

The Grammar of Embosi Verb Phrases

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By

Yvon-Pierre Ndong Ibara

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**To my kids
Joyce,
Christly,
Gloria,
Bienheureuse**

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INTRODUCTION

The Embósí language has already been subject to description regarding its grammatical aspects and sociolinguistic features. Ever since, both non-Embósí speakers and Embósí natives have contributed to the documentation of that language through different research works. Thus, there is abundant literature on the Embósí language (Ndongo Ibara 2020).

The Grammar of Embósí Verb Phrases is dedicated primarily to language teachers, linguists who are invited to sample the Embósí language, learners, and all those many people who are interested in world languages. It paves the way to the learning of Embósí as any natural language. In fact, the verb is considered to be the core element in a language as it encodes many notions worthy of communication. It is the verb which permits the transmission of meaning, the location of the speech act, and the internal description of an event as well as the meaning parameters in terms of cause and effect, reciprocity, passivization, and many other lexical functions.

This textbook is the result of long learning and teaching experience in the domain of linguistics. It is a contribution to the field of Embósí grammar based on the transformational generative grammar developed by Chomsky in 1955. The analysis here obeys the last version of Chomskyan generative grammar coined in the Minimalist Programme. It provides a direct language input experience on the teaching and learning of different aspects of Embósí grammar.

The Grammar of Embósí Verb Phrases is an attempt to formalise the teaching and learning of Embósí language issues; it is intended to be a practical textbook about how to cope with different aspects of the grammar of a natural language. It stands as an outstanding support to the different dictionaries (Prat 1917, Beapami et al. 2000, Ndongo Ibara 2000 and 2020).

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the morphological description of a verb in Embósí by enlightening the internal segmental structure of a verb based on the Bantu verb prototype suggested by Güldemann (2003). As a matter of fact, it points out some aspects based on the Prefix-Root-Suffix cluster. It addresses the internal computation of morpheme clustering within a prefix position, a suffix position, and the CV structure of the root. Verb classes concludes this chapter.

Chapter 2 explores the predicate argument structure at syntactic levels. This leads to the analysis of the first typology of predicates. The first

type of one-argument predicate leads to the scrutiny of unaccusatives and unergatives, which are traditionally considered as intransitives. Their difference depends on whether a verb selects an external or an internal argument. The second analysis is devoted to two predicate arguments. This raises the interest of transitivity, which gives rise to transitives and ergatives, two samples chosen to show the ways Embósí realises transitivity. The last category is three predicate arguments where we analyse double construction, transitive locative predicate, and complex transitive predicates. Finally, this chapter deals with syntactic processes, verb complements, verb adjuncts, and thematic roles.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the analysis of tenses and aspects of Embósí. It follows principles already established by Reichenbach, Comrie, and others. This chapter unveils the secret of tenses, putting emphasis on the location of the time of an action or a situation as well as the internal assignment in terms of dynamic verbs.

This book is concerned with the morphology and the syntax of the VP in Embósi. Morphological description will refer to the internal syllabic structure of the verb to the extent that the different morphemes worthy of any syntactic features have been scrutinized. As such, I purport to point out the different morpheme components of a verb as well as ascribe their relevance for the syntactic description. Furthermore, this book deals with the syntax of the VP in keeping with predicate argument structure, thematic roles that every argument fulfils in the sentence, tenses, and aspects. Finally, the VP analysis is carried out in accordance with vP shell analysis.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A: Adjective
Adv: Adverb
AdvP: Adverb phrase
AIH: Affix incorporation hypothesis
ACCT: Agence de coopération culturelle et technique
AGR: Agreement
AgrP: Agreement phrase
ALLAC: Atlas de linguistique des langues de l'Afrique centrale
AP: Adjective phrase
Asp: Aspect
Aux: Auxiliary
AuxP: Auxiliary phrase
Benef: Benefactive
C: Consonant
CaP: Causative phrase
Caus: Causative
CED: Constraint on extraction domain
Centraldet: Central determiner
CERELLO : Centre de Recherches en Linguistique et Langues Orales
CILF: Conseil International de la langue française
Cl (noun): Class
CLAD: Centre de linguistique appliqué de Dakar
Comp (C): Complementizer
Con: Connector
Conj: Conjunction
ConjP: Conjunction phrase
CP: Complementizer phrase
CUP: Cambridge University Press
Deg: Degree
DegP: Degree phrase
Dem: Demonstrative
Det: Determiner
DP: Determiner phrase
ELLIC: Espaces Littéraires, Linguistiques et Culturels
EPP: Extended projection principle
FHC: Functional head constraint

Fut: Future tense
GB: Government and binding theory
GM: Grammatical marker
GPSG: Generalized phrase structure grammar
I/INFL: Inflection
I.e. that is
INF: Infinitive
IP: Inflectional phrase
IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet
Irreg.: Irregular
LCA: Linear correspondence axiom
LF: Logical form
LFG: Lexical functional grammar
LLA: Département de Linguistique et Langues Africaines
MIT: Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Ms: Manuscript
N: Noun
NegP: Negative phrase
NP: Noun phrase
Numb: Number
NumbP: Number phrase
OM: Object marker
OUP: Oxford University Press
PAH: Predicate agreement hypothesis
Passv: Passive
Perf: Perfective
Pers: Person
PF: Phonetic form
Pl: Plural
Polt: Politeness
Postdet: Post determiner
PP: Prepositional phrase
Predet: Predeterminer
Pref: Prefix
Premod: Premodifier
Prep: Preposition
Pres: Present tense
PRN: Pronoun
Pro: Pronominal
PS: Phrase structure
Pst: Past tense

PUF: Presses Universitaires de France

Q: Quantifier

QP: Quantifier phrase

Recip: Reciprocal

Rel: Relative pronoun

RPSC: Relative pronoun spellout condition

S: Sentence

SELAF: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France

Sg: Singular

SIL: Société Internationale de Linguistique

SM: Subject marker

Spec: Specifier

SPP: Specifier position parameter

SVO: Subject verb object

T: Tense features

TGG: Transformational generative grammar

TNS: Tense

TP: Tense phrase

TrP: Transitive phrase

UG: Universal grammar

UTAH: Uniformity theta assignment hypothesis

V: Verb

v: light verb

Vd: Voiced

Vl: Voiceless

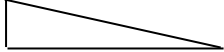
VP: Verb phrase

vP: Light verb phrase

WH: Interrogative word

θ: Theta, thematic

: Immediate constituent



[]: Phonetic representation

> Become

// Phonological representation

⇔ Contrast (Opposition between sounds/words)

*: Oddness (Impossible word or structure, ungrammatical)

': High tone

`: Low tone

CHAPTER 1

MORPHOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF A VERB

This chapter is concerned with aspects related to the morphology and syntax of the verb and VP in Embòsi. The morphological description will refer to the internal syllabic structure of the verb to the extent that the different morphemes worthy of any syntactic feature will be examined. As such, I purport to point out the different morpheme components of a verb in terms of prefix cluster, verb root, suffix cluster, and final vowel as well as ascribe their relevance for the syntactic description of the verb. The last part of this chapter deals with the syntax of the VP in keeping with the verb classes.

1.1 Segmental Structure of Embòsí Verbs

In this section, I shall analyse in detail the internal syllabic structure of a verb in order to set off the different morphemes that constitute that lexical category. Actually, I aim to highlight the structure hierarchy of those morphemes in order to classify them in terms of obligatory ones and optional ones. Finally, their syntactic functions in connection with the verb stem will be examined. The first verb internal syllabic structure can be formalized as:

(1) Prefix cluster-Verb Root Suffix Cluster.

1.1.1 Prefix cluster

In this subsection, I am going to analyse the different kinds of morphemes that can occur at the prefix position of a verb in Embòsi. Apart from this analysis, a word will be said on the specificity and diversity of Embòsí verbal prefixes.

Thus, the status of the initial verbal morphemes differs from one language to another. In most Indo-European languages, for example, those initial morphemes refer to the different types of prefixes a lexical category can have. As regards English predicates, the following represent a few verb prefixes:

(2) Prefix	Meaning	examples
Com-, con-	together, with	combine, connect
Dis-	opposite	discourage
En-, em-	in, into	enclose, engage, embroil
In-, im-, ill-	in, into, within	intrude, invade
Mis-	bad, wrong	misconduct, misspell (Webster 1996, 1225)

It appears that some English prefixes have the same meaning, while other prefixes have different meanings. In Embòsi, on the other hand, the verbal prefixes can refer to an infinitive marker, subject clitic pronouns, the relative pronoun, a complementizer, polite morpheme, **time reference**, and imperfective aspect markers. So, in the following, I am going to examine these different initial morphemes in Embòsi.

1.1.1.a Initial Prefix as a subject

This subsection is about initial prefixes, which stand as the equivalent of personal subjects in the Indo-European languages. In Embòsí, these subjects are attached to the verb stem as its prefix. Consider:

(3)

a) í-di	waré	'I am here'
I-Be-present	here	

b) o-di	o	ndái	βoo	o	ndzé
you-Be-Present	at	home	or	at	outside

'You are in the house or outside'

c) à-di	lí	tái
he/she-Be-present	at	father

'He/she is at their father's home'

d) lè-di	o	ndái	yà	ndzambé
we/you-Be-present	at	house	of	God

'We/you are at church'

e) bá-sambél-a	o	ndái	yà	ndzambé
They/pray-Non-past	at	house	of	God

'They pray at church'

Embósi being a pro-drop language, all the initial morphemes in (3) are the markers and the references of the subject that is structurally dropped. The prefix position is strongly governed by the preceding external argument being visible or invisible so that it has to be filled. The initials also bear grammatical references of the external argument as regards the dichotomy singular–plural. Thanks to Embósi morphology, the initials can raise a number of controversies and ambiguities in the interpretation of these sentences.

The first observation from the above examples concerns example (3d) where the first and second plural subject pronouns are identical. Their interpretation is content-dependent to the extent that if there is no prior information concerning who and to whom the speech is addressed, it will be troublesome to make a good prediction. To avoid such an ambiguity, the object pronoun ‘bisi’ (us) and ‘bini’ (you) is so helpful and demanding. As a matter of fact, if the pronoun ‘bisi’ is just and immediately anteposed to the verbal prefix ‘lè’, the latter will stand for the first plural subject pronoun ‘we’, whilst in case of ‘bini’, ‘le’ will refer to the second plural subject ‘you’.

The second point in the literature about Embósi concerns the equivalence of the ‘i’-prefix in Embósi with the first English singular personal pronoun ‘I’. This is a viewpoint I do not totally share because this interpretation is restricted by the structure involving the Embósi object pronoun ‘nga’, which leads to the interpretation of the ‘i’-prefix as the first personal subject. Accordingly, serious thought should be given to broadening our understanding. The i-prefix in Embósi will stand as the first English singular personal pronoun ‘I’ once combined with the object pronoun ‘nga’; otherwise, noun agreement is required for its interpretations as in the following examples.

- (4)
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| a) ngá | í-dz-á | áséβà | ‘I eat vegetables’ |
| Me | I-eat-Non-Past | vegetables | |
| b) i-kó | i-béng-i | | ‘The banana (it) gets ripe’ |
| Sg-banana | it-ripe-Non-Past | | |
| c) i-làngi | i-bondz-im-i | | ‘Bottles broke’ |
| Pl-bottles | they-break-Passv-Past | | |

These instances illustrate the two points mentioned earlier. The first example in (4a) shows that the ‘i’-prefix can be translated as the first

English singular personal pronoun ‘I’ because it is used with ‘ngá’. But in the two other examples, the ‘i’-prefix meaning is closely related to the prefix of the nominal subject. In this respect, it can refer to the third singular (4b) or plural subject (4c) pronoun.

The third observation tallies with the second point, which can also be applied to the ‘o’-prefix in Embósi. The following are illustrations:

(5)

a) nð ò-yé-é là pòà ‘You came yesterday’
You you-come-Past at yesterday

b) òkáli ò-pámís-ì mòró
evil it- frighten-Past person
‘An evil person frightened a person’

c) òlàngì ò-bòndz-ím-ì ‘A bottle is broken’
Bottle it- break-Passv-Past

d) asuwà a-sèm-í ‘The boat was boarded’
Boat It-come on board-Past

Referring to the ‘o’-prefix, three examples have been provided. In the first one (5a), it is used as the equivalent of the second English personal pronoun ‘you’ because of the object pronoun ‘nð’. But in the two other examples, its meanings depend on the noun agreement. Actually, in the second example (5b), the ‘o’-prefix refers to the third singular subject pronoun thanks to its subject noun class. Otherwise, the ‘a’-prefix is appropriate. For example, in (5d), the ‘a’-prefix refers to ‘sisters’ who are human subjects. Still, in the last example, it represents a non-human subject.

From what has been said, the noun agreement helps the understanding of the different interpretations of the Embósi subject pronouns ‘i’, ‘o’, and ‘a’. Although there is a substantial gray area in that argument, it does not meet all the consensus regarding the third singular personal pronoun. There is a topic within this area which I want to reconsider VIZ the third person singular. In English typology, for example, there are He [+male], She [+female], and It [\pm male and female for objects and things]. I should also need to add that the first two are specific to humans, while the third is specific to objects despite the fact that in English the human baby makes use of it. Yet in Embósi, it has been said that the third singular pronoun is ‘a’ which stands for ‘he/she/it’. It must be issued from the following that there is another pronoun deriving from the common

sense of the noun agreement and can be categorised as [-human]. In this connection, I point out e-prefix. The realization of that prefix is then to be taken as the third type of the third singular pronoun. The choice of ‘e’ instead of ‘a’ derives from the failure of the latter to cover all the third singular pronoun references as regards agreement. Consider:

- (6)
- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| a) ndái | *(i) à-lwé | ‘The house burnt’ |
| | ii) é-lwé | |
| house | *(i) they-Past-burn | |
| | (ii) it-Past-burn | |
| b) ndòò | é-sísí-à | ‘The mourning is over’ |
| mourning | it- finish-Past | |
| c) ebóò | e-bùny-ú | ‘An arm is broken’ |
| Arm | It- break-Past | |
| d) e-di | nga | ‘It is a disease’ |
| it-Be-Present | disease | |

Referring to the noun agreement property in Embósí, sentence (6 a(i)) is judged ungrammatical because ‘ndai’, which is singular, has a reference with a plural marker. The SM agrees in number with its root, i.e., noun; it stands as a copy of noun markers and references. At this point, it will become clear that not all the occurrences of the e-prefix will give rise to noun agreement. I advocated in the preceding section that the e-prefix can also stand as the expletive, as in (6d).

Finally, the difference between the third singular and plural pronoun is expunged to the extent that in the past tense they are identical; hence they share the same morphological form ‘a’. As a matter of fact, a look at the noun class in the subject position would be helpful to yield that distinction.

- (7)
- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| a) mwási | à-lè-á | òlómì | ‘A wife mourned for her husband’ |
| Sg-wife | she-mourn-Past | husband | |
| b) bási | à-lè-á | à-lómì | ‘Wives mourned for their husbands’ |
| Pl-wife | They-mourn-Past | Pl-Husband | |

As things stand, the interpretation of the initial prefix ‘a’ in the above examples depends on the number feature attached to the subject. As a matter of fact, in (7a), the prefix ‘*mu*’ in *mu-asi* is singular, hence the a-prefix refers to the third singular person. Yet, in (7b), the prefix ‘*ba*’ in *ba-asi* is plural, which is why the initial prefix refers to the third plural personal pronoun. The chart below summarizes personal subjects as initial prefixes in Embósfí.

Chart I-1: Embósfí Initial Subject Pronoun Prefixes

Initial Prefixes as Subject Pronouns				Verb Stem
Person	Pronoun	Initial Pronoun 1	Initial Pronoun 2	
First person singular	Ngá	í-		
Second person singular	Nɔ̃	ò-		
Third person singular	Wà	à-	è-, ì, ò-	
First person plural	Bísí	lè-		
Second person plural	Bíní	lè-		
Third person plural	bá	bá/á-	í	

1.1.1.b initial prefix as a relative pronoun

The relative pronoun in Embósfí is closely related to the status of the noun class prefix, as illustrated below.

Chart 1-2: Embósf Relative Pronouns

Class	Number	Noun Class	Relative	Examples
1	Singular	mù	yé-	mwánà yé-dzwé mbóà child Rel-go village 'The child who went home'
		mo	yé-	mòró yé-yébà òndzémbé person Rel-sing song 'The man who sings a song'
		o	yé-	òlómì yé-bá nò husband Rel-marry you 'The husband who married you'
		No marker	yé-	kólóbóngò yé-sùà ßà road Rel-stop here 'The road which stops here'
	Plural	ba	bá-	bánà bá-dzwé mbóà children Rel-go village 'The children who went home'
		a	bá-	àlómì bá-wùrù kó husbands Rel-come from forest 'The husbands who came from the forest'
2	Singular	mù-	mo-	mùndà mò-sómbí wà lamp Rel-buy him/her 'The lamp that he bought'
		o-	mo-	òlàngì mòbwéé wà bottle Rel-throw him/her 'The bottle that s/he threw away'
	Plural	mí-	mí-	míndà mí-sómbí wà lamps Rel-buy him/her 'The lamps that he bought'
		í-	mí-	ìlàngì mì-bwéé wà bottles Rel-throw him/her 'The bottles that s/he threw away'
3	Singular	dí-		dísí lí-té bwà eyes Rel-see pain 'The eye that has been hurt'
		í-		ìkò lí-diì nò odzàà banana Rel-AUX you eat 'The banana that you ate' ìßó lí-kyé nò ìdì ibé problems Rel-do you it-be bad 'What you did is bad'

	Plural	mí-	mà-	mísí mà-té bwà eye Rel-hurt pain 'The eyes that have been hurt'
		à-	mà-	àkò mà-díí nò odzàà bananas Rel-AUX you eat 'The bananas that you ate'
		Zero marker	yé-	pó yé-kyé nò idi mbé-mbé problems Rel-do you it-be bad 'What you did is very bad'
4	Singular	e-	yé-	eyea ye-lémbi o ndai thing Rel-lose at home 'Something which is lost at home'
				èlégé yé-dí là àporà face Rel-be with wounds 'The face which has wounds'
	Plural	be-	bi-	béà bí-lémbi things Rel-lose 'The objects that have been lost'
		i-	mi-	ílégé mí-dí là àporà faces Rel-be with wounds 'The faces which have wounds'
5	Singular	n-	yé-	ndái yé-tóngí tómí house Rel-build elder brother 'The house that is built by my brother'
	Plural	à-	mà-	àndái mà-tóngí tómí house Rel-build elder brother 'The houses that are built by my brother'
6	Singular	lè-	li-	lèkásí li-kyémbímí letter Rel-Write-Passiv 'The letter that has been written'
	Plural	Zero marker	yé-	kásí yé-kyémbímí letters Rel-Write-Passiv 'The letters that have been written'
7	Singular	bu-	bo-	bwári bo-kyé ngá canoe Rel-make me 'The canoe that I made'
	Plural	mà-	mà-	mári mà-kyé ngá canoes Rel-make me 'The canoes that I made'

From this chart illustrating Embósi relative pronouns, there are a number of observations worthy of attention. Firstly, even though the relative pronouns are not always a copy of the noun class, they do depend on them. Examining the relative pronoun in Tswana, Denis Creissels (1991, 459) came to the

conclusion that *'l'antecedant est relié à la relative par un connectif qui varie selon la classe de l'antécédant mais ne porte aucune trace de la fonction du pivot de la relativization de la structure relativisée'*.

In Tswana the relative pronoun and the antecedent are linked by a connector; however, in Embósi there is no connector. Of interest is the fact that the connector in Tswana or the relative pronouns in Embósi depend on the noun class of their antecedents. In addition, they do not carry a particular reference of the grammatical functions of their antecedents. What all this means is that the form of the relative pronoun does not tell anything about the function of the NP that c-commands it.

Secondly, the morphological form of the relative pronoun, as one can realize from the examples on the chart, in Embósi agrees in number with its antecedent. The singular and plural forms of the relative pronouns are asymmetrical.

- (8) a) mwána ngá í-bór-i 'The child that I gave birth to'
 child me I-give birth-Past
- b) mwási wó yà ngámé í-bá mà òndzéssi
 wife this of myself I-marry since childhood
 My own wife that I am married since childhood'
- c) tá òtsínà mò-bé-i ngá bíní mwà búngù
 here is reason Rel-call-Past me you it this
 'This is the reason I called you'
- d) yé-wòli bísí là wà etsò à-wé-i
 Rel-say us to her all she-hear-Past
 'What we said she accepted'
- e) mòró yé-té ngá 'The person that I saw'
 Person Rel-see-Past me 'The person who saw me'

The examples in (8) illustrate a number of other characteristics of relative clause formation in Embósi. Let's start with (8e) and argue that the RC in Embósi can raise semantic ambiguities. This semantic ambiguity is related to the fact that the relative pronoun interpretation does not always make sense. Put otherwise, instead of being 'predicated of', the relative clause is 'empty'. The empty property of the relative clause is due to the fact that neither the antecedent nor the pivot of the relativization c-commands the other. We are facing a case where the relative clause interpretation is

bidirectional. This bidirectionality is accounted for in terms of the animate NPs involved in the clause, that is, capable of undertaking an action. If we want to make a distinction between the two interpretations, we must resort to the auxiliary 'idzema', as illustrated below:

- (9) a) mòró yé-té ngá 'The person that I saw'
 Person Rel-see me 'The person who saw me'
- a.1) mòró yé-dii ngá i-tàà 'The person that I saw'
 Person Rel-Aux me I-see-Past
- a.2) mòró yé-dii àtàà ngá 'The person who saw me'
 Person Rel-Aux s/he-see-Past me

The examples (9a.1 and 9a.2) illustrate a case of object and subject relativization. In example (9a.1), the NP 'moro' has been raised upward from its base object post-verbal position. But in (9a.2), the NP 'moro' does not make any movement despite the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, which postulates that the subject NP moves from its specifier position under VP to its Spec-T position where it is assigned a nominative case. To quote Radford (2009, 241)

The claim that (non-expletive) subjects like some students/lots of students in sentences like (1) originate internally within the VP containing the relevant verb (and from there move into spec-T in sentences like (1) above) is known in the relevant literature as the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (=VPISH)

In example (8a), we have another case of relativization where the raising of the NP does not imply the relativization. It looks like an NP rising, as in topicalization or fronting. This corroborates Denis Creissels (1991, 460) assertion that there are languages that illustrate something different: *'Mais on peut aussi trouver des cas où la relative apparaît immédiatement juxtaposée à son antécédant. L'anglais atteste un cas extrême où on peut n'avoir aucune marque morphologique de la relativisation'*.

It is worth mentioning that we cannot postulate for a bare relative pronoun because in Embósí, the relative pronoun that modifies a noun is always a bound morpheme which is attached to the predicate. The example demonstrates that languages with a long oral tradition have a very complex syntax as orality is compared to a 'free puzzle'. In discourse, this kind of construction is mainly found when the speaker is complaining, worrying, or

regretting someone's behaviour. We can find the same construction in other Bantu languages such as Lingala and Tegue, as exemplified in:

- (10) a) Mwánà na-bóti 'The child that I gave birth to' (Lingala)
 child I-give birth
- b) Tàlà bùli ndé 'The father who gave you birth' (Tegue)
 father give birth you

In the examples (10), we have a relativization process which is carried out without an overt morphological marker of the relative pronoun, neither as a verbal prefix nor a free morpheme. The above illustration can be associated with the zero relative hypothesis as, for example, the NP 'mwanà' is an object. In the words of Charles Meyer (2009, 134): *'When objects are relativized, it is also possible to omit the relative pronoun altogether, creating a clause containing what is sometimes referred to as a zero relative'*.

In the ensuing section, we aim to find out whether the Embósí language can attest all six types of relativization. In this respect, we can consider the following examples.

- (11) a) ibàà li-dii i-pé-é bùkù là oyírí
 man Rel-Aux he-give-Past book to wife
 'The man who gave a book to the woman'
- b) bùkù bo-dii ibàà i-pé-é là oyírí
 Book Rel-Aux man he-give-Past to wife
 'The book which the man gave to the woman'
- c) bùkù bo-dii ibàà à-kyémbè-è là bwá
 Book Rel-Aux man he-write-Past to wife
 'The book with which the man has written'
- d) bùkù bo-dii àngá bwá à-pùrà-à là
 Book Rel-Aux owner it s/he- look-Past
 'The book whose owner was looking for'
- e) oyírí yé-dii ibàà à-pé-é bùkù là wà
 woman Rel-Aux man he-give-Past book to her
 'The woman to whom the man gave the book'

The examples (11a and 11b) illustrate a case of typical relativization, where the subject and the object are relativized. But the other examples are quite atypical in connection with all the processes that are involved during this relativization.

Regarding example (11c), it seems we are dealing with left dislocation. In fact, there are two syntactic processes that take place during that process, notably the NP raising implying the relativization and the pronominalization. It is worth mentioning that if the latter process is not taken into account, the sentence will be ungrammatical. This means that the relativization of the indirect object and adverbial phrase is generally carried out together with the pronominalization of the raised NPs.

When the indirect object is raised to the subject position of the NP in the sentence, this movement violates the CED and FHC conditions. As a result, the NP is preposed alone, leaving behind the preposition that dominates it. As stated earlier, one can assume that it looks like a case of left dislocation because the island from where the NP has been extracted is not empty. I have to claim that example (11e) has nothing in common with left dislocation. Haegeman (1991, 379), in his discussion of left dislocation, writes '*a movement analysis is inappropriate [...] left dislocation is not the result of movement*'. However, we assume that in (11e), there is movement of the NP 'oyiri'. An argument of support can be drawn from Radford (2004, 192–193) when he talks about preposition copying basing on copy theory. Let us consider Radford's examples as a starting point:

- (12) a) IKEA only actually has ten stores [*from which* to sell **from**]
(Economics reporter, BBC Radio 5)
- b) Tiger Woods (*about whom* this Masters seems to be all **about**) is due to tee off shortly
(Sports reporter, BBC Radio5)
- c) Israeli soldiers fired an anti-tank missile and hit a police post (*in which* the Palestinian policeman who was killed had been **in**)
(News reporter, BBC Radio 5)
- d) *In what enormity* is Marcius poor **in**?
(Menenius, Coriolanus, II.i)
- e) ... that fair (for which love groan'd **for**)
(Prologue to Act II, *Romeo and Juliet*)
(Radford, 2004:192)

In the examples (12), we can observe that when the preposition is moved from its extraction site to its landing site, it leaves a copy behind.