
 or NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> + poss. Pron., [VP]<sup>8</sup>  
 or NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> + poss. Pron. + VP<sup>8</sup>

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN a-, b-, AND c-FORMS

When the b-form differs from the a-form it is found that the last tone of the a-form is changed to high. This change results in an upstep if the changed syllable was on downstep, or in !H if the changed syllable was on low. If the changed syllable was on low and the

<sup>8</sup> The possessive pronouns *iya* 'it, 3 PS' and *phɛ* 'their, 3 PP' which are used in case 3 do not qualify the preceding nominal.

<sup>9</sup> It will be seen that this gives six different tone patterns for any nominal, but in fact no nominal has been found with more than five.

<sup>10</sup> Traditionally the N<sub>1</sub> + N<sub>2</sub> relationship is called 'genitival', a terminology which was found to be inadequate as this does not do justice to the range of meanings which has to be covered by it.

<sup>11</sup> Personal names as XY are in a qualifying relationship meaning X of Y, i.e. son X of father Y. The first name is personal, the second name is one's father's first.

Table 1. Tone Patterns of Nominal Classes

Noun classes	H (after high)			D (after downstepped high)			L (after # or after low)		
	Non-qualified	Qualified		Non-qualified	Qualified		Non-qualified	Qualified	
		No juncture	Prejuncture		No juncture	Prejuncture		No juncture	Prejuncture
1 iphe	a → H <sub>i</sub> H	b → HH	c HH	a → HH	b → H <sub>i</sub> H	c H <sub>i</sub> H	a → HH	b → HH	c HH
2 mini	iHH	iH <sub>i</sub> H or H <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> H	HH	H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H or HH	HH
3 uwe	H <sub>i</sub> H or iHH	iH <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> H	HH	H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	LH	LH	LH
4 ophoke	iHH	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	HHH	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HH <sub>i</sub> H	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH
5 unuphu	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HHH	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HHH
6 nwoke	H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	HH	iH <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H	HH
7a ijiji	( <sub>i</sub> )H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H
7b qchaa	( <sub>i</sub> )H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H or iH <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H
8a egara	iHHH or H <sub>i</sub> HH	iH <sub>i</sub> HH	iH <sub>i</sub> HH	HHH	H <sub>i</sub> HH or iH <sub>i</sub> HH	H <sub>i</sub> HH	LHH	LHH	LHH
8b oshi	i <sub>i</sub> HHH or slow iH <sub>i</sub> HH	iH <sub>i</sub> HH	iH <sub>i</sub> HH	iHHH or iH <sub>i</sub> H	iH <sub>i</sub> HH	iHH	HH	HH	HH
9a agwa	LH	LH	LH	LH	LH	LH	LH	LH	LH
okpuru	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH	LLH
9b oroke	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH
10 okoko	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH	HLH
11 qbvũ	HL	H <sub>i</sub> H	HH	HL	H <sub>i</sub> H	HH	HL	H <sub>i</sub> H	iHH
12a mkpuma	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH
12b ebyaa	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH	LHL	LH <sub>i</sub> H	LHH
12c ēma	(L)HL	(L) <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	(L)HH	(L)HL	(L) <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	(L)HH	HL	H <sub>i</sub> H	HH
13 mbochi	HLL	HLH	HLH	HLL	HLH	HLH	HLL	HLH	HLH
14 ite	LL	LH	LH	LL	LH	LH	LL	LH	LH
okpoga	LLL	LLH	LLH	LLL	LLH	LLH	LLL	LLH	LLH
15 mgbabu	HHL	HH <sub>i</sub> H	HHH	HHL	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	HHL	H <sub>i</sub> H <sub>i</sub> H	HHH

preceding syllable on high the change affects even the preceding syllable because the raising influence of low has disappeared. Class 11 (pattern D b, D c) shows an upstep as the result of the secondary change from raised high to high. No b-form ends in a low tone but where they don't change the b-form may still end on downstep high.

c-Forms are derived from b-forms by a further raising of downstepped high to high. No c-form ends in another tone than high. If the b-form ends in a high tone, no further change results.

THE C-FORMS CAN ALWAYS BE PREDICTED FROM THE b-FORM. On this basis a juncture feature may be set up. This feature marks the relative clause, always occurring IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE VERB PHRASE of the relative clause whether the verb phrase occurs initial or non-initial in its clause. It is significant that this high tone can neither be downstepped nor can it be raised by following low, unless the relative clause begins with a nominal. In that case the junctural high is raised by following low.

## 6. TONE OF VERB PHRASES IN THE EXPANSION

When the verb phrase is in initial position in the relative clause the tone of the verb phrase in some aspects differs from the tone in other clauses. For this reason verb phrases in these relative clauses are termed 'relative verb phrases'. It should be noted that verb phrases in all other types of relative clauses are not termed relative verb phrases. Table 2 illustrates the difference between the relative verb phrase and other verb phrases, in the case of the high and low verb classes of the active verbs and the high and low verb classes of the stative verbs.<sup>12</sup> For reasons of space the table was limited to these classes as it was found that the other classes show the same tonal phenomena.

The non-relative and the relative forms are contrasted under each aspect in Table 2. B stands for present-continuous base forms, C for the incomplete past. The letter N indicates the corresponding negative form. The first column before the paradigms gives a summary reconstruction formula<sup>13</sup> for the whole row for comparison between relative and non-relative patterns.

### SUMMARY OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RELATIVE AND NON-RELATIVE FORMS

In all forms the tone patterns are the same except NB and C. In NB+NC the relative forms may take the E vowel, which is not found with negations in a non-relative clause. In C the relative forms are on downstepped high. No difference is seen between active and stative verbs but it is to be borne in mind that the C form of the stative verbs does not mean 'past' as with the active verbs. Note that the slow and fast forms are alternatives.

<sup>12</sup> The verb system of the simple clause (excluding the relative clause) has been described in 'Some contrasting features of the Izi verbal system', presented by Dr John T. Bendor-Samuel at the 6th West African Languages Congress and being published in JAL, vol. VI, part I.

<sup>13</sup> E stands for the harmonizing verb prefix e/a, which unless marked carries the opposite tone of the verb root. tE...du stands for the negation, V for the verb class as given above the column.

Table 2. Comparison of tone patterns of non-relative and relative verb phrases (selected verb classes)

Base forms and aspects <sup>14</sup>	Verb classes			
	A I (high active)	S I (high stative)	A IV (low active)	S II (low stative)
Summary formula	rí 'eat' ńrí 'food'	dú 'be' (qual.) shí 'much, many'	kù 'call' édé 'Ede' (name)	nò 'be' (location) l'úfò 'in the house'
B non-future Non-rel. Relative	EV   EV	àdú shí   àdú shí	ék'ú édé   ék'ú édé   èék'ú édé <sup>15</sup>	án'ò l'úfò   án'ò l'úfò
B future Non-rel. Relative	ÉV   ÉV	áá-'dú shí   áá-'dú shí	é-kù èdè   èé-kù èdè	áá-nò l'úfò   áá-nò l'úfò
NB Non-rel. Relative	tÉ` EVdú   (±È)tÉ` EVdú	téè rídú ńrí   é-'rí ńrí	té' é kùdú édí'é   èté' é kùdú édí'é	tá' á nòdù l'úfò   àtà' á nòdù l'úfò
C Non-rel. Relative	Vrù   V'Vrù	rìrù ńrí   'rírù ńrí	dù shí   'dú shí	nò l'úfò   'nò l'úfò
NC Non-rel. Relative	tÉ` Vduru   (±È)tÉ` Vduru	té'rídú ńrí   èté'rídú ńrí	té kùdùrù èdè   èté kùdùrù èdè	tá nòdù l'úfò   àtà nòdù l'úfò

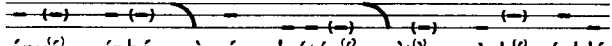
<sup>14</sup> Other base forms or aspects have not been found in the relative clause.  
<sup>15</sup> Where the E-Prefix is preceded by an assimilated vowel in the B-base form the slow form has been given; the fast form replaces the first vowel by a downstep.



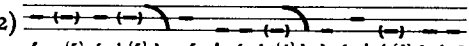
7. SEQUENCES OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

The relative juncture occurs between relative clauses when there is more than one.

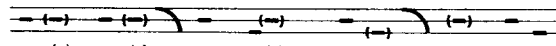
(1)


  
 óny'é, íphé èmé, 'zútár'ù itè àch'ò íph'é
   
 NPs I [NPs I VP] [RVP NPo I5]
   
 person thing is doing bought pot is seeking something
   
 'the person who is sick who bought a pot is seeking something'

(2)

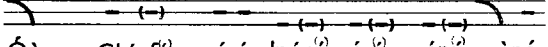

  
 óny'é, íphé èmé, 'zútár'ù itè á-'ch'ò íph'é
   
 'the person who is sick who bought a pot will seek something'

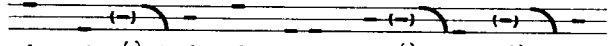
(3)


  
 óny'é, íphé èmé, èj'é ás'wá' àch'ò íph'é
   
 RVP NPo I
   
 is going market
   
 'the person who is sick who is going to market is seeking something'

In the next example below it is shown that if a relative clause is followed by another relative clause the low -rù at the end of the verb phrase has also been affected by the juncture. ònó, class 9a, must be interpreted as a post-junctural bracketing clitic. Its affect on low -rù becoming high -rú is only understandable on the basis of the change due to the relative juncture. Note that in the C forms the phonetic level for non-relative low and relative downstep high is the same.

(4)


  
 Óò Chíp'fú íyá, 'núr'ù íyá án'ù ònó,
   
 NP<sub>Eq.</sub> [RVP NPo NPo I]
   
 it is God his gave him animal that,


  
 ó gbùr'ù ònó, ó gùdè gbátá òkpògá ònó.
   
 [NPs VP] ono [NPs VP VP NPo I4 9a]
   
 he killed that, he hold get money that
   
 'It is his God who gave him that animal which he killed with which he got that money'
   
 (\* AI III 69 CCI)

8. THE END OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

There is no phonological feature marking the end of the relative clause. The tone of the last syllable of the relative clause is completely parallel with the tone of the last syllable of any other word which precedes the verb phrase.

## 9. CONCLUSION

Thus it can be noted that in some circumstances the nominal tone system and in certain restricted circumstances the nominal phrase and/or the relative verb phrase mark the relative clause. In many instances neither of these tonal marks operate (cf. classes 10, 9, 8 and lower classes). So there is ambiguity which may be resolved by the larger context. When this is not so, the RC 3 occurs and in this way the particle *bẹ* marks the occurrence of the relative clause.

## APPENDIX

## CITATION PARADIGM

The following citation paradigm shows that any clause type may occur as a relative clause. Examples are taken from tape-recorded texts (cf. footnote 6) and their tone has been analysed as the informant spoke them after the copied text. Unless mentioned, the example represents relative clause type 1 (RC 1). Nominal tone classes as shown in Table 1 are added to break-down symbols.

## SIMPLE CLAUSES

## ACTIVE TYPES

## (a) Transitive

- |     |         |        |               |              |                            |
|-----|---------|--------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | áph'á,  | ígwié  | 'édz'ékpi'ówá | 'míní        | YA 16                      |
|     | AP 11   | [NPs 1 | VP            | NPo 2]       | 'in a year in which it is  |
|     | year    | heaven | is raining    | water        | surely raining'            |
|     |         |        | surely        |              |                            |
| (2) | óph'ú,  | áà     | wá            | ísh'í (íy'á) | YA 15 RC 2                 |
|     | NPo 1   | [NPs   | VP            | NPo 1]       | 'the one whose head one    |
|     | the one | one    | splits        | head         | splits'                    |
|     | which   |        |               |              |                            |
| (3) | ónyé,   | yá     | 'ákp'á        | 'íb'é        | * Proverb RC 2             |
|     | NPs 1   | [NPs   | VP            | AP 2 ]       | 'the one in whose place he |
|     | person  | he     | is weaving    | in place     | his                        |
|     |         |        |               |              | is weaving'                |

## (b) Ditransitive

- |     |        |          |     |        |                            |
|-----|--------|----------|-----|--------|----------------------------|
| (4) | ónyé,  | 'á-pf'ú  | ngú | úgwó   | BB 84                      |
|     | NPs 1  | [RVP     | NPo | NPo 1] | 'someone who will pay you' |
|     | person | will pay | you | wages  |                            |

## (c) Intransitive

- |     |        |         |         |             |                                 |
|-----|--------|---------|---------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (5) | áph'á, | míní    | dzèwàrù | ré          | YA 87                           |
|     | AP 11  | [NPs 2  | VP      | AP]         | 'in a year in which it          |
|     | year   | water   | rained  | good        | has rained well'                |
| (6) | óph'ú, | 'iék'wó | íyá     | làrù   égwá | YA 31 RC 2                      |
|     | NPs 1  | [NPs 8b | VP      | AP]         | 'those whose leaves shed early' |
|     | those  | leaf    | its     | shed        | early                           |

(d) Impersonal

- (7) íphé, èmé 'ngú | l'óbù FS 50  
 NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [RVP NPo AP 11] 'something which makes you  
 thing doing you in heart sick in your heart'

STATIVE TYPES

(a) Equative

- (8) ndú, 'bú ògèrènyà OS 136  
 NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [RVP NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 14] 'people who are old'  
 people are old

(b) Stative complementary

- (9) íphé, 'dú ányí èj] BB 116  
 NPs 1 [RVP NPo 3 NP<sub>comp.</sub> 14] 'what is bad to us'  
 thing is us bad

(c) Stative intransitive

- (10) ònwá òwá, 'ányí nò | òtá` IO 41  
 or ònwá òwá, ànyí nò | òtá  
 AP 1 ga [NPs 3 VP AP] 'the month in which we are  
 month this we are now now'

(note that the second interpretation is better as the order in a non-relative phrase would have to be changed: ònwá anyi òwá)

- (11) ndú, 'ányí bù l'íb'è phié EB 15 RC 2  
 NPs 1 [NPs 3 VP AP 2 ] 'the people in whose place  
 people we live in place their we live'

(d) Stative impersonal

- (12) íphé, 'éh'ú 'ád'ú Óbiyá gù PR 312  
 NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [NPs 3 VP NPo 10 NP<sub>comp.</sub>] 'the thing which will make  
 thing body is Obiya cool Obiya well'

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH PRESENT PARTICIPLE

- (13) íphé, òò kájé 'ábá ú'bá bù lè... ú'bá and not úbá  
 NPs 1 [NPs CVP NPo 3] because of present  
 thing it is usually growing foliage is that 'the reason that it  
 more grows more  
 foliage is that...'  
 YA 30 RC 4

SERIAL CLAUSES

(a) Main serial clauses

- (14) Ébyá bù ónyé, gb'èshírú | òtá jéshíá mgbàgháshí `ké Ébyá  
 NPs 1 VP NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [RVP AP VP NPo]  
 E. is person got up now went spoiling of E.  
 'Ebya is the one who got up now and went to the spoiling of E.'  
 R5 34

(b) Close-knit serial clauses

- (15)  $\acute{n}d\acute{u}$ ,  $\acute{d}\acute{u}$   $g\acute{e}$   $\acute{n}\acute{n}\acute{a}j\acute{u}p\acute{h}\acute{u}$   $\acute{a}n\acute{y}\acute{í}$   $b\grave{u}$   $\acute{n}d\acute{u}$ ,  $\acute{v}\acute{u}$   $\acute{u}z\grave{o}$   
 NPs<sub>1</sub> [RVP NP<sub>comp.</sub> 13+1 ] VP NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [RVP NP<sub>o</sub> 11  
 people are like master our are people lead way  
 $k\acute{u}z\acute{í}áhá$   $\acute{í}p\acute{h}\acute{é}$   
 VP NP<sub>o</sub> 1]  
 teach-begin thing

'Those who are like our masters are people who first taught something'

FS 40

(note: reconstructed tone pattern:  $\acute{d}\acute{u}$   $g\acute{e}$  <  $d\acute{u}$   $g\acute{e}$ ;  $\acute{a}n\acute{y}\acute{í}$  <  $\grave{a}n\acute{y}\acute{í}$

- (16)  $l\acute{e}$   $\acute{a}$   $kw\acute{a}$   $\acute{í}p\acute{h}\acute{é}$ ,  $m\acute{u}$   $g\acute{u}d\acute{e}$   $p\acute{f}\acute{u}\acute{a}$   $\acute{í}p\acute{h}\acute{é}$   $\grave{o}n\acute{o}$   $b\grave{u}$   $l\acute{e}...$   
 NPs VP NP<sub>Eq.</sub> 1 [NPs VP VP NP<sub>o</sub> 1 9a]  
 that it is thing I hold said thing that is that  
 'The reason why I said that thing is that...'  
 IO 239 RC 4

CONNECTIVE SERIAL CLAUSES

- (17)  $\acute{o}p\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $\acute{í}p\acute{h}\acute{é}$ ,  $\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{é}á$   $w\grave{o}f\acute{u}t\grave{a}r\acute{u}$   $by\grave{a}$   $\acute{e}p\acute{f}\acute{u}á$   $d\acute{u}$   $r\acute{e}$   
 conj. NPs<sub>1</sub> [NPs<sub>15</sub> VP conn. VP VP ] VP NP<sub>comp.</sub>  
 but thing person remembered and spoke is good  
 this

'but what this person remembered and said is good'

BB 168

class 1 > 15 in  
 $\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{e}+\grave{a}$  >  $\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{e}á$  >  
 $\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{e}'á$  >  
 $\acute{o}n\acute{y}\acute{e}á$

SENTENCES

- (18)  $\acute{o}kp\acute{o}m'á$   $\grave{o}n\acute{o}$   $\acute{f}$   $s\grave{u}$   $l\acute{e}$   $\acute{o}ò$   $m\acute{e}$   $\acute{í}y'á$   $\acute{e}h\acute{u}k\acute{a}$   $\grave{o}n\acute{o}y'á$   
 NPs<sub>12a</sub> 9a [NPs VP conj. NPs VP NP<sub>o</sub> NP<sub>o</sub> 4 9b ]  
 chest that she said that it is doing her pain that  
 'that chest which she said caused her pains'  
 BB 134 RC 4

INCLUDED RELATIVE CLAUSES

- (19)  $m\acute{e}'\acute{e}$ ,  $\acute{n}d\acute{í}\acute{u}$ ,  $nw'\acute{e}$   $n\acute{e}$   $ng'\acute{u}á$   $n\grave{u}r\grave{u}$   $ng\grave{u}^{16}$   
 NP<sub>2</sub> [NPs<sub>1</sub> [RVP NP<sub>o</sub> ] VP NP<sub>o</sub>]  
 wine people have mother your this gave you  
 'the wine which the people who possess your mother have given you'  
 PR 96

(Note: this could also mean '...your mother to whom one gave you' as  $\acute{a}$  could be the impersonal subject)

<sup>16</sup>  $ng\acute{u}á$  <  $ng\acute{u}+\grave{a}$  according to class 11 changes to  $ng\acute{u}'á$  >  $ng\acute{u}á$  before a relative juncture. Note that the second relative juncture is repeating the first, thus bracketing off the included clause. The first juncture which would remain even if the included relative clause were removed has a double function.

## THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN IZI

### SEQUENCE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

- (20) ónyé òwá, b'ú nw'ún'é 'mú, 'bú ónyé 'ké ògèrènyà  
 NPs I 9a [RVP NPEq. 6 ] [RVP NPEq. I 14 ]  
 person this is brother my is person the old one  
 'this person who is my brother who is the old one = this person who is my  
 OLDER brother'  
 BB 45

### INCLUDED SEQUENCE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

- (21) óò Chípú íyá, 'núrú íyá ánú ònó, ó gbùrú ònó,  
 NPEq. I [RVP NPo NPo I 9a [NPs VP] ono  
 it is God his gave him animal that he killed that  
 ó gùdè gbátá òkpògá ònó  
 [NPs VP VP NPo 14 9a]  
 he hold get money that  
 'It is his God who gave him that animal which he killed with which he got that  
 money' (The second clause of the sequence contains a close-knit serial  
 construction.)

### KEY TO APPENDIX TABLE I

#### COMMENTS ON EXAMPLES

í'j'j'í 'fly'      ékp'í'rí 'throat, gluttony'

Note that alternative tone of the verb phrase is independant of the nominal phrase.

dú 'to be' (stative verb)	tú 'to throw'
gbú 'to kill, drive away'	phé 'to fly'
tá 'to bite'	kù 'to call'
té 'to cook'	bèrú 'to perch'

#### TRANSLATION OF THE EXAMPLES

- (1) throat is not me = I am not a gluttonous person
- (2) he is cutting the throat
- (3) he will cut the throat
- (4) he cut the throat
- (5) the water of the fly
- (6) he throws the fly on the fly
- (7) he will call the fly 'throat'
- (8) he called the fly 'throat'
- (9) he is driving away the fly of the throat
- (10) he did not drive away the fly of the throat
- (11) the fly of the throat
- (12) he is cooking the throat which is bad (= the bad throat)
- (13) he will drive away the fly which bit him
- (14) gluttony which I am not doing = gluttony which does not characterize me
- (15) he is cooking the throat on which the fly did not sit
- (16) he will not cook the throat on which the fly did not sit

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- (17) the throat on which the fly did not sit
- (18) he is driving away the throat fly which bit him
- (19) he will see the throat fly which flew away.
- (20) the fly of the throat which flew away.

Appendix Table 1. Examples of Tone Patterns of Nominal Class 7<sup>17</sup>

After L or #

After D

After H

Function of nominal  
NPs VP  
a

(1)   
ékp'írí tá'dúdú mú

(4)   
ó gbürù ékp'írí

(3)   
ó-ó-gb'ù ékp'írí or ó-ó-gb'ù ékp'írí<sup>18</sup>

(5)   
NP + NP mí'ní í'íjǐ<sup>18</sup> or mí'ní í'íjǐ<sup>a</sup>

VP NP<sub>o</sub> NP<sub>o</sub>  
a a

(6)   
òòtú í'íjǐ í'íjǐ

NP + NP  
b a

(9)   
óògbù í'íjǐ ékp'írí

óògbù í'íjǐ ékp'írí or 'ékp'írí

NP, VP  
c

(12)   
óòté ékp'írí, dú èìì

(15)   
óòté ékp'írí í'íjǐ té bédùrù

NP + NP  
b c

(18)   
óògbù í'íjǐ ékp'írí, 'tárú íyá'nú

(8)   
ó kùrù í'íjǐ ékp'írí

(11)   
í'íjǐ ékp'írí

(14)   
ékp'írí, tá'dúdú mú

(17)   
ékp'írí, í'íjǐ té bédùrù

(20)   
í'íjǐ ékp'írí, 'phéhú'rú'nú

<sup>17</sup> (a) Non-qualified form, (b) qualified (non-relative), (c) qualified (relative).  
Alternative forms are missing where three downsteps between the high and the low level would occur. Three are not realized.

<sup>18</sup> This is a case of 'squeezed' downstep.