Relativisation in Kúsáàl

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Abstract
This paper discusses the syntax and semantics of relativisation in Kúsáàl, a Mabia (Gur) language spoken in the Upper East Region of Ghana. The relevance of this study cannot be overemphasized since very little is known in the literature on this topic with reference to Kúsáàl. This paper explores the various elements, functions, and formations of Kúsáàl relativisation and, among other things, shows that the language has both in-situ internally-headed relative clauses and left-headed internally-headed relative clauses (Hiraiwa et al. 2017). This was carried out with data collected from fieldwork, in addition to my own native speaker intuitions.

Keywords: Kúsáàl, relativisation, Mabia (Gur) language, in-situ head-internal relative clause, left-headed head internal relative clause

1. Introduction
Relative clauses are subordinate/embedded clauses that function as modifiers within a noun phrase. Functionally, relative clauses (REL-clauses), together with other noun modifiers, form part of the grammar of referential coherence providing either anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referential identification (Givón 2001: 175). The following restrictive REL-clause in Kúsáàl modifies the definite head noun *dáú* 'man' in (1a-b). The event coded in the REL-clause is assumed to be familiar or known to the hearer, a familiarity referred to as "pragmatic presupposition" (Givón 2001: 176).

(1) REL-clause in Kúsáàl

    a.   *Dáú* [*kànὲ* *sà*   *dā¹*   *gbáúŋ*   *lá*]
          man   REL   PAST   buy.PERF   book   DEF

          mɔ̄r   *lígídí.*
          have   money
          'The man who bought the book has money'

    b.   *Dáú*[*-sɔ́¹*   *nὲ*   *sà*   *dā¹*   *gbáúŋ* *lá*]
          man-INDEF.P COMP PAST buy.PERF   book DEF

      mɔ̄r   *lígídí.*
      have   money
      'The man who bought the book has money.'

The REL-clause in (1) expresses an event of 'buying' where the agent is co-referent with the head noun *dáú* 'man' which is modified by the REL-clause. Thus the subject of the main clause (2) is modified by the REL-clause in (3) and its co-referent noun is the subject. The speaker does not assert the proposition in the relative clause (2); however, s/he presupposes that it is known or familiar to the hearer (3).

(2) Main clause

Dáú	*lá*	*mɔ̄r*	*lígídí.*
man	DEF	have	money

'The man has money.' (asserted)

(3) Subordinate clause

Dáú	*lá*	*sà*	*dā'*	*gbáʊ́ŋ*	*lá.*
man	DEF	PAST	buy.PERF	book	DEF

'The man bought the book.' (presupposed)

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of relativisation in Kúsáàl. Although extensive research exists on sister Mabia languages on the topic (see Hiraiwa et al. 2017: 3 footnote for a list of languages), no pioneering work has been published on Kúsáàl yet. The main aim of this study is to fill the gap by discussing the various functions, formations and elements of Kúsáàl relativisation. I look at in-situ internally-headed relative clauses and left-headed internally-headed relative clauses. I also explore restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses as well as the various noun phrase (NP) positions accessible to relativisation in Kúsáàl. I will indicate areas where Kúsáàl patterns with observations made in sister languages and areas where they differ. This is purposely done to show the close relatedness or otherwise of these languages in relative clause formation.

Kúsáàl is an SVO language in which the verb does not inflect for tense or number. The remoteness of an activity or event is expressed using particles: *sà* for an event that is a day old, *dàà* for an event that is two days and beyond but less than a year and *dà* for an event that is a year old and beyond. As a tonal language, all data and examples are marked for tones. There are two dialects of Kúsáàl: Atoende and Agole. Both dialects are spoken in the Upper East Region of Ghana. However, while the Atoende dialect is spoken in Bawku West and the surrounding areas, the Agole dialect is spoken in Bawku Municipal, Garu-Tempane and adjoining areas. The data used in this work mainly come from the Agole dialect though there are instances where the Atoende dialect is used to clarify some concepts. This is mentioned anytime such a move is taken.

The paper is divided into six sections with the rest organised as follows: after this introduction, section 2 looks at the syntactic structures of REL-clauses in Kúsáàl whilst section 3 provides further insight on other elements of Kúsáàl relativisation. Section 4 discusses the accessibility hierarchy showing the possibility of relativising all elements in the scale in Kúsáàl. Section 5 gives account of restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses and their respective interpretations in Kúsáàl, and section 6 summarises the work.

2. Syntactic structures of relative clauses in Kúsáàl
Though this paper takes a more descriptive approach to the analysis of relativisation in Kúsáàl, an insight on the formal structural composition of the relative clause remains indispensable. Such formal explications, where required, will be carried out using the minimalist approach (Chomsky 1995).

Cross-linguistic realisations of relative clauses are generally grouped into two categories based on the structural positioning of the relativised head noun. The types are: an externally-headed relative clause (EHRC) where the relativised head noun is structurally located outside the relative clause complementiser phrase (CP); and an internally-headed relative clause (IHRC) where the head noun is structurally located inside the relative clause CP (Hiraiwa et al. 2017; Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009). Hiraiwa et al. (2017: 4) add that relative clauses are further divided into three types depending on linear positions of the relative head noun (H). A relative clause is described as left-headed, if H appears to the left of the relative clause, whilst it is said to be right–headed when H appears to the right. It can also be in-situ, when H is located within the relative clause. Hiraiwa et al. (2017) show that Mabia languages including Buli, Dagbani, Gurenɛ, Dagaare and Kabiyé have left-headed IHRCs; in addition, all the aforementioned languages with the exception of Dagaare also have in-situ IHRCs. Kúsáàl like Buli, Gurenɛ, Dagbani and Kabiyé has both in-situ IHRCs and left-headed IHRCs.

i. In-situ head-internal relativisation in Kúsáàl

(4) *Fún*   *sà*   *nyɛ̄*   *dáú-sɔ́ˈ*   *lá*   *àn(ɛ́)*
     2SG   PAST   see.PERF   man-IND.P   DEF   COP.be

     m̀   *zúá.*
     1SG.POSS   friend
     'The man whom you saw is my friend.

(5) *Àdúk*   *sà*   *nyɛ̄*   *Àdólúb*   *nɛ́*   *sūˈōe*
     Aduk   PAST   see.PERF   Adolub   COMP   own.PERF

     náˈá-síébá   *lá.*
     cow-INDEF.P.PL   DEF
     'Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.'

The examples in (4-5) demonstrate the most important properties of head-internal relativisation in Kúsáàl. The head noun is left in its original position and directly followed by an indefinite pronoun acting as a relative particle. The structure of the in-situ relative clause is as in (6).

(6) [DP [CP…(COMP)…H-INDEF.PRO (REL)…] DEF]

ii. Left-headed head-internal relativisation in Kúsáàl

(7)   *Dáú   kànè   ká   fʋ̀   sà   nyɛ̄   lá   àn(ɛ́)*
        man   REL.P COMP 2SG past see.PERF   DEF COP.be

        m̀   zúá.
        1SG.POSS   friend
        'The man whom you saw is my friend.'

(8)   *Àdúk   sà   nyɛ̄   ná'ábànè   ká   Àdólúb*
        Aduk   PAST see.PERF   cow.PL.REL   COMP Adolub

        sū̄'ōē   lá.
        own   DEF
        'Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.'

(9)   *M̀   sà   ŋyɛ̄   bíkànè   sà   wā̄'ād   lá.*
        1SG   PAST see   child.REL   PAST dance   DEF
        'I saw the child who was dancing.'

From the examples in (7-8), it can be seen that in left-headed IHRC in Kúsáàl, the REL-clause occurs adjacent to the head noun. Unlike subject relativisation that requires no complementiser, it is obligatory to have the complementiser in object relativisation. Structurally, left-headed IHRC is represented as in (10) (see Hiraiwa et al 2017: 11).

(10)   [DP [CP…H_j-REL…(COMP)…t_j…] DEF]

Generally, relative clauses in Kúsáàl can be said to have the following features, which are subsequently discussed in subsections 2.1-2.3.

i.   A head/antecedent NP
ii.   The particles *nɛ and ka* in-situ IHRC and left-headed IHRC respectively
iii.   An obligatory relative clause marker *kanɛ/banɛ* for left-headed IHRC and

sɔ ʼ/ sieba for in-situ IHRC
vi.   Clause final determiner *la*

2.1. The particles *né* and *kaʹ* in relativisation in Kúsáàl

The particles *né* and *kaʹ* are used in in-situ internally-headed relative clause and left-headed internally-headed relative clause respectively in Kúsáàl. These particles also function as NP and VP conjunctions respectively where both mean 'and'. They have other variants, which are used for discourse purposes: the particles *né* with a high tone and *kà* with a low tone function as contrastive/exhaustive focus particles in Kúsáàl (see Abubakari 2016a). The particles *né* and *kaʹ* again surface as markers of subordination in relativisation consequent to their original functions as conjunctions in the language. Similar trends are observed by Fiedler & Schwarz (2005) for Buli and Dagbani where they identify the said particles *l̄e* and *teˋ* for Buli and *n(í)* for Dagbani as conjunctions. The same particles are however glossed as complementisers by Hiraiwa et al. (2017) for Buli and Dagbani (see examples 25-27). I opt to gloss *né* and *ká* in relativisation in Kúsáàl as complementisers. It is important to add that there are some dialectal variations in the use of *né*. Whilst it is predominantly used in the Atoende dialect, it is realized as *nʹ* in the Agole dialect and at times even silent in casual speech. This will be discussed further in section 2.2 below.

2.2. Asymmetry in relativisation in Kúsáàl

The asymmetry between left-headed IHRC and in-situ IHRC deserves mention in any discussion on relativisation in Kúsáàl. In left-headed IHRC the relative pronouns *kànè* and *bànè* are used for marking singular and plural respectively. These pronouns are obligatory indicators of relativisation in left-headed IHRC in Kúsáàl and cannot be omitted. An additional feature of these pronouns is that they only agree in number but not in person. Person agreement is not characteristic of Kúsáàl. The stem of the head noun forms a compound with the relative pronoun and number is determined on the relative pronoun that is used. For instance *bíbànè* 'the children who' is composed of *bíís* 'children' and *bànè* 'REL.PL' and *díkànè* is composed of *dííb* 'food' and *kànè* 'REL.SG' in (11a) and (12a) respectively.

(11) Subject relativisation (plural)

a.   *M̀*   *sà*   *ŋyē*   *bíbànè*   *sà*
         1SG. PAST see.PERF   child- REL.PL PAST

         wā̄ʹād   *lá.*
         dance.PERF   DEF
         'I saw the children who were dancing.'

b.   **M̀*   *sà*   *ŋyē*   *bíís*   *là*   *sà*   *wā̄ʹād*
         1SG   PAST see.PERF   child DEF   PAST dance.PERF

lá.
DEF
Lit.: 'I saw the children who were dancing.'

(12) Subject relativisation (singular)

a. *Àdúk   sà   dī   díkànè   ká*
    Aduk   PAST   eat.PERF food-REL   COMP

    Ásíbì sà   dʊ̄g   lá.
    Asibi PAST   cook.PERF   DEF
    'Aduk ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

b. * *Àdúk sà   dī   dííb   ká   Ásíbì*
    Aduk past   eat.PERF food   comp   Asibi

    sà   dʊ́g   lá.
    PAST   cook.PERF   DEF
    Lit.: 'Aduk ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

The relative pronouns in (11a) and (12a) occur after the head noun of the relative clause in both subject and object relativisation. The other difference between these two forms is that whilst the particle *ká* occurs after the relative pronoun in object relativisation (12a), the same is not the case for subject relativisation in (11a) since object relativisation involves the extraction of the supposed object to the clause initial position of the embedded clause. All forms of non-subject displacements that leave gaps at the extraction sites have the particle *ka* after the moved constituents in Kúsáàl (see Abubakari 2016a).

(13) Non-subject relativisation

a. *Àdúk   sà   dī   díkànè   ká   Ásíbì*
    Aduk   PAST   eat.PERF food.REL   COMP   Asibi

    sà   dʊ̄g   lá.
    PAST   cook.PERF   DEF
    'Aduk ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

b. * *Àdúk sà   dī   díkàn   Ásíbì   sà*
    Aduk   PAST   eat.PERF food.REL   Asibi   PAST

    dʊ̄g   lá.
    cook.PERF   DEF
    LIT.: 'Aduk ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

In in-situ IHRC on the other hand, the "indefiniteness restriction", which requires that internally headed relative clauses have a definiteness effect (Williamson 1987), strictly applies in Kúsáàl. The indefinite pronouns, in the table in (14) below, are used in correlation with the status of the relativised head noun. These pronouns are mostly used as suffixes with the stem of the relativised head noun in both subject and object relativisation in in-situ IHRC. Thus, number is generally determined on the pronoun and not on the head noun (see Abubakari 2016b).

Table 1: Indefinite pronouns in Kúsáàl

Indefinite Pronoun	Use	Gloss
síˈá	Generic	any, some
-sɔ́ˈ, sɔ́ˈ	Human	anyone, someone, somebody, whoever
síˈél	Non-human	something, anything, somewhere
síébá	Generic plural	some.PL

The complementiser *nɛ́* is used in in-situ IHRC. It occurs after the subject of the matrix clause in subject relativisation as in (15-16). However, should the subject of the matrix clause be the same as the head of the relativised NP, *nɛ́* follows the indefinite pronoun *sɔ*′ as in (16). As mentioned in the previous section, the complementiser in in-situ IHRC can be realised as either *nɛ́* or *n´* depending on the dialect in use. The example in (15a) is Atoende whilst (15b) is Agole.

(14)

a. *Àdúk   nɛ́   sà   nyɛ̄   púˈá*
    Aduk   COMP   PAST   see.PERF   woman

    sɔ′   *lá*   *kūōsìdné   gúúr.*
    INDEF.P.SG   DEF   sell.IMPERF   cola nut
     'The woman whom Aduk saw/met sells cola nuts.

b. *Àdúk   n´   sà   nyɛ̄   púˈá   sɔ́ˈ*
    Aduk   COMP PAST   see.PERF   woman   INDEF.

    lá   kūōsìdné   gúúr.
    DEF   sell.IMPERF   cola nut
    'The woman whom Aduk saw/met sells cola nuts.'

(15)   *Púˈá   lá   nɛ́   sà   dā̄ˈ   náˈásíá lá*
        woman   DEF   COMP   PAST   buy.PERF   cow.INDEF.P   DEF

ànέ   ná'ábíl.
COP.be calf
'The cow the woman bought is a small one/the cow the woman bought is a calf'

(16)   (Nín)- sɔ́'   nέ   kūl   lá   ànέ
        person.INDEF.P   COMP go-home.PERF   DEF   COP.be

        m̀   zúá.
        1SG.POSS   friend
        'The person who went home is my friend.'

In both dialects, pronominalised subjects in relative clauses are always the emphatic forms (18a). Abubakari (2016a) argues that the emphatic pronoun in Kúsáàl can be explained to occur due to the assimilation of the subject pronoun with the contrastive focus particle nέ.

(17)
    a.   Fún(έ) [1]   sà   nyε̄   dáú-sɔ́'   lá
          2SG.EMPH   PAST   see.PERF   man-INDEF.P   DEF

          àn(έ)   m̀   zúá.
          COP.be   1SG.POSS friend
          'The man whom you saw is my friend.'

    b.   *Fʋ̀ sà   nyε̄   dáú-sɔ́'   lá
          2SG. PAST   see.PERF   man-INDEF.P   DEF

          àn(έ)   m̀   zúá.
          COP.be   1SG.POSS friend
          'The man whom you saw is my friend.

In object relativisation, the complementiser nέ occurs after the subject of the relative clause with the indefinite pronoun occurring on the relativised head noun. Pronouns are also the emphatic forms in the same environments (19).

(18)   Àdúk sà   nyε̄   Àdólúb   nέ   sʋ̄'ōe
        Aduk PAST see.PERF   Adolub   COMP own.PERF

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[1] Whilst Agole drops the ε in the emphatic pronoun fʋn(ε), Atoende does not, hence the realization of the full form which is fʋ+nε=fʋnε 2SG.EMPH. 'you'.

náˈá-síébá   lá.
cow.INDEF.P.PL   DEF
'Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.'

(19)   Àdúk   sà   nyɛ̄   mán   sʊ̄ˈōe
         Aduk   PAST   see.PERF   1SG.EMPH   own.PERF

náˈá-síébá   lá.
cow.INDEF.P.PL   DEF
'Aduk saw the cattle that I owned.'

2.3. Clause final determiner *la´*

In relative clause constructions in Kúsáàl, the particle *la´* is used as a marker of definiteness and it is restricted to clause final position. This particle is the same as the definite article in the language, thus making the relative clause obligatorily definite. Consequently, the head of the relative clause cannot occur with a determiner as shown below in (20).

(20)   [*Bí*   *(*lá)*   *kànè*   *ká*   *Àdólúb*   *sà*   *nyɛ̄*
         child   DEF   REL   COMP   Adolub   PAST   see.PERF

         *(lá)]   *kūl-yá.*
         DEF   go.home-PERF
         'The child who Adolub saw has gone home.'

(21) Main clause
         Bííg   *lá*   *kúl-yá*
         child   DEF   go.home-PERF
         'The child has gone home.'

(22) Subordinate clause
         Àdólúb   *sà*   *nyɛ̄*   *bííg*   *lá.*
         Adolub   PAST   see.PERF   child   DEF
         'Adolub saw the child.'

In both the main clause and the subordinate clause the subject and object NP *bííg* 'child' respectively is modified by the definite article *lá* but this is missing on the relativised head *bííg* in the relative clause in (20). Unlike in languages like Akan (Saah 2010: 94) where the head of the relative clause can occur with or without a determiner, Kúsáàl in conjunction with other Mabia languages that allow in-situ IHRC has a clause final determiner or demonstrative. Examples (24-26) are taken from Hiraiwa et al (2017:7) to show the predominant use of the clause final determiner in these languages.

(23)   Kúsáàl

[_{DP}[_{CP}   *Dáú-sɔ″*   *nɛ́*   *kārīm*   *gbáúŋ*]   *lá*]
                    man.INDEF.P.   COMP   read.PERF   book   DEF

         sà   *kēnā.*
         PAST   come.PERF.LOC
         'The/A man who read the book came.'

(24)   Buli

         Amoak   *nya*   [_{DP}[_{CP} *Atim* *ale*   *sua*   *naa*   *buui*
         Amoak   saw   Atim   C   own   cow   REL

         *(la)].
         DEM
         'Amoak saw the/*a cow which Atim owned.'

(25)   Gurenɛ

         [_{DP}[_{CP} *Atia*   *n*   *daꞋ*   *bua*   *sɛka*   *daꞋa*   *zaam*]
                    Atia   C   buy.PERF   goat   REL   market yesterday

         *(la)]   *bɔi*   *mɛ.*
         D   lose.PERF   PAST
         'The/*A goat that Atia bought at the market got lost.'

(26)   Dagbani

         [_{DP}[_{CP} *Ata*   *ni*   *nya*   *yili*   *sheli*   *(maa)*]
                    Ata   C   see.PERF   house   REL   D

         vela.
         nice
          'The/*A house that Ata saw is nice.'

It then follows that Kúsáàl is consistent with the observation made by Hiraiwa et al. (2017) for the structure in (27) where these languages uniformly have the demonstrative (D) element occurring at clause final position in the relative construction.

(27) [_{DP}[_{CP}….(C)…H-REL.]D] (Hiraiwa et al. 2017: 5)

It is interesting to note the recurrent use of the identical morpheme *la* as clausal determiners in Kúsáàl, Buli, Gurenɛ as well as Dagbani where *maa* alternates with *la*. The clausal

determiner is said to "assert the content of the proposition, relating to something that has been said earlier in the conversation" (Hiraiwa et al. 2017: 5-7; see also Lefebvre 1992; 1998; Larson 2003).

(28) *Pú'á*   *lá*   *sā'āl*   *Àdúk* *lá.*
      woman   DEF   advise.PERF   Aduk   DEF
      'The woman advised Aduk, as I said.'

As elaborated by Hiraiwa et al. (2017), the clausal determiner in IHRCs is a determiner for the clausal constituent taking the CP as its complement. Comparing this to the structure of a DP in Kúsáàl, both the NP and the CP in a determiner phrase and a relative clause respectively move to the specifier of DP (whilst assuming the same extended projection principle (EPP) features for D).

(29)
   a. Structure of DP   b. Structure of IHRC
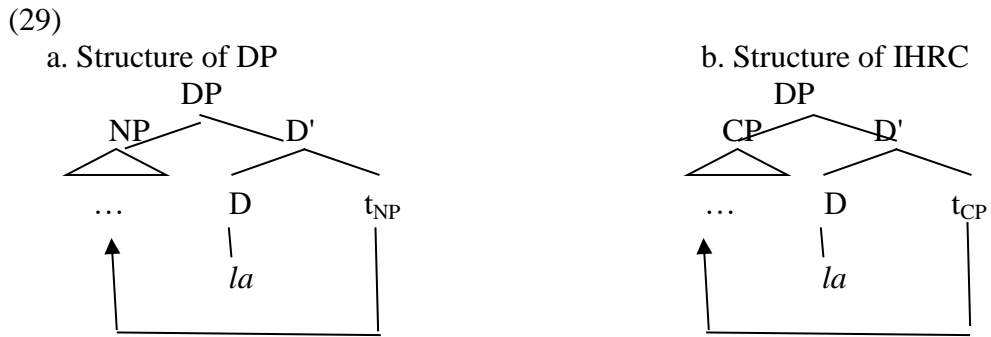
However, anytime the relativised head noun is indefinite, the clause final definite determiner must be absent. The indefinite determiner *sí'à/* 'a certain' can be used in place of the definite determiner. This determiner cannot fully have the intended indefinite meaning; it has an interpretation where the indefinite determiner functions as a numeral 'one' (also see Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009).

(30) Object relativisation (Definite)
      M̀   *dà*   *kārīm*   *gbáú̃ŋ* *kànè* *ká*   *Àsíbì* *dà*
      1SG.   PAST   read.PERF   book   REL   COMP   Asibi   PAST

      sɔ̄b   *lá.*
      write.PERF   DEF
      'I read the book that Asibi wrote'

(31) Object relativisation (Indefinite)
   a. *M̀*   *dà*   *kārīm*   *gbáú̃ŋ* *ká*   *Àsíbì* *sɔ̄b.*
       1SG.   PAST   read.PERF   book   COMP   Asibi   write.PERF

'I read a book that Asibi wrote.'

b. *M   dà   ka̅rǐ̅m   gbávɨ́ŋ   sí̌ à   ká*
    1SG.   PAST   read.PERF   book   certain   COMP

    Àsíbì   sɔb   lá.
    Asibi   write.PERF   DEF
    'I read a certain book which Asibi wrote' (the book is one)

2.4. Resumptive pronouns and the relative clause in Kúsáàl

A common strategy employed by some languages in relative clause constructions is the use of resumptive pronouns at the site where the referent of the head NP should have been (Maxwell 1979; Payne 1997; Saah 2010: 97). Sigurd (1989: 107) argues that this method is to "recall the referent in the position where it should have been". The use of resumptive pronoun in Kúsáàl relativisation is optional and limited to object relativisation. However, there are always two interpretations anytime the pronoun occurs in relativisation. The resumptive pronoun creates both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations (discussed in section 5). The pronoun, when used, occurs immediately after the verb representing the relativisation site of its antecedent as shown in (32a). The sentences in (32 and 33) have similar restrictive interpretations respectively with (32a) and (33a) having additional non-restrictive interpretations.

(32)

a. *Pú`á   kànὲ   ká   m̀   sá   nyɛ̅   (ò)   lá*
    woman   REL   COMP   1SG.   PAST   see.PERF   (3SG)   DEF

    ku̅o̅sìdné   gʋ́ʋ́r.
    sell.IMPERF   cola nut
    'The woman I saw sells cola nuts.'

b. *Pú`á   kànὲ   ká   m̀   sà   nyɛ̅   (ø)   lá*
    woman   REL   COMP   1SG   PAST   see.PERF   (3SG)   DEF

    ku̅o̅sìdné   gʋ́ʋ́r.
    sell-IMPERF   cola nut
    'The woman I saw sells cola nut.'

(33)

a. *Pú`á   kànὲ   ká   dáú   lá   tῑ̅s   ò*
    woman   REL   COMP   man   DEF   give.PERF   3SG

lígídí	*lá*	*kūl-yá.*					
money	DEF	go.home-PERF					

'The woman to whom the man gave money has gone home'

b. | *Pú'á* | *kànè* | *ká* | *dáú* | *lá* | *tīs* | *(ø)* | *lígídí* | *lá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | REL | COMP | man | DEF | give | (3SG) | money | DEF |

kūl-yá.
go.home-PERF

'The woman to whom the man gave money is gone home'

(34) | *M̀* | *sà* | *ŋyɛ̄* | *bíbànè* | *(*bà)* | *sà* | *wā'ād* | *lá.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG. | PAST | see | child-REL.PL | (3PL) | PAST | dance | DEF |

'I saw children who were dancing.'

The use of the pronoun in (34) renders the construction ungrammatical. Moreover, resumptive pronouns do not occur when the antecedent NP is non-human (35-37).

(35) | *Bʋ́kànè* | *ká* | *m̀* | *sá* | *dā'* | *(*lì)* | *lá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| goat-REL | COMP | 1SG. | PAST | buy.PERF | (*it) | DEF |

àn(ɛ́)	*bʋ́títá'ár.*
COP.be	goat-big

'The goat which/that I bought is big.'

(36) | *Bʋ́kànè* | *ká* | *m̀* | *sà* | *tīs* | *(*lì)* | *váánd* | *lá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| goat-REL | COMP | 1SG. | PAST | give | (*it) | leaves | DEF |

bɛ̄n'ɛdnɛ́.
sick

'The goat I gave leaves to is sick.'

(37) | *Fʋ́kànè* | *ká* | *m̀* | *sà* | *dā'* | *(*lì)* | *lá* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dress-REL | COMP | 1SG. | PAST | buy.PERF | (*it) | DEF |

àn(ɛ́)	*fʋ́títá'ár.*
COP.be	dress-big

'The dress which I bought is big.'

Similarly, the resumptive pronoun does not occur in in-situ IHRC. Anytime a resumptive pronoun is used after the verb in such constructions the interpretation changes to include a possessive reading as also observed in Gurenɛ (see Atintono 2003: 121).

(38)	*Mán*	*sà*	*nyε̄*	*pú'á*	*sɔ́*	*lá*
	1SG.POSS	PAST	see.PERF	woman	INDEF.P	DEF

k͞u͞osìdné   gʋ́ʋ́r.
sell-IMPERF   cola nut
'The woman I saw sell cola nut.'

(39)	*Mán*	*sà*	*nyε̄*	*ò*	*pú'á*
	1SG.EMPH	PAST	see.PERF	3SG.POSS	woman

sɔ́'   lá   k͞u͞osìdné   gʋ́ʋ́r.
INDEF.P DEF   sell-IMPERF   cola nut
'His wife that I saw sells cola nut.'

3. Other elements of Kúsáàl relativisation
3.1. Long-distance dependency
Kúsáàl allows long-distance relativisation in which case an obligatory pronoun is required for subjects but not in cases involving objects. The relativiser *kànɛ̀/bànɛ̀* must be used in the highest clause of the embedded clauses and cannot be used in the intermediate clauses.

(40) Long- distance relativisation (Object)

a.	*Àtíbíl*	*dā'*	*gbáʋ́ŋ*	*kàné*	*ká*	*m̀*	*mī͞ī*
	Atibil	buy.PERF	book	REL	COMP	1SG.	know

yé   Àsíbì   kā͞rī͞m   lá.
COMP   Asibi   read.PERF   DEF
'Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.'

b.	**Àtíbíl*	*dā'*	*gbáʋ́ŋ*	*m̀*	*mī͞ī*	*yé*
	Atibil	buy.PERF	book	1SG.	know	COMP

Àsíbì   kā͞rī͞m   kànɛ̀   lá.
Asibi   read.PERF   REL   DEF
'Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.'

c. *A`tíbíl da`   gbávɔ́ŋ kànɛ̀   ká   m̀   kànɛ̀
    Atibil buy.PERF   book   REL   COMP 1SG.   REL

    mɪ̄ɪ́   yé   Àsíbì kārīm   lá.
    know   COMP Asibi read.PERF   DEF
    'Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.'

(41) Long-distance relativisation (Subject)

a. M̀   nyɛ̄   dáú   kànɛ̀ ká   m̀   mɪ̄ɪ́
    1SG.   see.PERF   man   REL   COMP 1SG.   know

    yé   ò   bū   Àsíbì lá.
    COMP 3SG.   beat.PERF   Asibi DEF
    'I saw the man who I know beat Asibi'

b. *m̀   nyɛ̄   dáú   kàné   ká   m̀   mɪ̄ɪ́
    1SG.   see.PERF   man   REL   COMP 1SG.   know.PERF

    yé   ò   kànɛ̀ bū   Àsíbì lá.
    COMP 3SG.   REL   beat.PERF   Asibi DEF
    'I saw the man who I know beat Asibi.'

c. *m̀   nyɛ̄   dáú   kànɛ̀ ká   m̀   kànɛ̀
    1SG.   see.PERF   man   REL   COMP 1SG   REL

    mɪ̄ɪ́   yé   ò   kànɛ̀ bʋ̀   Àsíbì lá.
    know   COMP 3SG   REL   beat   Asibi DEF
    'I saw the man who I know beat Asibi.'

3.2. Island/subjacency

Relativisation in Kúsáàl is constrained by island/subjacency effects. It is ungrammatical to have relativisation out of a complex NP or an adjunct clause in Kúsáàl, which suggests that relativisation is created by movement (see Ross 1967; Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009).

(42) Complex NP constraint

    *M̀   dà   kārīm   gbávɔ́ŋ kànɛ̀   ká   m̀   nyɛ̄
    1SG   PAST   read.PERF   book   REL   COMP 1SG.   see.PERF

> *pú'á   kànè   ká   sɔ̄b   lì   lá.*
> woman   REL   COMP   write   it   DEF
> 'I read the book that I saw the woman who wrote.'

(43) Adjunct Island

> **M̀   dà   kārīm   gbáv́ŋ   kànè   ká   m̀   nyɛ̄*
> 1SG   PAST   read.PERF   book   REL   COMP   1SG.   see.PERF

> *pú'á   lá   ón   sɔ̄b   lì   lá.*
> woman   DEF   3SG.EMPH.   write   it   DEF
> 'I read the book that I saw the woman when she was writing it.'

Extraction of the relative clause is impossible, irrespective of whether the extraction is overt or covert. The same situation applies to instances of A-dependency such as Wh-question and cleft/focus.

(44) Island effect for Wh-movement/Wh-in-situ

> **bɔ́   ká   fʋ̀   dà   nyɛ̄   pú'á   kànè*
> what   FOC   2SG.   PAST   see.PERF   woman   REL

> *sɔ̄b   lá?*
> wrote.PERF   DEF
> 'What did you see the woman that wrote?'

(45)   ** fʋ̀   dà   nyɛ̄   pú'á   kànè   sɔ̄b*
>   2SG.   PAST   see.PERF   woman   REL   wrote.PERF

> *bɔ́   lá?*
> what   DEF
> 'What did you see the woman that wrote?'

3.3. Tense and particles within relative clauses in Kúsáàl

Preverbal particles as well as aspectual morphemes are compatible with relative clauses in Kúsáàl. The temporal preverbal particle *sà*, marking events that are a day old, and future particle *nà*, are used as illustrations in (46-47) below.

(46) Object relativisation (past)

> *M̀   sà   kārīm   gbáv́ŋ   kànè   ká   Àsíbì   dà*
> 1SG.   PAST   read.PERF   book   REL   COMP   Asibi   PAST

> *sɔ̄b   yv́v́m   lá.*

write.PERF   year   DEF

'Yesterday, I read the book which Asibi wrote last year.'

(47) Object Relativisation (future)

M̀	*sà*	*nyɛ̄*	*gbáʋ́ŋ*	*kànὲ*	*ká*	*Àsíbì*	*nà*
1SG.	PAST	see.PERF	book	REL	COMP	Asibi	FUT

nɔ̄ki	*tīsīf*	*béóg*	*lá.*
take	give-2SG	tomorrow	DEF

'I saw the book that Asibi will give you tomorrow'

The tense particle *sà* in (46-47) occurs right before the verb and the relativiser maintains its usual position that is after the head noun. The fact that these tense particles can occur within the relative clause in Kúsáàl shows that relative clauses in Kúsáàl are fully finite.

3.4. Adverb placement

An embedded adverb cannot be placed immediately before or after the relative head noun. The well-formed adverbial distribution is either before or after the end of the entire construction.

(48) Adverb placement in Kúsáàl relativisation

a.
M	*sà*	*dī*	*díkànὲ*	*ká*	*Àsíbì*
1SG	PAST	eat.PERF	food-REL	COMP	Asibi

dʋ̄g	*sú'òs*	*lá.*
cook.PERF	yesterday	DEF

'I ate the food which Asibi cooked yesterday'

b.
Sú'òs,	*m̀*	*sà*	*dí*	*díkànὲ*
yesterday,	1SG.	PAST	eat.PERF	food-REL

ká	*Àsíbì*	*dʋ̄g*	*lá.*
COMP	Asibi	cook.PERF	DEF

'I ate the food which Asibi cooked yesterday'

c.
*M̀	*dī*	*díkànὲ*	*ká*	*sú'òs*
1SG.	eat.PERF	food-REL	COMP	yesterday

Àsíbì	*sà*	*dʋ̄g*	*lá.*
Asibi	PAST	cook.PERF	DEF

'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'

d.   * *M̀*   *sà*   *dī*   *sú'òs*   *díkànè*
     1SG   PAST   eat.PERF   yesterday   food-REL

     ká   *Àsíbì* *sà*   *dūg*   *lá.*
     COMP   Asibi   PAST   cook.PERF   DEF
     'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'

e.   * *M*   *sà*   *dī*   *dííb*   *sú'òs*   *kànè*
     1SG   PAST   eat.PERF   food   yesterday   REL

     ká   *Àsíbì* *sà*   *dūg*   *lá.*
     COMP   Asibi   PAST   cook.PERF   DEF
     'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'

Adverbials can precede the subject in simple clauses as illustrated in (49).

(49)   *Sú'òs*   *Àsíbì* *sà*   *dā'*   *fúúg*   *lá.*
       yesterday   Asibi   PAST   buy.PERF   dress   DEF
       'Yesterday, Asibi bought the food.'

3.5. Stacked relative clauses
Kúsáàl, like Dàgáárè (Hiraiwa & Bodomo 2004: 62), does not allow stacking of relative clauses compared to other Mabia languages like Buli and Gurenɛ where stacking of relative clauses is grammatical (see Atintono 2003; Hiraiwa 2003).

(50)   **M̀*   *dà*   *kārīm* *gbáʋ́ŋ* *kànè* *ká*   [*Àsíbì* *dà*   *sɔb*
       1SG.   PAST   read   book   REL   COMP   Asibi   PAST   write

       yʋ́ʋ́m-áyí]   [*Áyípókà*   *kànè*   *dā'*   *sú'òs*   *lá.*]
       year-two   Ayipoka   REL   buy   yesterday   DEF
       'I read the book that Asibi wrote two years ago that Ayipoka bought yesterday.'

One possible way of rendering the above sentence is by turning the whole structure into a complex construction as below:

(51)   *M̀*   *dà*   *kārīm*   *gbáʋ́ŋ*   *kànè* *ká*   *Àsíbì* *dà*
       1SG.   PAST   read.PERF   book   REL   COMP   Asibi   PAST

sↄb	*yʋʋ́m-áyí*	*ká*	*Áyípókà*	*sà*	*dáⁱ*
write.PERF	year-two	CONJ	Ayipoka	PAST	buy.PERF

sú'òs	*lá.*
yesterday	DEF

'I read the book that Asibi wrote two years ago that Ayuo bought yesterday.'

3.6. Extraposed relative clauses

The canonical form of the relative clause is such that the relative head noun is immediately followed by the relative clause. This adjacency is described by Givón (2001: 207) as one of the most transparently iconic devices used in directing the hearer's attention to the head noun that is co-referent with the missing argument inside the REL-clause. However, another strategy referred to as extraposed REL-clause allows the REL-clause to be 'ejected' to the end of the main clause. Kúsáàl does not allow extraposed relative clauses in both narrative constructions (52) and in casual speech (53-59).

(52)

Ná'á-sↄ́ⁱ	*dà*	*bɛ́*	*ká*	*ò*	*yʋ'ʋ́r*	*bʋ̄ōn*	*Àdúk.*
chief	INDEF.P	PAST	COP.be	CONJ	3SG	name	call	Aduk

'There lived a chief whose name was Aduk.'

(53)

Dáú	[*kànè*	*ká*	*ò*		*bʋ́ʋ́g*	*sà*	*bↄ̄dīg*	*lá*]
man	REL	COMP	3SG.POSS		goat	PAST	lost-PERF.	DEF

sà	*kɛ̄n*	*sú'òs*	*ná* .
PAST	come.PERF.	yesterday	LOC

'The man who lost his goat came yesterday.'

(54)

*Dáú	*lá*	*sà*	*kɛ̄n*	*sú'òs*	*ná*	[*kànè*
man	DEF	PAST	come.PREF	yesterday	LOC	REL

ká	*ò*		*bʋ́ʋ́g*	*sá*	*bↄ̄dīg*	*lá*]
COMP	3SG.POSS		goat	PAST	lost	DEF

'A man came in yesterday who lost his goat.'

Another way of rendering (54) is to use (55)

(55)

Dáú	*lá*	*sà*	*kɛ̄n*	*sú'òs*	*ná*	*óné*
man	DEF	PAST	come	yesterday	LOC	3SG.EMPH

ká   ò   búg   bōdīg   lá.
COMP   3SG.POSS   goat   loss.PERF   DEF
'The man came yesterday who lost his goat.'

(56)   Pú'á   [kànè ká   m̀   dàà   yēlíf
         woman   REL   COMP 1SG   PAST   tell.2SG

         ò   yél   lá]   kēn   sú'òs   ná .
         3SG.POSS   matter DEF   come.PERF   yesterday   LOC
          'The woman I told you about came in yesterday.'

(57)   *Pú̄á   lá   kēn   sú'òs   ná   [kàné ká   m̀
         woman   DEF   come yesterday   LOC   REL   COMP 1SG

         dàà   yēlíf   ò   yél   lá]
         PAST   tell.2SG.ACC   3SG   say.PERF   DEF
         'The woman came in yesterday that I told you about.'

Another way of correcting (57) is by using (58) as below.

(58)   Pú'á   lá   sà   kēn   sú'òs   ná;
         woman   DEF   PAST come.PERF.   yesterday   LOC

         óné   ká   m̀   dà   yēlíf   lá.
         3SG.EMPH   COMP   1SG. PAST tell.2SG   DEF
         'The woman came in yesterday that I told you about.'

4. The accessibility hierarchy

A topical issue on studies on relativisation in languages cross-linguistically concerns the various positions of the noun phrase that are relativisable. Typological variances exist in languages regarding elements that can be relativised and what cannot. The most recognised parameter used for this judgment is the NP accessibility hierarchy by Keenan & Comrie (1977) and Comrie (1981; 1989). The accessibility hierarchy (AH) shows the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in simplex main clauses. The AH is shown in (59) where the symbol ''>'' means ''more accessible than''.

(59) Subject > Direct Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

(Comrie 1989: 156)

According to Comrie (1989: 56), if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the accessibility hierarchy, then it can also form relative clauses on all positions higher

to the left on the hierarchy. From the accessibility scale above, the subject represents the easiest relativisable element compared to all others. It also means that it is easier to relativise the direct object than it is to do the same for the non-direct object. Cross-linguistically, the possessor appears to be the most difficult and a language that can relativise the possessor NP can relativise all other elements on the scale which is the case in Kúsáàl. Kúsáàl shows no grammatical restrictions on elements that are relativisable as far as the hierarchy is concerned. In possessive relativisation, the possessee noun phrase is left in-situ with a resumptive possessive pronoun.

4.1. Possessor relativisation

(60)   *M̀*   *sà*   *nyē*   *pú'á*   *kànè*   *ká*   *m̀*
       1SG.   PAST   see.PERF   woman   REL   COMP   1SG.

       dà   *kārīm*   *ò*   *gbáʊ́ŋ*   *lá.*
       PAST   read.PERF   3SG.POSS   book   DEF
       'I saw the woman whose book I read'

It is also possible to relativise the non-direct object, the object of locative, the object of the postposition, and the object of comparison in Kúsáàl.

4.2. Non-direct object

(61)   *Pú'á*   *kànè*   *ká*   *dáú*   *lá*   *tīs*
       woman   REL   COMP   man   DEF   give.PERF

       lígídí   *lá*   *kūl-yá.*
       money   DEF   go.home-PERF
       'The woman to whom the man gave the money is gone home.'

4.3. Locative relativisation

(62)   *M̀*   *dá'*   *péóg*   *kànè*   *ká*   *Àsíbì*   *nɔ̄k*
       1SG.   buy.PERF   basket   REL   COMP   Asibi   take.PERF

       bɔ́rbè   *nīīŋ*   *lá.*
       pineapple   put.PERF   DEF
       'I bought the basket in which Asibi put the pineapple.'

4.4. PP relativisation

(63)   *Gádʊ́g*   *kànè*   *ká*   *Àsíbì*   *gbīsīdi*   *lì*   *zúg*   *lá*
        bed   REL   COMP   Asibi   sleep.PERF   it   head   DEF

       àn(ɛ́)   *gád-títáˈàr.*
       COP.be   big.bed
       'The bed on which Asibi slept is big.'

4.5. Comparative relativisation

(64)   *Dáú*   *kànè*   *ká*   *Àsíbì*   *wáˈá*   *tʊ́ʊ́g*   *lá*   *kpí-yá.*
        man   REL   COMP   Asibi   long   pass   DEF   die-PERF
        'The man who Asibi is taller than is dead.'

Other Mabia languages where the possibility exists for possessor relativisation high down
to subject relation include Dagaare (Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2004) and Gurenɛ (Atintono 2003:
121-122). In addition, languages like Akan (Saah 2010) and Ewe (Dzameshie 1983; 1995)
show the same flexibility in relativisation.

5. Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses
The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is semantically
captured in the following lines from Perlmutter & Soames (1979: 267-268).

> A restrictive clause restricts prediction to the class of individuals specified in
> the relative clause. An appositive relative clause does not. When the clause is
> appositive, the predication is made of all those individuals specified by the head
> NP; it is further asserted that this set of individuals is the same set of
> individuals specified by the relative clause.

Adding to this, Givón (1993: 107) asserts that restrictive relative clauses are the
prototypical types of REL-clauses and the most common cross-linguistically. This reason
perhaps explains why studies including Givon (1993) and Comrie (1981) are silent on non-
restrictive relative clauses also referred to as appositive relative clauses (Perlmutter &
Soames 1979: 267-268; Saah 2010: 101). Givon's assertion aptly applies to the case in
Kúsáàl where unlike a restrictive relative clause, a non-restrictive relative clause has
limitations regarding the form of the relative head noun it may occur with. It is impossible
to have non-restrictive relative clauses with proper nouns as head nouns in Kúsáàl as
illustrated in the examples below.

(65) Non-restrictive relative clause
       Ṁ   *dà*   *nyē̄*   *Àsíbì,*   *kànè*   *dà*   *sɔ̄b*
       1SG.   PAST   see.PERF   Asibi   REL   PAST   write.PERF

gbáʋ́ŋ   lá.
book   DEF
'I saw Asibi, who wrote the book'

If a relativiser is used with a proper noun, it receives a restrictive interpretation.

(66) Restrictive Relative Clause

M̀   *dà*   *nyɛ̄*   *Àsíbì*   *kànè*   *dà*   *sɔb*
1SG.   PAST   see.PERF   Asibi   REL   PAST   write.PERF

gbáʋ́ŋ   lá.
book   DEF
'I saw the Asibi who wrote the book.'

Both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations however can be obtained with normal noun phrases. The example in (67) can be interpreted as restrictive in the sense that one woman is selected among a set of other women. It can also be interpreted non-restrictively in which sense it is adding more information about the woman who is already known by both interlocutors in the discourse (see Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2004). This is because of the presence of the resumptive pronoun, which triggers the non-restrictive interpretations.

(67) Restrictive/non-restrictive interpretation

M̀   *sà*   *nyɛ̄*   *púˈá*   *kànè*   *ká*   *m̀*
1SG.   PAST   see.PERF   woman   REL   COMP   1SG

kār̄īm   *ò*   *gbáʋ́ŋ   lá.*
read.PERF   3SG.POSS   book   DEF
'I saw the woman whose book I read'
'I saw the woman, whose book I read'

(68)   *Ón/mán/fʋ́n*   *kànè*   *kūl*   *Ghánà*
       3SG.EMPH./1SG.EMPH/2SG.EMPH.   REL   go.home   Ghana

yʋ́m   *kànè*   *gáád*   *lá*   *mīˈī*   *ti*   *téŋ*   *yɛ́là.*
year   REL   PAST   DEF   know   2PL.POSS   land   matter-PL
'He/I/You, who went home to Ghana last year, know(s) about our country.'

6. Summary
In summary, this paper has shown that relativisation in Kúsáàl can be either in-situ IHRC or left-headed IHRC similar to sister languages such as Buli, Gurenɛ, Dagbani and Kabiyeˊ

observed by Hiraiwa et al (2017). It has further been established that the use of resumptive pronouns is restricted to object relativisation in which instance both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations are generated. In addition, the stacking, as well as the extraposition, of relative clauses is not allowed in Kúsáàl. Kúsáàl does not have any restrictions as far as elements that are relativisable are concerned when using the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977).

Abbreviations

C/COMP	complementiser
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copular
CP	complementiser phrase
D/DEF	definite determiner
D/DEM	demonstrative
EMPH .	emphatic
FUT	future
H	head noun
IMPERF	imperfective
INDEF.P	indefinite pronoun
LOC	locative
PAST	time depth particle
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
REL	relative pronoun
SG	singular

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