Relative clause in Zilo

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1. Introduction

Zilo speakers uses participles for the formation of relative clauses. Relative clauses can either precede the head or follow the head without any known changes in meaning (see 1b-1e), so the topic of the possible word orders in relative clause and whether different orders have different meanings needs further investigation based on corpora data.

2. Positions that can be relativized

- (1) Single argument of an intransitive verb
 - a. iʃ:i-χο joʃi j-iʔ-o we-AD.LAT girl F-come-PST(AOR) 'The? girl came to us'
 - b. di-<j>o ts'inn-e joʃi [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] I-<F>AFF know-hab girl we-ad.lat F-come-pst-ptcp:pst 'I know the girl who came to us'.
 - c. di-<j>0 ts'inn-e [iʃ:i- χ 0 j-iʔ-0-b] joʃi I-<f>aff know-hab we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp:pst girl 'I know the girl who came to us'.
 - d. joʃi [iʃ:i-χo j-iʔ-o-b] di-<j>o ts'inn-e girl we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp:pst I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl who came to us'.
 - e. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl who came to us'.
 - f. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-ija] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp:pres girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl who will come to us'.
- (2) Agent of transitive verb
 - a. maduhalſ-di χink'il-ol k'amm-i neighbour.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-pst(aor)
 'Neighbour ate khinkals'.
 - b. [xink'il-ol k'amm-i-b] maduhal di-<w>o ts'inn-e khinkal-pl eat-pst-ptcp:pst neighbour I-<m>Aff know-hab 'I know the neighbour who ate khinkals'.
 - c. [ҳink'il-ol k'amm-ija] maduhal di-<w>o ts'inn-e khinkal-PL eat-PTCP:PRES neighbour I-<м>AFF know-нав 'I know the neighbour who will eat khinkals'.

(3) Patient of transitive verb

- a. maduhalſ-di χink'il-ol k'amm-i neighbour.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-pst(AOR)
 'Neighbour ate khinkals'.
- c. [maduhalʃ-di k'amm-ij-ol] xink'il-ol den-ni dzid-i neighbour.obl-erg eat-ptcp:pres-pl khinkal-pl I-erg do-pst(aor) 'I made khinkals that the neighbour will eat'.

(4) Affective argument

- a. dada-<r>o reʃa ha?-o father-<¬AN2>AFF tree see-PST(AOR) 'Father saw the tree'.
- b. [reʃa haʔ-o-b] dada di-<w>o ts'inn-e tree see-pst-ptcp:pst father I-<m>AFF know-hab 'I know the father who saw the tree'.
- c. [reʃa haʔ-ija] dada di-<w>o ts'inn-e tree see-PTCP:PRES father I-<M>AFF know-HAB 'I know the father who will see the tree'.

(5) Instrumental argument

- a. joʃi halux-onn-ij baba-qxi
 girl miss-PST-PF mother-INST
 'Girl missed her mother'.
- b. [joʃi haluxonn-i-b] baba di-<j>o ts'inn-e girl miss-pst-ptcp:pst mother I-<m>Aff know-hab 'I know the mother whom the girl missed'.
- c. [joʃi haluxonn-ija] baba di-<j>o ts'inn-e girl miss-ptcp:pres mother I-<m>AFF know-hab 'I know the mother whom the girl will miss'.

(6) Ad2 argument

- a. woso imu-tʃ'u sir-i boy father.obl-Ad2 afraid-Pst(AOR) 'The boy is afraid of [his] father'.
- b. [woʃo sir-i-b] ima di-<w>o ts'inn-e boy afraid-PST-PTCP:PST father I-<M>AFF know-HAB 'I know the father that boy was afraid of'.
- c. [woso sir-ija] ima di-<w>o ts'inn-e boy afraid-ptcp:pres father I-<m>aff know-hab 'I know the father that boy will afraid of'.

(7) Dative argument

- a. dada-di j-oʃul-lu intʃi itʃ:-i father.obl-erg girl.obl-dat apple give-pst(aor) 'Father gave an apple to the daughter'.
- b. [dada-di intʃi itʃ:-i-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e father.obl-erg apple give-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>Aff know-hab 'I know the girl that father gave an apple to'.

c. [dada-di intʃi itʃ:-ija] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e father.obl-erg apple give-ptcp:pres girl I-<f>Aff know-hab 'I know the girl that father will give an apple to'.

(8) Comitative argument

- a. joʃi j-ik-on ritl'i-loj girl F-live.on-PST(AOR) meet-COM 'The girl live on meet'.
- b. [joʃi j-ik-oni-b] ritł'i di-

 girl F-live.on-PST-PTCP:PST meet I-<¬AN1>AFF love-HAB
 'I like the meet that girl lived on'.
- c. [joʃi j-ik-on-ija] ritl'i di-
b>o dʒi?-e girl f-live.on-¬PST-PTCP:PRES meet I-<¬AN1>AFF love-HAB 'I like the meet that girl will live on'.

(9) Causee argument

- a. woſu-di joſu-o χink'il-ol k'amm-oł-i
 boy.obl-erg girl.obl-<¬an1>aff khinkal-pl eat-caus-pst(aor)
 'The girl live on meet'.
- b. [woſu-di xink'il-ol k'amm-oł-i-b] joʃi iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o boy.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-Caus-pst-ptcp:pst girl we-ad.lat f-come-pst(aor) 'The girl who was made to eat khinkals came to us'.
- c. [woſu-di xink'il-ol k'amm-ol-ija] joʃi iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o boy.OBL-ERG khinkal-PL eat-CAUS-PTCP:PRES girl we-AD.LAT F-come-PST(AOR) 'The girl who will be made to eat khinkals came to us'.

(10) Genitive possessor

- a. joʃu-tłi reʔa ruq'-u-r girl.obl-gen hand hurt-pst-progr 'Girl's hand hurts'.
- b. [re?a ruq'-u-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e hand hurt-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl whose arm hurt'.
- c. [re?a ruq'-ija] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e hand hurt-ptcp:pres girl I-<f>Aff know-hab 'I know the girl whose arm will hurt'.

(11) Time

- a. zełal wojo w-u?-o today boy M-come-PST(AOR)'Today boy came'.
- b. [woʃo w-uʔ-o-b] zubu boy M-come-PST-PTCP:PST day 'Day when the boy came'.
- c. [woʃo w-uʔ-ija] zubu boy M-come-PTCP:PRES day 'Day when the boy will come'.

(12) Spatial location

a. woso hon-tłi w-uz-un boy village.OBL-INTER.ESS M-be.born-PST(AOR) 'The boy was born in a village'.

- b. [woʃo w-uz-uni-b] hon di-<r>o ha?-o boy M-be.born-PST-PTCP:PST village I-<¬AN2>AFF see-PST(AOR) 'I saw the village, where the boy was born'.
- c. [woʃo w-uz-un-ija] hon di-<r>o boy M-be.born-¬PST-PTCP:PRES village I-<¬AN2>AFF see-PST(AOR) 'I saw the village, where the boy will be born'.

Since relativisation remove all relation markers from the head of the relative clause, the ambiguity arise: the relativised spatial goal and spatial source will be the same (but there is a lexical way to distinguish them anyway):

(13) Spatial goal and spatial source

- a. woso hon-tłi w-uts':-unboy village.OBL-INTER.LAT M-run-PST(AOR)'Boy ran to the village'.
- b. woso hon-tłi-k:u w-uts':-un boy village.obl-inter-elat m-run-pst(aor) 'Boy ran from the village'.
- c. [woʃo w-utʃ':-uni-b] hon di-<r>o boy M-run-PST-PTCP:PST village I-<¬AN2>AFF see-PST(AOR)
 'I saw the village that boy ran to/from'.
- d. [woʃo w-utʃ':-un-ija] hon di-<r>o haʔ-o boy M-run-¬PST-PTCP:PRES village I-<¬AN2>AFF see-PST(AOR) 'I saw the village that boy will ran to/from'.

In adpositional relative clause the adposition could be placed anywhere in a relative clause but the last position (see 14b–14e). Probably, participle should be placed in last position in a relative clause, but it should be investigated in more accurate way. The first informants' reaction is in example (14c).

(14) Adpositional argument

- a. j-oſu-di k'amm-i intʃi haq'u-tʃ'u tleru girl.OBL-ERG eat-PST(AOR) apple hous.OBL-AD2 near 'The girl ate apple near the hous'.
- b. [tleru j-oʃu-di intʃi k'amm-i-b] haq'u di-<r>o near girl.obl-erg apple eat-pst-ptcp:pst house I-<¬an2>aff see-pst(aor) 'I saw the house near which the girl ate an apple'.
- c. [j-oʃu-di tłeru intʃi k'amm-i-b] haq'u di-<r>o ha?-o girl.obl-erg near apple eat-pst-ptcp:pst house I-<¬an2>aff see-pst(aor) 'I saw the house near which the girl ate an apple'.
- d. [j-oʃu-di intʃi tɬeru k'amm-i-b] haq'u di-<r>o ha?-o girl.OBL-ERG apple near eat-PST-PTCP:PST house I-<¬AN2>AFF see-PST(AOR) 'I saw the house near which the girl ate an apple'.
- e. *[j-oʃu-di intʃi k'amm-i-b tleru] haq'u di-<r>o ha?-o girl.obl-erg apple eat-pst-ptcp:pst near house I-<¬an2>aff see-pst(aor) 'I saw the house near which the girl ate an apple'.
- f. [j-oʃu-di tɬeru intʃi k'amm-ija] haq'u di-<r>o ha?-o girl.obl-erg near apple eat-ptcp:pres house I-<¬an2>aff see-pst(aor) 'I saw the house near which the girl will eat an apple'.

(15) Actant from the general question

- a. joʃi j-i?-o di-bolo dada-di rats':-in girl F-come-PST:(AOR) ?-INDEF father.OBL-ERG ask-PST(AOR) 'Father asked, whether the girl came'.
- b. [dada-di j-i?-o di-bolo rats':-inni-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e-ssu father.obl-erg f-come-pst:(AOR) ?-INDEF ask-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>AFF know-hab-neg 'I don't know the girl about whom father asked, whether she came'.
- c. [dada-di j-i?-o di-bolo rats':-inn-ija] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e-ssu father.obl-erg f-come-pst:(AOR) ?-INDEF ask-¬pst-ptcp:pres girl I-<f>AFF know-hab-neg 'I don't know the girl about whom father will ask, whether she came'.
- (16) Actant from the special question
 - a. maduhalʃ-χο i-m w-uʔ-o di-bolo dada-di rats':-in neighbour.obl-AD.LAT what-H M-come-PST(AOR) ?-INDEF father.OBL-ERG ask-PST(AOR) 'Father asked, who came to the neighbour'.
 - b. [dada-di i-m w-u?-o di-bolo rats':-inni-b] maduhal di-<w>o father.obl-erg what-h m-come-pst(aor) ?-Indef ask-pst-ptcp:pst neighbour I-<m>aff ts'inn-e-ssu

know-hab-neg

'I don't know the neighbour to whom father asked who came'.

c. [dada-di i-m w-u?-o di-bolo rats':-inn-ija] maduhal di-<w>o father.OBL-ERG what-H M-come-PST(AOR) ?-INDEF ask-¬PST-PTCP:PRES neighbour I-<M>AFF ts'inn-e-ssu

know-hab-neg

'I don't know the neighbour to whom father asked who came'.

- (17) So called relative clause without coreferential noun phrase in the modifying clause
 - a. [den-ni zĩw b-ertʃ':-i-b] f:iw woʃu-di ts'ad-i
 I-ERG cow AN-milk-PST-PTCP:PST milk boy.OBL-ERG drink-PST(AOR)
 'Boy drank the milk from my milking the cow'.
 - b. $[den-ni ma \int ab-a\chi o-l-i-b]$ orsi di-
 $den-ni ma \int ab-a\chi o$
 - c. [woſul-di orsi b-eq'aʃ:-i-b] χ abar di-
boy.obl-erg money ¬an1-steal-pst-ptcp:pst story I-<¬an1>aff know-hab 'I know the story about the boy stealing the money'
 - d. [joʃu-di χ^w ami-lj-ez-a-b] fam di-o b-axo-r girl.obl-erg fish-pl f-cook-pst-ptcp:pst smell I-<\pan1>aff \pan1-smell-progr 'I pick up the smell of fishes that girl cooked'.

It is not possible to relativise some non-obligatory adjuncts:

- (18) Commitative adjunct
 - a. dada joʃi-loj w-uʔ-o father girl-COM M-come-PST(AOR) 'Father came with the daughter'.
 - b. *[dada w-u?-o-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e father M-come-PST-PTCP:PST girl I-<F>AFF know-HAB 'I know the daughter that father came with'.

It is not possible to relativise from coordination island:

- (19) Coordination Island
 - a. woſo-lo joʃi-lo w-uʔ-oboy-ADD girl-ADD M-come-PST(AOR)'A boy and a girl came'.
 - b. *[woʃo-lo w-uʔ-o-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e boy-add m-come-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl that boy and she came'.

3. Head properties

The head of the relative clause could be:

- (20) common noun
 - a. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp:pst girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl who came to us'.
- (21) demonstrative pronoun
 - a. [hon-tłi w-uz-uni-b] hege-w hołu w-etʃ'uҳa w-uʔ-un village.овL-INTER.ESS м-be.born-PST-PTCP:PST dem-м here м-big м-become-PST(AOR) 'He, that was born in village, grew up here'.
- (22) personal pronoun
 - a. [hon-tłi w-uʒ-uni-b] **men** hołu w-etʃ'uχa w-uʔ-un village.OBL-INTER.ESS M-be.born-PST-PTCP:PST you here M-big M-become-PST(AOR) 'You, that was born in village, grew up here'.
- (23) interrogative pronoun
 - a. [iʃ:i-χo w-uʔ-o-b] i-m-ʁi hede-w? we-AD.LAT M-come-PST-PTCP.PST what-H-WH ??-M 'Who was that who came to us?'
 - b. [maduhalʃ-di k'amm-i-b] i-b-ві hede-b? neighbour.obl-erg eat-pst-ptcp:pst what-¬н-wн ??-¬аn1 'What was that that the neighbour ate?'
- (24) indefinite pronoun
 - a. [iʃ:i-xo w-uʔ-o-b] i-m-bolo di-<w>o ts'inn-e-ssu we-ad.lat m-come-pst-ptcp.pst what-h-indef I-<m>aff know-hab-neg 'I don't know somebody who came to us'.
 - b. [maduhalʃ-di k'amm-i-b] i-bolo di-o ts'inn-e-ssu neighbour.obl-erg eat-pst-ptcp:pst what-indef I-<¬an1>aff know-hab-neg 'I don't know something that neighbour ate'.
- (25) heavy head
 - a. [iʃ:i-χο j-iʔ-o-b] j-etʃ'uχa j-ots:i aminat di-<j>o dʒiʔ-e we-ad.lat f-come-pst-ptcp.pst f-big f-sibling Aminat I-<f>Aff love-hab 'I love older sister Aminat, that came to us'.
- (26) headless
 - a. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] di-<j>o ts'inn-e-ssu we-AD.LAT F-come-PST-PTCP.PST I-<F>AFF know-HAB-NEG 'I don't know (female) that came to us'.

b. [xink'il-ol k'amm-i-b] di-<w>o ts'inn-e-ssu khinkal-PL eat-PST-PTCP:PST I-<M>AFF know-HAB-NEG 'I don't know (male) who ate khinkals'.

4. Properties of the participle

There are several categories that could be expressed on participle:

- (27) number

 - b. [maduhalʃ-di k'amm-ija] xink'il den-ni dzid-i neighbour.obl-erg eat-ptcp:pres khinkal I-erg do-pst(aor) 'I made khinkal that the neighbour will eat'.

 - d. [maduhalf-di k'amm-ij-ol] χink'il-ol den-ni dʒid-i neighbour.obl-erg eat-ptcp:pres-pl khinkal-pl I-erg do-pst(aor) 'I made khinkals that the neighbour will eat'.
- (28) negation
 - a. [iʃ:i-χo j-iʔ-o-ssu-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e we-AD.LAT F-come-PST-NEG-PTCP:PST girl I-<F>AFF know-HAB 'I know the girl who didn't come to us'.
 - b. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-essa] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e we-ad.lat f-come-neg.ptcp:pres girl I-<f>aff know-hab 'I know the girl who won't come to us'.
- (29) class agreement (only with absolutive from relative clause)
 - a. $[\hbar ajman b-iq\chi-u-b]$ woso di-<w>o ts'inn-e ram ¬an1-slaughter-pst-ptcp:pst boy I-<m>aff know-hab 'I know the boy who slaughter the ram'.
 - b. [woʃul-di b-iqχ-u-b] hajman di-<w>o ts'inn-e boy.obl-erg ¬an1-slaughter-pst-ptcp:pst ram I-<m>aff know-hab 'I know the ram that boy slaughtered'.
- (30) case (only on headless relative clauses)
 - a. [iʃ:i-χο j-iʔ-o-b]-di χink'il-ol k'amm-i we-AD.LAT M-come-PST-PTCP.PST-ERG khinkal-PL eat-PST(AOR)
 - b. [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] joʃi-di xink'il-ol k'amm-i we-ad.lat m-come-pst-ptcp.pst-erg girl.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-pst(aor)
 - c. *[iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b]-di joʃi-di xink'il-ol k'amm-i we-ad.lat m-come-pst-ptcp.pst-erg girl.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-pst(aor)
 - d. $*[if:i-\chi o j-i?-o-b]-di jofi \chiink'il-ol k'amm-i$ we-ad.lat M-come-pst-ptcp.pst-erg girl.obl-erg khinkal-pl eat-pst(aor) '(The girl), who came to us, ate khinkals'.

5. Resumptives

During the elicitation tasks native speakers didn't produce any resumptives by themselves. Even if informants allow to use reflexive pronouns as a resumptives, they still find this sentences little bit strange (31a). No attempts to use demonstratives as a resumptive succeeded. In example (31b) demonstrative tend to be a modifier of relative clause head *jofi*, but more work should be done on this topic. In the most natural example (31c) unfortunately it is not clear, whether *enfuro* is in relative clause or it is a head of the NP with a relative clause modifier. This should be investigated more precisely, when the Zilo corpora will be available.

- (31) a. [?][enʃu-<r>o reʃa haʔ-o-b] dada iʃ:i-ҳo w-uʔ-o RFL.OBL-<¬AN2>AFF tree see-PST-PTCP:PST father we-AD.LAT M-come-PST(AOR) 'Father that saw a tree came to us'
 - b. hege-j [iʃ:i-xo j-iʔ-o-b] joʃi di-<j>o ts'inn-e
 DEM-F we-AD.LAT M-come-PST-PTCP:PST girl I-<F>AFF know-HAB
 'I know this girl who came to us'.
 - c. enfu-<r>o resa ha?-o-b is:i-xo w-u?-o-do RFL.OBL-<¬AN2>AFF tree see-PST-PTCP:PST we-AD.LAT M-come-IMP-JUS 'That who saw a tree let's come to us!'

Glosses

AD = Ad location, AD2 = Ad2 location, ADD = additive, AFF = affective case, AN = animal class, AOR = aorist, CAUS = causative, COM = comitative, DAT = dative case, DEM = demonstrative, ELAT = ellative direction, ERG = ergative case, ESS = essive direction, F = female class, GEN = genitive case, H = human, HAB = habitual, IMP = imperative, INDEF = indefinite, INST = instrumental case, INTER = Inter location, JUS = jussive, LAT = lative direction, M = masculine class, NEG = negation marker, OBL = oblique stem, PF = perfect tense, PL = plural, PRES = present tense, PROGR = progressive, PST = past tense, PTCP = participle, RFL = reflexive pronoun, WH = special question marker, \neg AN1 = first non-animated class, \neg AN2 = second non-animated class, \neg H = non-human, \neg PST = non-past forms.