Relative clause constructions in two Yemne-Kimbi languages

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1 Introduction[1]

The purpose of the present paper is to describe basic facts about relative clause constructions in two related languages spoken at the northern edge of the Cameroonian Grassfields, Mungbam and Mundabli. Though the two languages are not mutually intelligible, there is considerable contact between their speakers, and basic as well as non-trivial formal properties relevant to relative clause constructions are to a large extent isomorphic in the two languages. We therefore find it profitable to present relative clause constructions in the two languages as variations on a single basic system.

1.1 Organization of the paper

In the remainder of § 1, we give basic geographic information about the two languages and where they are spoken (§ 1.2.1), and outline their major typological properties, especially those relevant to the analysis of relative clause constructions (§ 1.2.2). In sections 2–3, we proceed to a more detailed description of the properties of relative clause constructions for Mungbam,

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and then for Mundabli. These sections focus on parallel themes: the linear order of the relative clause with respect to the head noun, and with respect to other nominal modifiers; properties of the relativizer and comments on possible grammaticalization sources; the status of what are typically referred to as resumptive pronouns, or "representative nominals," as we call them here, and the accessibility of different types of formally distinct grammatical relations to relativization.[2] Section 4 concludes the paper with a discussion summarizing the key points of similarity and difference between the two languages, and draws attention to the most typologically interesting points.

1.2 Language background

1.2.1 Geographic and sociolinguistic background

Mungbam and Mundabli are both spoken within a small part of Cameroon's Northwest Region near the Nigerian border known as Lower Fungom. As can be seen from the map in figure 1 (Di Carlo, 2011: 57), no more than 10 km separates Mundabli from the most distant of the Mungbam villages.

The acronym "Mungbam", associated with ISO 693-3 code [mij], is used to refer to the speech varieties used predominantly in the villages of Munken, Ngun, Biya, Abar and Missong (see Figure 1). There is no locally recognized name to refer to these five more or less mutually intelligible speech varieties, and no realistic chance that Mungbam speakers would agree to a name which groups the five villages together (see Di Carlo and Good (2014) for discussion on this point). Mundabli is the name of the speech variety used in the village of the same name in Lower Fungom. Though the Ethnologue entry for "Mundabli" (associated with ISO 693-3 code [boe]) also includes the dialects spoken in the villages of Mufu and Buu (see fig. 1), this chapter only concerns the variety spoken in Mundabli proper (Lewis et al., 2015). Mundabli, Mufu and Buu are referred to as the Ji cluster in Good et al. (2011).

The genetic classification of the two languages is uncertain at this point. Although it is uncontroversial to consider both as Bantoid languages under the Benue-Congo branch of Niger-Congo, the nature of their relationship to neighboring languages and to each other will remain uncertain until further comparative work is undertaken. For the meantime, the referential classification term "Yemne-Kimbi", comprising the Lower Fungom languages Mungbam, Ji, Koshin, Fang and Ajumbu, has been proposed by Good et al. (2011) to replace the presently-unsupported genetic label "Western Beboid." This point notwithstanding, however, our experience studying the two lan-

[2] Here we refer to the concept developed in the works of Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979a,b).

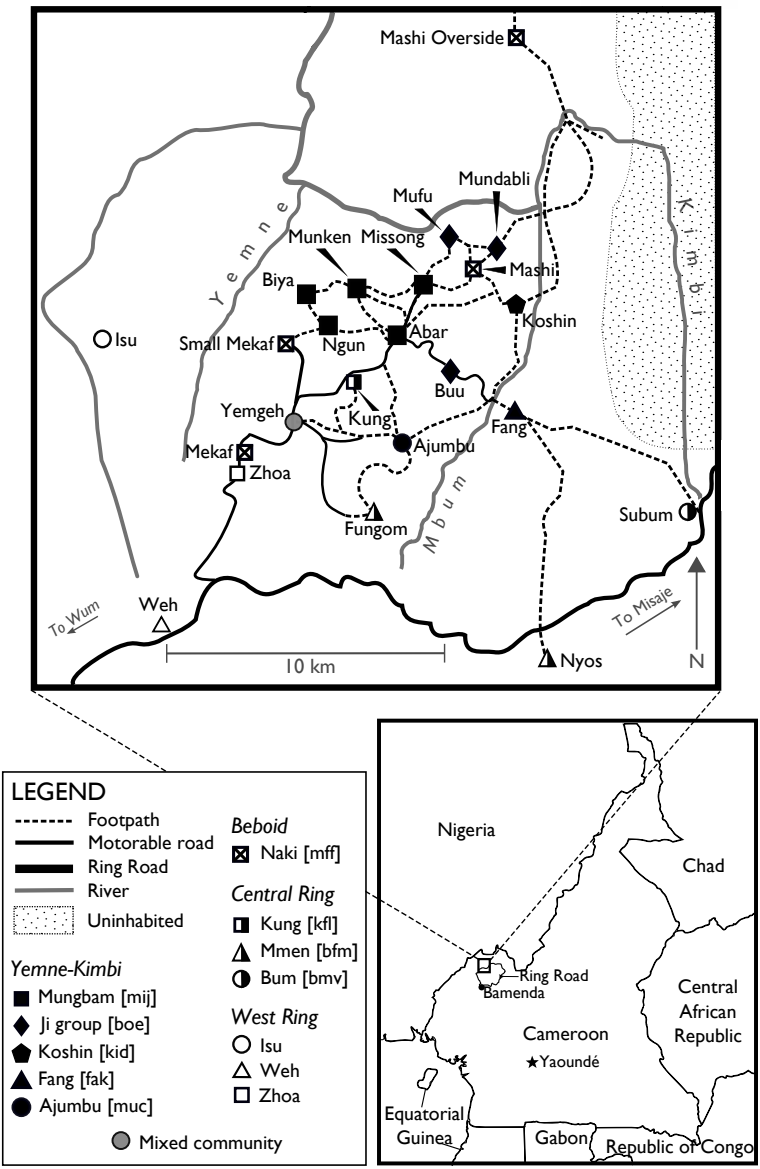

Figure 1: Lower Fungom and surrounding area (Good et al., 2011).

guages has made it clear that the languages overlap considerably in their overall grammatical structure. What is uncertain is the extent to which this overlap is due to contact, rather than common inheritance.

As is shown in Figure 1, there are non-Yemne-Kimbi languages spoken in close vicinity to both Mungbam and Mundabli. The most relevant of these is the Beboid language Naki [mff], which is in especially tight contact with both languages. The Mungbam villages Biya and Ngun, for example, are as close to the Naki-speaking village Small Mekaf as they are to any other Mungbam-speaking village. Likewise for Mundabli, the closest village is not a Ji-speaking village, but the Naki-speaking village Mashi. Various West and Central Ring languages are spoken in and around Lower Fungom. North of Lower Fungom on the Cameroonian side of the Nigeria-Cameroon border are found Jukunoid languages, including Yukuben, Akum, Beezen and Baazem (not shown in Figure 1, but see Breton (1993)).

1.2.2 Typological background

Basic information about the grammatical systems of Mungbam and Mundabli, to the extent they were understood at the time of publication, is presented in Good et al. (2011). Since our understanding of the two languages has evolved since the time of publication of that article, any conflicting information presented in the present work should be considered as superseding the earlier article. Lovegren (2013), a grammar of Mungbam, was completed during the time that this volume was under editorial review.

Both languages are rather complex phonologically. Vowel inventories are relatively large, and vowels in Mundabli contrast for pharyngealization. Both languages contrast four level tones in addition to contour tones, and make extensive use of tone in their verbal morphologies. Words tend to be disyllabic in Mungbam, and mostly monosyllabic in Mundabli.

Both languages have well-articulated systems of noun class agreement: All nouns are lexically associated with a noun class, and modifiers of the noun exhibit concord which is controlled by the noun class of the head noun. The two languages differ in that while noun class is for the most part overtly marked on nouns in Mungbam via prefixation, noun class in Mundabli is instead to a considerable extent "covert", as it is for the most part only observable via its ability to control concord agreement.[3] Table 1 illustrates this point, showing some cognate forms from different noun classes in Mundabli and the Mungbam dialect of Munken.

[3] See Good (2012: §4) for a discussion, with specific reference to Mundabli and Mungbam

Mundabli	Munken	gloss
gbɔ̄	ú-kpɛ́	'CL3.house'
dzɔ̄	í-kpɛ́	'CL4.houses'
yɪ́	í-dzɛ́hɛ	'CL3.eye'
yɪ́	á-dzɛ́hɛ	'CL7a/CL6.eyes'
kū	à-kəfə	'CL7/CL12.bone'
kū	bī-kəfə	'CL8.bones'
ʤŭ	ì-bé	'CL9.goat'
ʤű	í-bɛ́	'CL10.goat'

Table 1: Forms illustrating the loss of segmental noun class prefixes in Mundabli vs. their retention in Munken

In both languages, verbs may be divided on the basis of tonal alternations into three different conjugation classes, labeled '(A)', '(B)', and '(C)'. Cognate verbs in the two languages tend to fall into the same conjugation class. Verbs inflect via tone changes and stem vowel mutations, the latter of which are conditioned by a perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction. Tense marking is produced by a combination of verb stem changes and overt preverbal tense markers. Both Mundabli and Mungbam distinguish four degrees of remoteness in the past (glossed P0, P1, P2, and P3 here). Mungbam has one future tense, while Mundabli has two (glossed FUT1 and FUT2). In Mungbam, tone changes in the verb encode a four-way formal distinction: between perfective and imperfective aspect on one dimension, and between realis and irrealis mood on the other (see Table 2). The latter distinction is mostly a formal one, as the category "Irrealis" has an idiosyncratic membership in Mungbam: subjunctive, jussive, remote past, and one type of negation construction, but not future and not a second type of negation construction. The tonal morphology of Mundabli verbs is a bit more complicated, and cannot be succinctly summarized here (but see Voll (2012) for details).

Basic constituent order in both languages is SV/SVO, though arguments are frequently dislocated to different positions within the clause for focus-marking. More specifically, the position immediately after the verb (IAV) is considered a structural focus position in both languages. This means that VS constituent order is observed in subject-focus constructions, and OV constituent order is observed in object-defocalisation constructions. In Mungbam, a productive process of verbal reduplication is available for the encoding of verum focus (contrastive or assertive focus on the truth value of a clause). Reduplication is however under partial grammatical control (cf. Hyman and Watters (1984: 243)) when certain marked constituent orders are

		PFV	IPFV
A	REALIS	x̀	x̀ + ABL
	IRR	x̄	x̄ + ABL
B	REALIS	x̋	x̂ + ABL
	IRR	x̃	x́ + ABL
C	REALIS	x̂	x̂ + ABL
	IRR	x́	x́ + ABL

Table 2: Verb conjugation in Mungbam. Tone diacritics are interpreted as follows: x̀ = L, x̄ = M, x̃ = ML, x́ = H, x̂ = HL, x̋ = S(uperhigh). ABL= 'ablaut'. On disyllabic verbs, the patterns are identical, with the pitch modulation spread across the two syllables.

observed, as well as in relative clauses (see § 2.6).

Both languages make extensive use of serial verb constructions in which all of the verbs form a continuous block in the middle of the clause, without any intervening arguments. In this paper the term "verbal complex," taken over from Kießling (2011), refers to this continuous block of one or more verbs.

With some minor differences, the two languages have broadly similar systems for formally marking different types of grammatical relations, with the following formally distinct possibilities available:

- Subject (ø-marked, normally appears before the verb). Some preverbal subject pronouns differ from postverbal object pronouns.
- Object (ø-marked, normally appears immediately after the verb)
- Comitative (preceded by particle glossed COM)
- Dative (optionally preceded by a general-purpose preposition, followed by a particle glossed DAT)[4]
- Locative (optionally preceded by a general-purpose preposition, followed by one of several possible postpositions)
- (Genitive) (ø-marked, follows the head noun)

We will occasionally refer to these grammatical relations in our discussion of accessibility.

[4] The comitative is so called because it is prototypically used to encode accompaniment. It is also used with instrumental function. The dative is so called because it is prototypically used to encode recipients. It is also used with benefactive function. We employ the terms "comitative phrase" and "dative phrase" as necessary to refer to a noun phrase together with its associated

1.3 Notes on terminology and transcription

Transcription symbols used in the examples are mostly consistent with the corresponding IPA symbols, with a few minor exceptions. The use of the [x̰] diacritic, normally reserved to indicate breathy voice, is used to indicate what has been described as pharyngealisation of vowels in Mundabli. Also, the symbol [y] indicate a palatal glide in Mundabli. In Mungbam a palatal glide is indicated by the IPA symbol [j]. Additionally, we prefer to use the now outdated symbol [ɪ] rather than the currently-recommended [ɪ] to transcribe a high, front, unrounded root-retracted vowel, simply for the reason that when tone diacritics are included, the latter symbol is easily confused with dotless [ɪ].

For terminological convenience, we use the term 'head nominal' to refer to the head of a noun phrase which contains a relative clause, and the term 'representative of the head nominal' (or simply 'representative nominal'), to refer to a noun or pronoun coreferent with the head nominal which occurs inside of the relative clause itself. Both terms are due to Lehmann (1986: 664, 673). We also use the term 'matrix NP', due to Andrews (2007: 206), to refer to the noun phrase headed by the head nominal. Likewise, we use 'matrix clause' to designate the clause containing the matrix NP. Since a discussion of noun class concord figures prominently in several places in this paper, we use the term 'concordant' as a short way of referring to a grammatical particle, viz. a relativizer, which shows noun class concord with the head nominal. Likewise, 'non-concordant' will designate a grammatical particle which does not show concord.

In examples, we enclose relative clauses in square brackets, and indicate head nominals and their representatives within the relative clause with underlining. In § 2, a name in parentheses following the free translation refers to the dialect from which the example has been taken. Examples with no such annotation are Mundabli examples.

One final comment concerns the source of the example sentences. Example sentences drawn from naturally-occurring speech are generally to be preferred. However, an elicited sentence is often the best way to clearly exemplify a particular type of structure to the audience of linguists. At a more

comitative- or dative-marking morphology.

Dative-marked arguments in Mungbam and Mundabli overlap in function somewhat with arguments licensed by reflexes of the verbal suffix *-ɪl- in Narrow Bantu languages, commonly called "applicative," though called "dative" by Schadeberg (2003: 74). In referring to the grammatical function in Mungbam and Mundabli, we prefer the latter term, since "applicative" is typically associated with head-marking strategies for encoding grammatical roles, while "dative" is typically associated with dependent-marking strategies.

practical level, elicitation is the most convenient way for a visiting field linguist to test hypotheses that they develop through the examination of texts, and is often the only sensible way to do so, given time constraints. Examples used in this paper, then, come from both elicited and naturally-occurring speech. Elicited sentences are indicated by a ◇ symbol in the free translation. Ungrammatical examples,all of which are elicited are indicated by an asterisk (with no ◇ symbol).

2 Mungbam

2.1 Introduction

Data from Mungbam will be drawn freely from all five varieties, with the understanding that the same facts apply to each variety, except where otherwise mentioned. We first consider superficial properties of the relative clause construction, including the order of the relative clause with respect to other nominal modifiers (§ 2.2). We then consider properties of the relativizer, including its likely historical source (§ 2.3). Section 2.4 concerns the representative nominal, and § 2.5 discusses the accessibility of different grammatical relations to relativization. Finally, § 2.6 compares the possibilities for marking various clause-level properties in main and relative clauses. Special attention is given to focus-marking possibilities.

2.2 Basic order of constituents in the NP

The unmarked constituent order within NP's in Mungbam is such that the head noun is initial. The head noun may be modified by possessive pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, the definite determiner, and relative clauses, all of which, save the relative clause, show some form of concord with the noun class of the head noun in all Mungbam varieties.[5] The order of certain other modifiers of the head noun is as in (1), exemplified in (2). Adjectives and numerals, when modifying the head noun in a noun phase,[6] have a more variable ordering with respect to other nominal modifiers, so they cannot be easily incorporated into the schema given in (1). Since the relative clause appears after the head nominal, but before the definite determiner, as in (2), it is rather straightforward to argue that the relative clause

[5] Concord on possessive pronouns is, however, significantly eroded. Only a two-way tonal distinction is realized on pronouns, depending on whether the possessum noun class is one of {1,5,9}, or some other class.

[6] Adjectives and numerals may also head noun phrases.

is internal to the matrix NP.

(1) N – Poss – Dem – Rel – Det

(2) í-sɛ̂hɛ mə́ jɛ̂n nə́ [ɲ̃-ɲɛ́ mɛ̄
CL4a-place 1SG.POSS CL4a.DEM.PROX REL CL6a-water CL6a.DET
ɲɛ̀] jɛ̄
(A)stay.PFV CL4.DET
◇'This my place where there is water...' (Munken)[7]

Departures from the determiner-final constituent order given in (1) are found under different scopal interpretations of definiteness with respect to other constituents of the NP. While the normal state of affairs is for either all or none of the information in the NP to be given a definite interpretation, corresponding to either the appearance of the determiner NP-finally or its complete absence, some cases are possible where the head nominal is given a definite interpretation, but one of its modifiers is given an indefinite interpretation. Example (3), for example, where the relative clause follows the definite determiner, is felicitously uttered in a context where the listener is familiar with the group of fowls being discussed, and familiar with the set of red fowls within that group, and also familiar with the fact that some fowls within the group fell, but did not know beforehand that the fowls having fallen were the red ones.

[7] Glossing abbreviations are as follows:

(A),(B),(C)	verbal conjugation class	CL1...19(a)	noun class
ADJ	adjectivizer	ASS	associative
AUG	augment	COP	copula
COM	comitative	COMP	complementizer
CONSEC	consecutive	DEM	demonstrative
DET	definite determiner	DIST	distal
DS	dummy subject	DSF	disfluentive (cf. Good (2010:§4))
EXCL	exclamatory	FOC	focus-field form
FRUST	frustal	FUT, FUTI...2	future
IDEO	ideophone		
IPFV	imperfective	IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative	NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer	POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition	PRF	perfect
PO...3	past tense	PST	past tense
PROX	proximal	PRO	proform
RED	reduplicant	REL	relativizer
SUBD	subordinator	TOP	topic-field form; topic
VENT	ventive	VFOC	verum focus

Verbs not glossed as 'IPFV' are in their perfective forms. Mungbam verbs not glossed as 'IRR' are in their realis forms.

(3) í-ɕɛ́̄ jɛ̄ nə́ [í gbè] í-bwínsə́ jɛ̄
CLIO-fowl CLIO.DET REL CLIO (A)fall CLIO-red CLIO.DET
◇'The fowls which fell are the red ones.' (Munken)

2.3 The relativizer

In the Munken examples (2)–(3), the relativizer, which immediately precedes and introduces the relative clause, does not show concord with the head nominal. In all of the Mungbam varieties, except for Biya (to be discussed below), the relativizer is non-concordant. These (non-)agreement facts are noteworthy because they not only separate Mungbam from other Grassfields languages further to the South, which have concordant relativizers,[8] but they also can offer a clue about possible grammaticalization sources for the relativizer. If the relativizer is non-concordant, then it is less likely that it could have grammaticalized from an element which regularly shows concord, such as a demonstrative.[9] Ruling out the demonstrative as a grammaticalization source is significant since demonstratives are a common grammaticalization source for relativizers in African languages (Heine, 2011: 706), and the "most frequent" source cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 115).

2.3.1 Possible sources for grammaticalization of the relativizer

In Biya, the relativizer does show concord with the head nominal. In that variety, the relativizer coincides exactly in form with the word -nɪ 'some, another', which takes a noun class prefix and whose tone is also controlled by the class of the noun it agrees with.[10] Examples are given in (4). The only difference between the two is that the prefix of the relativizer is occasionally omitted in casual speech, as in (4c). Since the agreement facts between the two morphemes are identical, it seems likely that the relativizer in Biya has grammaticalized from -nɪ 'some, another'.

(4) a. ī-ɕɛ̄ jī à tù-ā ī-ɕɛ̄ ì-nī
CL9-fowl CL9.DET SBJ (A)peck-PRF CL9-fowl CL9-other

[8] Cf. for Isu (Ring) (Kießling, 2011: 39, passim), Noni (Beboid) (Hyman, 1981: 91), Bafut (Ngemba) (Tamanji, 2009: 96–7). Mankon (Bamiléké) (Leroy, 2007: 415), and Ngwe (Bamiléké) (Nkemnji, 1995: 77). An exception is the Bamiléké language Fe'Fe' (Chumbow, 1977: 289), which otherwise has lost much of its concord morphology (Hyman, 1972: §VII).
[9] A logical possibility is of course that the relativizer grammaticalized from a concordant form which eventually lost its concord. However, with the exception of possessive marking, the concord system of Mungbam quite well-preserved.
[10] It bears a mid tone for agreement with class 1, 5 and 9, nouns, and a high tone for all agreement with nouns of all other classes.

◇‘The fowl has pecked another fowl.’ (Biya)

b. ū-bí ū-ní [ú-kpə́ kə̄-ŋwāa sū
CL3-year CL3-REL CL3-house CL12-book (A)start.IRR
kwí á wáhá] wī
(C)enter.IRR PREP Zhoa CL3.DET
‘The year when the school at Zhoa was opened...’ (Biya)

c. wə̌ kə́-mjɨ́ ní [ɲ́-ɕî ń-dé ɕī
then CL12-matter REL 1SG-(B)want 1SG-(C)talk.IRR (A)discuss.IRR
lē] kə̄ jâ
VENT.IRR CL12.DET thus
‘That’s the problem that I want to talk about...’ (Biya)

In the other dialects, where concord between the relativizer and the head nominal is not observed, the forms of the relativizer are quite similar, though the forms of the ‘some, other’ morpheme tend to vary (see Table 3), such that this morpheme is not the most obvious grammaticalization source. In Table 3 we give forms for two other morphemes which might be candidates for grammaticalization sources.

VARIETY	REL	‘some’	‘reason’	‘own’ (associative)
Munken	nə́	-lɛ	á-mjʉ́	-ɲəmə
Ngun	ní	-ne	kə́-mjɨ́	
Biya	-nɪ	-nɪ	kə́-mjɨ́	-kjɪ
Abar	ɲí	-lehe	kə́-ɲʉ́	-ɲi
Missong	ná	-lɛ	kí-nə́	-nə̄

Table 3: Forms of relativizer, and of three suspected grammaticalization sources for the relativizer in Mungbam. Lack of tone marking indicates that the tone of the form depends on the prefix it bears.

We note that in Abar, the word translatable as ‘one’s own’, a type of emphatic associative marker, coincides in segmental form (but not in tone) with the relativizer. The associative marker as a grammaticalization source for the relativizer is not mentioned in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 335), though Ohori (2011: 641–2) considers it to be a source “...with clear conceptual-semantic ground...” Such a grammaticalization scenario is claimed for some Chadic languages (Frajzyngier, 1996: §11), and a relativizing particle in Vute (Mambiloid) is treated by Maxey (1994: §3.1) as being the same as an associative marker. A more relevant case is the neighboring language Naki, where formally identical particles serve as both a pre-RC relativizer and an associative

marker (Jeff Good, p.c.).[11]

The root of the word meaning 'reason, problem, matter' in Missong coincides with the relativizer in that language. The root -mjṼ in Biya, Munken, and Ngun also means 'word'[12] (similar forms with that meaning are attested in Abar and Missong), and it appears to have supplanted the original term in Ngun and Biya. Biya and Munken retain roots kə́-nṍ, á-ɲíˊ 'thing', of the same noun class as Abar kə́-ɲíˊ.

A possible scenario for grammaticalization of the relativizer from a word meaning 'matter', which at this point remains speculative, is as follows: The word translatable as 'reason, problem, matter', was originally found in all five varieties in a form close to that observed in Missong or Abar. This form was the original source for the relativizer in all of the dialects, and possibly was the source for the emphatic associative marker translated as 'own' in Abar, Missong and Munken. Since the prefix in the original word was fixed, the relativizer never showed concord with the head noun, and this prefix was eventually lost. Some time after the grammaticalization of the relativizer from *kV-nV, the original root meaning 'matter', was replaced in Biya, Munken, and Ngun by the root whose original meaning was 'word'. The relativizer in Biya was eventually reanalyzed as an instantiation of the morpheme -nɪ 'other'. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 211–2, 295) note that a word with the meaning 'thing' or 'matter' tends to be the grammaticalization source for a complementizer, though no such source is reported for a relativizer.

In summary, we have identified two of the most likely historical sources for the relativizer in Mungbam: an emphatic associative marker, and a lexical item 'thing, matter'. At present it is not clear which of these is the more likely.

2.3.2 Optionality of the relativizer

The presence of the relativizer is optional in Mungbam. There are, however, differences between different types of relative clauses with respect to the rate of its omission. While the relativizer is usually omitted in cleft sentences, it

[11] See (51), p. 29 for an example of a Naki relative clause.

[12] Interestingly, in Munken, a subordinating particle mjú, clearly related to á-mjṹ, is attested in a type of aversive construction, translatable as 'lest'.

(1) bə́ ʤû bɛ̋hɛ mjú ɲ́-ɕám mē á tɔ̀ŋ=ā á bə̄
CL2 (C)go.away (B)exit lest CL6a-blood CL6a.DET NEG (A)touch=PRF PREP CL2.LOC.OBJ
mə̄
LOC.at

'They have moved away lest the blood [of the freshly slaughtered pig] touch them.' (Munken)

is usually not omitted in non-cleft sentences. Example (5) shows two repetitions of the same line in a folk tale told by different speakers, which differ by the presence vs. the absence of the relativizer. In (5a), the original telling of the story, the relativizer is omitted from the cleft construction, and the copula verb is reduced. In (5b), a careful repetition of the same line by a different speaker, the relativizer is present.

(5) a. ă fwé̋ [ù ɕô fwôm lànɔ̀
DS.COP there CLI (B)stay.day.IPFV (B)struggle.IPFV (A)walk.IPFV
kɔ̄ mɛ̀ bì-dzāŋ bī fwɔ̀mhɔ̄ wɔ̀ í-dāŋ
IPFV COM CL8-fly CL8.DET (A)disturb CLI LOC.CL5-comb
ì ŋɔ̄n]
CL5.DET LOC.on
'It's there [i.e. that's why] he is constantly struggling with flies disturbing him [landing] on his comb.' (Abar)

b. à lɛ́̋ fwé̋ ɲí [ù ɕô fwôm
DS (B)COP there REL CLI (B)stay.day.IPFV (B)struggle.IPFV
lànɔ̀ kɔ̄ mɛ̀ bì-dzāŋ bī í-dāŋ
(A)walk.IPFV IPFV COM CL8-fly CL8.DET LOC.CL5-comb
ì ŋɔ̄n]
CL5.DET LOC.on
◇'It is there that [i.e. that's why] he is constantly struggling with flies on his comb.' (Abar)

2.4 The representative of the head nominal

All relative clauses in Mungbam may contain a representative of the head nominal, though its presence is only mandatory when the representative nominal functions as the subject of the relative clause.[13] In a subject relative clause such as (6), a pronoun will always follow the relativizer.

(6) kpòa ná [bű̋ gbɔ̀] bū
five REL CL2 (A)fall CL2.DET
◇'The five that fell...' (Missong)

For all other types of relative clauses, inclusion of the representative nominal is optional. Example (7) shows two sentences containing an object rel-

[13] A similar asymmetry between extracted subject and non-subjects is reported for Vata (Kru), which requires an overt representative nominal for subject relatives, but requires its absence for non-subject relatives (Koopman and Sportiche, 1986: 361).

ative clause which differ only by the presence or absence of a representative nominal in the relative clause.

(7) a. m̀bʊ̀ŋ ɲí [Nâŋ há lɨ̀ŋ] ɔ̀ ù pí~pǐ
CLI.cow REL N. PI (A)look.for CLI.DET CLI VFOC~(B)die
◇'The cow that Nang looked for died.' (Abar)

b. m̀bʊ̀ŋ ɲí [Nâŋ há lɨ̀ŋ wù] ù[14] ù pí~pǐ
CLI.cow REL N. PI (A)look.for CLI CLI.DET CLI VFOC~(B)die
◇'The cow that Nang looked for [it] died.' (Abar)

Example (8) contains a relative clause where the representative nominal may or may not appear as the object of the locative phrase á…mī 'inside of…'. As (8) shows, locative phrases may be "stranded" in relative clauses. Object-less locative phrases, however, are grammatical in main clauses as well (see (12), below).

(8) àkə̂ŋ kɛ̀ lɛ́ á-kə̄ŋ ɲí́ [bwɛ̄́ ʤù
CLI2.DEM.PROX CLI2.DET COP CLI2-pan REL CL2 (A)put.IPFV
í-lɨ́m̄ è á (kī) mī] kɛ̀
CL4a-nkwi.bark CL4a.DET PREP CLI2 LOC.in CLI2.DET
◇'This is the dish that nkwi bark is put inside of.' (Abar)

In the case of comitative and dative relatives, if the representative nominal is omitted from the relative clause, then so must the comitative or dative marker itself (9).

(9) m̄-fə̄ tsɨ́n~tsɔ́ŋɔ ú-ɕɛ́ nə́ [Nâŋ fə̄ kə̀m í-ɕɛ́
1SG-PI VFOC~(B)see CL3-knife REL N. PI slaughter CL10-fowl
jɛ̄ (bə̄ wù)]
CL10.DET (COM CL3)
◇'I did see the knife that Nang slaughtered the fowls (with it).' (Munken)

When the head nominal refers to a place where the event described by the relative clause took place, the relative clause may optionally contain a locative phrase translatable as 'there', as in (10).

(10) m̄-fə̄ tsɨ́n~tsɔ́ŋɔ í-sɛ́hɛ nə́ [Nâŋ fə̄ kə̀m í-ɕɛ́
1SG-PI VFOC~(B)see CL5-place REL N. PI (A)slaughter CL10-fowl
jɛ̄ (á fē)]
CL10.DET (there)
◇'I did see the place that Nang slaughtered the fowls (there).' (Munken)

[14] The form of the class 1 determiner in Abar is sensitive to the presence of a preceding vowel.

The conditions on the appearance of a representative nominal within a relative clause exactly parallel the conditions on the presence of overt arguments in main clauses. Just as subject relative clauses are the only type of relative clause which must contain a representative nominal, subjects are the only argument which is not omissible from a main clause. The behavior of comitative and dative arguments is also parallel: in both relative and main clauses, a comitative or dative argument may be omitted, provided that the comitative/dative marker is itself omitted. Examples (11)–(13) show main clauses with an omitted object, locative complement, and dative, respectively.

(11) ù ŋ̀kɨ́ŋkɨ̀n jùɔ ɲà bí-tə̃m.
CLI now (A)cut.vegetables.IPFV (A)stay.IPFV CL8-vegetables
m=ù-ú gjə̌lə
then=CLI-FUT (A)cook.IRR
'Now she's cutting vegetables. Then she'll cook [them].' (Munken)

(12) á-ɲí́ bə́ tî wân bí-bûŋ á kī
CL12-thing CL2 (C)hang.IPFV (B)keep.IPFV CL8-dress PREP CL12
mə̀. bə́ tî wânhə á-bûŋ ā-lɔ́
LOC.on CL2 (C)hang.IPFV (C)keep.IPFV CL12-dress CL12-some
ú[15] mə̀
PREP-CL1.LOC.OBJ LOC.on
'...a thing they hang dresses on. They're hanging a dress on [it].' (Munken)

(13) jɛ̀ ù fɛ̂ ká-nő́ ká-dú-lə
COMP CLI (B)give.IRR CL12-thing CL12-(B)carry.water-ADJ
ɲ̄-ɲɛ́
CL6a-water
'...that he should give [them] the thing for carrying water...' (Biya)

2.5 Accessibility to relativization

The formation of relative clauses in Mungbam is not restricted according to the grammatical relation of the representative nominal within the relative

[15] This word is transcribed and glossed ú 'LOC' in Lovegren (2013: 407), though the present gloss and tonal transcription is more consistent with the analysis and examples in Lovegren (2013: §9.1). In Munken, locative object pronouns always bear mid tone, and those beginning with a vowel or glide may coalesce with the preceding preposition. I.e., ű mə̀ is a shorter variant of á wū mə̀ 'PREP CL1.LOC.OBJ LOC.on'. In an earlier version of this paper, ú mə̀ was treated as being a variant of á mə̀, with the vowel of the preposition harmonizing to [u] following the preceding back vowel. More likely is that the speaker simply lost track of the noun class of the object of the locative phrase (á kī mə̀ 'PREP CL12.LOC.OBJ LOC.on' was intended).

clause. A relative clause may be formed whose representative functions as a subject, an object, a comitative argument, a dative/benefactive argument, or the object of a locative argument ((14)–(18), respectively). A noun which functions as the possessor in a genitive NP within a relative clause may also be relativized (19).

(14) ù-nò né [wǎ tê mù ɲâm
CLI-person REL CLI.FUT (B)come.IRR then.CLI (B)secretly.IRR
dzɛ́ bɛ́hɛ̀ kō ì-jā]
(C)call.IRR (B)exit.IRR (A)go.IRR CL5-name
'The person who comes and whispers [to me] the name...' (Ngun)

(15) bə̀-mbɔ̀ŋə̄ mə́ nə́ [Nâŋ tsâm] bē pí-ā́
CL2-cow ISG.POSS REL N. (B)beat CL2.DET (B)die
◇'My cows which Nang beat have died.' (Munken)

(16) ú-ɕɛ́ mɔ̀ [à ɕɛ̀lə bə̄ wű ú-kpɛ́
CL3-knife TOP 2SG (A)do.housework COM CL3 CL3-house
ú-gJɛ̀lə mē]
CL3-(A)cook.ADJ LOC
'That knife that you work with in the kitchen' (Munken)

(17) ù-nɛ̀ nə̄ [mə lē fɛ́ ú-ɕɛ́ wù=nə̄] wə̀=ə́ fə̋
CLI-person REL ISG P2/3 (B)give CL3-knife CLI=DAT CLI=then PI
gbè
(A)fall
◇'The man whom I gave a knife to fell.' (Munken)

(18) ŋ̀-gbə̀-nə̀ ná [Nâŋ ká gbə̀ wə̄ mī] wū ká
CLI.NMLZ-(A)fall-NMLZ REL N. PI (A)fall CLI LOC.at CLI.DET PI
bɨ́~bāhā
VFOC~(C)bad
◇'The way that Nang fell [i.e. the falling that Nang fell on] was bad.' (Missong)

(19) u-wə̀nɔ̀ ù lɛ́ ù-nò ɲī [ń=ʤā
CLI-DEM.PROX CLI (B)COP CLI-person REL ISG=(A)steal.IRR
ī-ɕɛ̄ jì]
CL9-fowl 3SG.POSS
◇'This one is the man whose fowl I stole.' (Abar)

A relative clause may also be formed from a noun heading an adjunct NP, as in (20) (a corresponding main clause is given in (21)).

(20) ñ-tsɬtsă á-mjű nə́ [Nấŋ fə̋ ɲùnə bə̄ í-wə̋ŋ
ISG-VFOC~know CL12-matter REL N. PI (A)fight COM CL10-pig
jɛ̄] kə̄
CL10.DET CL12.DET
◇'I know the reason that Nang was fighting with the pigs.' (Munken)

(21) m̄-bə̂fə á-mjű ú-kpə́fə mə́
ISG-(B)ask.IPFV CL12-matter CL3-money ISG.POSS
'I'm asking because of my money.' (Munken)

Relative clauses may also be formed where the referent of the head nominal has an obvious logical connection with the meaning expressed by the relative clause, but the grammatical relation of the head nominal within the relative clause itself is unclear, as in (22).

(22) ì-jə̄nə ì-ɲī nə́ [ù-nɛ̀ ɲɛ̀ ù
CL5-DEM.PROX CL5-honey REL CL1-person (A)stay.PFV CL1
tsə̄n]
(B)be.drunk.IRR
'This is the honey that a person can get drunk [on].' (Munken)

There exist further cases of sentences with an identical structure to relative clauses, in texts and elicited, where the relativized noun does not play a semantic or syntactic role *within* the relative clause,[16] but instead refers to the event itself or some logical consequence of it. These cannot be translated into idiomatic English with a relative clause. Some examples are given in (23)–(25).

(23) ì-ʤī ì-nī [bű gbà ɲà kə̄-tɔ̄
CL5-sound CL5-REL CL2 (A)cut.IPFV (A)stay.IPFV CL12-tree
kə̄] nɔ̀ bâŋ ɲà mə̄
CL12.DET (A)make.IPFV (B)block.IPFV (A)stay.IPFV ISG
◇'The sound of them cutting the tree disturbs me.' (Biya)

(24) á-mjű nə́ [bə́-kjī̋ŋ bē ʤà ì-ɕɛ̄
CL12-matter REL CL2-children CL2.DET (A)steal CL9-FOWL
mə̄] kə̄ fwə̋mfə mə̄
ISG.POSS CL12.DET (B)worry ISG

[16] This is taken to be a defining characteristic of relative clauses by most commentators, e.g., Downing (1978: 378), Lehmann (1986: 664), Andrews (2007: 206).

◇'The fact that the children stole my fowl concerns me.' (Munken)

(25) bə́ kwɛ́ ì-tù ú-kpɛ́ [bə́ kwɛ́ ú-kpɔ́hɔ]
CL2 (B)have CL5-species CL3-house CL2 (B)have CL3-money
'They have the kind of house [that makes it seem like] they have money.' (Munken)

As Comrie (1998: §3.2) argues on the basis of similar facts for Japanese, there are languages for which the relative clause construction is not a formally distinct construction, but instead is subsumed under a larger noun-modifying clause construction. Comrie suggests that in such languages extraction (and therefore accessibility to relativization) is not a very useful concept for analyzing relative clauses. Mungbam may be such a language, given the presence of relative clauses which would have to be analyzed, in an extraction analysis, as being derived from an *ungrammatical* sentence in a main clause.

Example (26) illustrates how the verb ban 'climb', when it takes a complement, must take a locative phrase and not simply a bare NP. Example (27) shows that the same verb may appear in a clause with no complement at all (provided that it is reduplicated when clause-final, (cf. § 2.6.2)). When the same verb appears in a relative clause (28), the relative clause may or may not contain a locative complement with a representative of the head nominal. If the version of (28) lacking the locative complement were to be treated as derived from a main clause *Nâŋ bàn ú-kpɛ́ wə̄, with the noun ú-kpɛ́ 'house' extracted, it would leave us with the unhappy prospect of deriving a relative clause from a main clause which is in fact ungrammatical. When the relative clause is simply modeled as a noun modified by a clause, with no extraction relationship between the two, no such difficulty arises.

(26) Nâŋ fə̌ bàn ú-kpɛ́ wə̄ *(á fəmə̄)
N. PI (A)climb CL3-house CL3.DET PREP LOC.top
◇'Nang climbed *(on top of) the house.' (Munken)

(27) Nâŋ fə̌ bɨ̀m~bân
N. PI VFOC~(A)climb
◇'Nang climbed.' (Munken)

(28) m̄-fə̌ tsə́ŋ ú-kpɛ́ nə́ [Nâŋ fə̌ bàn (á wū fəmə̄)]
1SG-PI (B)see CL3-house REL N. PI (A)climb PREP CL3 LOC.top
wə̄
CL3.DET

◇'I saw the house that Nang (climbed / climbed on top of).' (Munken)

2.6 Asymmetries between main and relative clause properties

A well-attested phenomenon in African languages is for relative clauses and main clauses to have different inflectional or focus-marking possibilities. A typical scenario is for fewer inflectional categories to be available in relative clauses, or for in-focus marking to be restricted in relative clauses with respect to main clauses (Hyman and Watters, 1984). Furthermore, in some languages there are "relative tenses," or differences between the marking of tense in relative clauses vs. in main clauses. In light of observations of this type, we prefer to make comparison of main and relative clauses even in areas where the two show no differences in behavior. Of course, we devote the larger part of the discussion to the part of the grammar where differences between the two clause types are observed, *viz.*, in focus marking (§ 2.6.2).

2.6.1 Tense, aspect, mood, polarity

In Mungbam, we find that the inflectional possibilities available to verbs are the same in relative clauses as they are in main clauses, with both the realis/irrealis and the perfective/imperfective distinction available to verbs in a relative clause. While most examples in this paper are of verbs in their perfective realis forms, imperfective and irrealis forms may be found in examples (8), and (14), respectively. It should also be added that no inflectional categories have been attested which are found in relative clauses, but not in main clauses.

Furthermore, no differences between main and relative clauses have been found as concerns the marking of tense and aspect, whether by verb stem changes or the presence of tense markers. This situation contrasts with that seen for Mundabli (§ 3.6). Examples (29)–(31) show relative clauses in each of the past tenses P1–P3. Although tense markers have not been presented due to space limitations, verb tones can be verified against those given in Table 2.

(29) ì-jə̄n dà ì-bwɔ́ ì-nī [Nə̄ŋ fə̄ bwɔ́ nə́
CL5-DEM.PROX NEG CL5-(B)tired.INF CL5-other N. P1 (B)tired
FRUST

◇'This is not the fatigue that Nang was tired [i.e. that Nang experienced].' (P1, Biya)

(30) ă ù-nò ɲí [Mû kà lè tô ì-bwé
DS.COP CLI-person REL M. P2/3[17] (A)make (C)show CL9-goat
Kúlɔ́=né]
K.=DAT
◇'This is the person$_i$ by whom$_i$ Mu made the goat be shown to Kulo.' (P2, Abar)

(31) fɛ̂ wù b=ú-tɔ̋fə nəmɔ̄ wə̄, ù nə́ [à lē
(B)give.IRR CLI COM=CL3-sense TOP CL3.DET CLI REL 2SG P2/3
fɛ̂ dā] wə̄
(B)give.IRR before CL3.DET
'Give him that wisdom, the one which you have given before [to others].' (P3, Munken)

Negation is not restricted or differentially expressed in relative clauses (see (40) for an example). The possibility of non-declarative illocutionary force in relative clauses has not been investigated for Mungbam.

2.6.2 Focus marking

As for focus-marking, all of the types of focus constructions which are grammatical in main clauses are also permitted in relative clauses. Formal focus-marking processes in Mungbam include focalization and defocalization of clausal arguments (realized by word order changes) and verum focus (realized by reduplication of the final verb in the verbal complex).[18]

Term focus

The representative nominal may be focalized or defocalized within the relative clause. The examples (32) show relative clauses wherein the subject has been focused by displacement to IAV (immediately after verb) position. In (32a) the representative of the head nominal itself is in focus, while in (32b) the representative of the head nominal is not the term which is in focus.

(32) a. ù-nɛ̀ nə́ [à gbè wù] wə̄ ù pí~pí̋
CLI-person REL DS (A)fall CLI CLI.DET CLI VFOC~(B)die
◇'The man$_i$ that he$_i$ fell died.' (Munken)

[17] The tense markers for P2 and P3 are identical in all Mungbam varieties except for in Biya. The tenses are distinguished by the fact that in P3 the verb must be in its irrealis form.
[18] A more detailed treatment of focus in Mungbam is found in Lovegren (2013: §11). The relevant notion of focus assumed here is that of Hyman and Watters (1984).

b. ù-nɛ̀ nɔ́ [à ɕɛ̂ Nâŋ wù] wə̀ ù pí~pǐ
CLI-person REL DS (C)insult N. CLI CLI.DET CLI VFOC~(B)die
◇'The man$_i$ that Nang insulted him$_i$ died.' (Munken)

The representative of the head nominal may also be defocalised within the relative clause. Objects in Mungbam are defocalized when they are dislocated *away from* IAV position. In example (33), the representative nominal is a defocalized object within the relative clause. It displays the areally prevalent SOV word order found in some negated clauses (Güldemann, 2007: §2.3).

(33) ù-nɛ̄ nɔ́ [Nâŋ wù á ɕɛ̄ hə̄] wə̀ ù
CLI-person REL N. CLI NEG (A)insult.IRR NEG2 CLI.DET CLI
pí~pǐ
VFOC~(B)die
◇'The man$_i$ that Nang did not insult him$_i$ died.' (Munken)

Verum focus

The area in the focus-marking system where differences between relative clauses and main clauses have been found is in the expression of verum focus. To illustrate this difference, we will first have to give an overview of the relevant properties of verum focus marking in main clauses.

Verum focus marking, which is realized by the reduplication of the final verb in a clause, is in some cases optional (under "pragmatic control," in the terminology of Hyman and Watters (1984: 243)), but in other cases it is under grammatical control: either it is mandatory and its absence results in ungrammaticality; or it is forbidden and its presence results in ungrammaticality. The restrictions for main clauses may be summarized as follows:

(34) a. If a verb is the final element in a clause, it must be reduplicated.
b. In a negated clause, the verb must not be reduplicated.
c. If a subject argument is dislocated to IAV, the verb must not be reduplicated.
d. Otherwise, reduplication is under pragmatic control.

Restriction (34a) applies when a verb has no object argument (i.e. is intransitive) (35a) or has a fronted, defocalised object argument (35b). Corresponding sentences with a non-reduplicated verb are ungrammatical (36).

(35) a. Nâŋ gbù~gbɛ̄
N. VFOC~(A)fall
◇'Nang has fallen.' (Biya)

b. Nâŋ í-bwé̋ jī kɨ̀ŋ~kə̀m
N. CLIO-goat CLIO.DET VFOC~(A)slaughter
◇'Nang did slaughter the goats.' (Biya)

(36) a. *Nâŋ gbè
b. *Nâŋ í-bwé̋ jī kə̀m

The ban on reduplication in negated clauses is illustrated in (37).

(37) a. Nâŋ á bám hɔ̄
N. NEG (C)ascend.IRR NEG
◇'Nang did not accept.' (Abar)
b. *Nâŋ á búm~bām hɔ̄

Restriction (34c) helps to draw a formal distinction between focused subjects in IAV and objects in IAV, which are unmarked for focus: a focused subject blocks reduplication (cf. the ungrammaticality of (39a)), but an object argument in IAV does not affect the possibility of verum focus marking (cf. the grammaticalness of (39b)).

(38) a. à gbè Nâŋ
DS (A)fall N.
◇'Nang fell.' (Biya)
b. Nâŋ kə̀m í-bwé̋ jī fə̋-fjɔ̂ŋ
N. (A)slaughter CLIO-goat CLIO.DET CLI6-LOC.stream
◇'Nang killed the goats at the stream.' (Biya)

(39) a. *à gbù~gbē Nâŋ
b. ◇Nâŋ kɨ̀ŋ~kə̀m í-bwé̋ jī fə̋fjɔ̂ŋ

Whereas in main clauses, it can be argued that an *in situ* object is unspecified for focus, even though it is in IAV position, a different situation obtains in relative clauses. Here it can be argued that an object representative nominal is treated as being in focus if it is in IAV position, since it behaves analogously to a focused subject in IAV. Example (40) shows two relative clauses which differ only by the presence or absence of a representative nominal in the relative clause. When the representative nominal is absent, the verb may or may not be reduplicated (40a). However, when the representative nominal is present, the verb may not be reduplicated.

(40) a. m̀bɔ̀ŋ ɲí [Nâŋ há {lɨ̀ŋ / lɨ̀n~lɨ̄ŋ}] ɔ̀ ù
CLI.cow REL N. PI ((A)look / VFOC~(A)look) CLI.DET CLI
pí~pí̋
VFOC~(B)die

◇‘The cow that Nang {looked for / did look for} died.’ (Abar)

b. m̀bòŋ ɲí [Nâŋ há {lɨ̀ŋ / *lɨ̀n~lɨ̄ŋ} wù] ù[19]
CLI.cow REL N. PI {(A)look / VFOC~(A)look} CLI CLI.DET
ù pí~pí̋
CLI VFOC~(B)die

◇‘The cow$_i$ that Nang (looked for / *did look for) it$_i$ died.’ (Abar)

Recall that in main clauses, *in situ* objects are associated with pragmatic control of verum focus, omitted objects force reduplication, and focalised subjects block reduplication. In relative clauses, on the other hand, an object representative nominal is not associated with the same properties as an object in main clauses: when the representative nominal is omitted, reduplication is under pragmatic control, and when the representative nominal is present and *in situ*, reduplication is blocked. From these facts it can be argued that the absence of an object representative nominal is associated with the relativized noun being focus neutral, while an overt representative object nominal is considered to be in focus.

Further support for treating an object representative nominal as in focus comes from an interesting type of construction where the representative nominal is not a pronoun, but instead a modifier of the head nominal, as exemplified by (41). Here the representative nominal is not strictly coreferential with the head noun, but instead refers to a subset of the entities referred to by the head noun, thereby narrowing its reference. This kind of construction has a main clause counterpart wherein part of an object NP is fronted (and defocalised), and one of its modifiers remains in IAV. This type of construction, exemplified in (42), has the effect of putting in focus only the part of the NP which is in IAV. Example (42) could be used, for example, in a situation where the listener was unaware of the number of pigs which were beaten, or mistakenly believed that some number of pigs other than three were beaten.

(41) í-jə̂n jī í-gə̋ŋ mə́ ī-ní [Nâŋ fə̋
CLIO-IO.DEM CLIO.DET CLIO-pig ISG.POSS CLIO-REL N. PI
tɕə́m í-tɛ̄] jī
(B)beat CLIO-three CLIO.DET

◇‘These are my pigs that Nang beat three [of them].’ (Biya)

(42) Nâŋ í-gə̋ŋ mə́ à tɕə́m í-tɛ̄
N. CLIO-pig ISG.POSS DS (B)beat CLIO-three

◇‘Nang beat three of my pigs.’ (Biya)

[19] See footnote associated with (7b).

The representative nominal in (41) can be recognized as being in focus by considering that the new information is not that the number of beaten pigs is three, but rather the identification of the head nominal 'my pigs' with the three beaten pigs.

Relative clauses also do not show the same aversion to clause-final non-reduplicated verbs that main clauses do, admitting simple intransitive clauses with a non-reduplicated verb, as in (43).

(43) ù-nò ù-nī [ù gbè] wə̄ ù kpú~kpḗ
CLI-person CLI-REL CLI (A)fall CLI.DET CLI VFOC~(B)die
◇'The man who fell died.' (Biya)

In fact, relative clause-final reduplicated verbs are very rare in texts, and the two Abar consultants did not agree in accepting sentences like the reduplicated version of (40a) as grammatical. Biya consultants do not accept a reduplicated version of (43) either. The dispreference for verum focus marking in relative clauses extends to clefts, where consultants uniformly reject clefts with reduplicated verbs.

The marginal status of verum focus marking in relative clauses (which complicates the analysis given above for object representative nominals) is likely explainable by appeal to pragmatic factors: relative clauses in most contexts contain assertions whose truth is presupposed, or readily accomodated.

3 Mundabli

3.1 Introduction

This section deals with the structure of the relative clause in Mundabli. We first treat the position of the relative clause with respect to the head nominal and to other noun modifiers (§ 3.2). In § 3.3 we consider how relative clauses are marked. Section 3.4 deals with how the head nominal is represented within the relative clause, and the accessibility of nouns to relativization, depending on their grammatical role within the relative clause, is treated in § 3.5. Finally, we consider differences in how various inflectional categories are marked in relative and main clauses, including tense and aspect, focus marking, illocutionary force and negation (§ 3.6).

3.2 Basic order of constituents in the NP

In order to frame the succeeding discussion on Mundabli relative clauses, it is important to take a look at the structure of the noun phrase and the

position of the relative clause relative to the head nominal and to other noun modifiers.

In the unmarked case, all modifiers within an NP occur to the right of the head noun.[20] The head noun may be modified by possessive pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, the definite determiner all of which show concord with the noun class of the head noun and by relative clauses. Also the relativizer shows concord with the noun class of the head noun.[21] See Good et al. (2011: 130) for an overview of the Mundabli noun class system. Like all noun modifiers, the relative clause follows the head nominal. In nearly all examples of relative clauses found in natural texts, the relative clause is the only noun modifier and is thus placed directly after the noun. If other modifiers are present, though, the relative clause occurs at the end of the noun phrase, following all other noun modifiers, including the determiner.

The schema provided in (44) shows the unmarked order of noun modifiers. Given that no other modifier follows the relative clause, it is difficult to determine whether the relative clause is to be treated as embedded in, or adjoined to, the matrix NP.

(44) N – Poss – Adj – Dem – Num – Det – Rel

(45) ŋwàtɨ̀ bɨ́ bī-fyɨ́ŋ b-én bɨ́-tɔ̄
cl7/8.book cl8.3sg.poss cl8-new cl8-dem.prox cl8-three
b-ɔ́ nō̰ [wù fə̄ tấŋ b-ɔ́ Bàménda]
cl8-det subd cli pi (b)buy cl8-rel B.
◇'these her three new books which she bought in Bamenda'

It is worth noting that the semantically bleached nouns nɨ́ŋ 'thing, matter' and dɛ̀ 'place' are frequently used as head nominal in cases where other languages might use a headless relative clause. Although head-less relative clauses are possible they are uncommon.

[20] Demonstratives can precede the noun they modify, which evokes a more emphatic reading and genitive phrases whose possessor is a first person pronoun exhibit head-final word order (and the use of the free pronoun rather than the possessive pronoun) when headed by the noun wān 'child'.

[21] Both proximal and distal demonstratives and thus also determiners and relativizers, which are identical in shape with the latter, are glossed as prefix-stem sequences. However, the separation of the segmental prefix and the stem by a hyphen is somewhat misleading. The prefix actually consists of a consonant plus a tone which is realized on the stem vowel. This tone is mid for Class 1 and 9 and high for all other noun classes.

3.3 Relative clause-marking

Having shown how the relative clause relates to its environment, this section discusses relative clause marking, i.e., the strategies used to identify a relative clause as such. Relative clauses in Mundabli are marked at least by a concordant relativizing enclitic attached to the rightmost verb in the verbal complex, here called the "postverbal relativizer," which is identical in shape with the demonstrative. In addition, relative clauses are optionally introduced by the non-concordant subordinating conjunction nǭ, which also introduces certain kinds of adverbial clauses, and which we call the "clause-initial subordinator." In this section we discuss first the postverbal relativizer, and then the clause-initial subordinator.

3.3.1 Postverbal relativizer

The postverbal relativizer, exemplified in (46), is identical in shape with the definite determiner and the distal demonstrative. It agrees with the head nominal in noun class and must immediately follow the verb complex of the relative clause, irrespective of the definiteness of the matrix NP or of the syntactic-semantic role of the head noun within the relative clause.

(46) wù dzé āyī, n=dɨ́ yə́ tʃín sé,
CLI (B)say EXCL ISG.TOP=FUTI (C)go.up there CL3/7a.attic
n=gān də̄ bān nɨ́ŋ [kī lɛ̄
ISG.TOP=(A)go (A)see clearly CL7.thing CL7 (A)make.IPFV
ɲīm tǭ k-ɔ́ gū
(C)extinguish.IPFV (B)move.away.IPFV CL7-REL CL3/7a.fire
w-ɔ́]
CL3-DET
'She said: Ayi! I will go up to the attic and find out what is putting out the fire.'

The postverbal relativizer is not to be confused with a resumptive pronoun. Firstly, as Table 4 shows, the two clearly differ in shape.[22] Secondly, although the representative pronoun is often absent, there are numerous cases (e.g., (47)) of relative clauses containing both a postverbal relativizer *and* a representative nominal in the form of a pronoun.

[22] Object pronouns of noun classes other than Class 1, 2 and 9 differ from subject pronouns in their tonal pattern. Object pronouns of these classes carry a super high tone. Apart from this tonal difference, subject and object pronouns are identical

CLASS	SBJ PRO	DET
1	wù	wɔ̄
2	bɔ̋	bɔ́
3	wū	wɔ́
4	yī	yɔ́
5	wū	wɔ́
7	kī	kɔ́
8	bī	bɔ́
9	yì	yɔ̄
10	yī	yɔ́
19	fī	fɔ́
18b	mū	mɔ́
6a	mū	mɔ́
14	bī	bɔ́

Table 4: Subject pronouns and determiners

(47) first nɨ́ŋ nō̰ [n=káā lə́ k-ɔ́ kɨ́] dɨ̌
first CL7.thing SUBD 1SG.TOP=FUT2 (A)do CL7-REL CL7 (B)be
yɛ̄ ...
COMP ...
'The first thing I will do, is: [...]')

Although it is cognate with the definite determiner and the distal demonstrative and is probably derived from one of these historically, the postverbal relativizer has lost its status as a modifier of the head nominal. This is supported by its position in the middle rather than at the end of the relative clause (see (46)–(47)) and by the fact that the postverbal relativizer is always present, irrespective of the definiteness of the matrix NP or of the ability of the head nominal itself to be modified by a determiner. This latter point is made clear by examples such as (48), which contains a postverbal relativizer even though the head nominal is a 2SG pronoun, which cannot be modified by a demonstrative or a determiner[23].

[23] Relative clauses modifying pronouns as in (48) are possible, though not common. When the head nominal is a first or second person pronoun, the relative marker always shows Class 1 agreement.

(48) wān w-ēn, dɨ̌ wà nō̰ [à lə̄
CLI.child CLI-DEM.PROX (B)be 2SG.FOC SUBD 2SG.TOP (A)make
w-ɔ̄ ná mɨ̄ wān w-ɔ̄ lɛ̄ fán
CLI-REL as ISG.FOC CLI.child CLI-DET (A)get.lost.IPFV here
gbɔ̄ kúŋ]
CL3.house behind
'This child, you are the one who made my child[24] get lost behind this house.'

When a relative clause modifies a non-third person pronoun, as in (48), the postverbal relativizer shows Class 1 agreement.

3.3.2 Clause-initial relativizer

Relative clauses can be introduced by the subordinating conjunction nō̰[25](see (49)), which also introduces certain adverbial clauses.

(49) dʒ̀ŭ nō̰ [bə̄ kə̀ lə̌ kpɨ̄ y-ɔ̄ (yì)
CL9.goat SUBD IMPERS.PRO P3 (A)make (B)die CL9-REL CL9
tō b-ɔ́ ŋgɔ̀] kə̀ bān ánáá būbūbūbū
CL7/8.day CL8-DET upon P3 (B)be.white like.that IDEO.white
◇'The goat which was killed on that day was completely white.'

Every relative clause can be introduced by this subordinator, but its presence is never obligatory. The same subordinator also obligatorily introduces certain adverbial clauses, such as reason clauses and specific kinds of time and manner clauses. In order to better understand Mundabli relative clauses, it is useful to take a brief look at these adverbial clauses which are introduced by the same subordinator. Adverbial clauses introduced by nō̰ contain a particle ná which follows the verb, just like the postverbal relativizer in a relative clause (see 50).

(50) then from then, mɨ̄ m=fə̃ kì-yùŋnì bɔ̌
then from then ISG.FOC ISG.TOP=(B)give CL7-thanks also
gbàm lā nō̰ wù fə̃ ná kpə̃ ŋgɔ́ w-ɔ́
CL7/8.god DAT SUBD CLI (B)give as CL3/7a.money upon CL3-DET

[24] The phrase mɨ̄ wān 'my child' is a fixed lexicalized expression. While possessive phrases are usually head-initial, consisting of a head noun followed by a possessive pronoun which agrees with the noun class of the head nominal, in this fixed expression, the noun 'child' is simply juxtaposed to the focus form of the 1SG pronoun.

[25] The subordinator has a phonetic variant nə̄ which often occurs in fast speech. The two variants occur in free alternation.

ndá lā
ISG.DAT DAT
'Then, from then, I [would] give thanks to God, as he has given me the money.'

Unlike relative clauses, these adverbial clauses usually stand at the end of the sentence, following whatever occurs last in the main clause, which is often a verb but may also be a Dative phrase, as in (50). Nevertheless, they can also follow the noun, like relative clauses (see (64)).

While the similar marking of relative clauses on the one hand and of the described adverbial clauses on the other makes a historical connection between the two very likely, it is unclear whether one function of the particle is historically derived from the other.

3.3.3 Grammaticalization source of the relativizing markers

Considering the origin of the postverbal relativizer, it is rather obvious that it must have grammaticalized from the determiner or the distal demonstrative (recall that the three are identical in shape). The grammaticalization of a relative marker from a distal demonstrative, possibly via a determiner, which we propose to have taken place in Mundabli, is likely, given both the language contact situation and universal tendencies of language change. Demonstratives are a common grammaticalization source for relativizers in African languages (Heine, 2011: 706), and the "most frequent" source cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 115). While demonstratives seem to be a common grammaticalization source for relativizers in the wider area, among the Yemne-Kimbi languages and in the wider area, the only language we are aware of that has a postverbal relativizer (shown in (51)) comparable to the one found in Mundabli is Naki (Yemne-Kimbi). The fact that a variety of Naki, namely Mashi, is spoken in a village of the same name which is directly adjacent to Mundabli, suggests that language contact may have played a role and that, if the postverbal relativizer is a recent innovation in Mundabli, it may have adopted this particular relative-clause marking strategy from Mashi. It is unlikely that it was the other way round. First, "oral histories regarding ...the Mashi place their origins outside of Lower Fungom" (Di Carlo and Good, 2014: 16), which makes it more likely that Naki was the original source, introducing a new structure to Lower Fungom, and second, Naki is also spoken in several villages more distant from Mundabli, in and outside of Lower Fungom (cf. Di Carlo and Good (2014: 5)). The innovation would have had to be adopted in Mashi and then have spread to the other villages.

(51) ŋkúŋ wì [l' àjī wə̀ ūnə̄]
CLI.chief CLI.ASS 3S (A)eat.IPFV.PI.DSF CLI.DET CL14.fufu
◇'the chief that was eating fufu' (Naki) (Jeff Good p.c.)

The subordinator which may introduce a relative clause, on the other hand, does not have an equivalent in Naki. The similarity in both position and phonological shape between the Mundabli subordinator nǭ and the clause-initial relativizers in the Mungbam dialects seems to indicate that they are either cognate or related through borrowing.

It should be noted that multiple marking of relative clauses seems to be a regional tendency. It is attested in numerous Grassfields languages spoken to the South of Lower Fungom, namely Bafut (Ngemba) (Tamanji, 2009), Limbum (Nkambe) (Fransen, 1995), Shupamem (a.k.a. Bamun) (Nun) (Nchare, 2012: 188–9, 454) and non-Grassfields languages, such as Ngbaka Ma'bo (Ubangi) (Thomas, 1963: 270). Some of these cases even involve an invariable marker which is similar in shape with the Mundabli subordinator. Nevertheless, in non of these languages relativization involves a postverbal marker, like in Mundabli.

3.4 The representative of the head nominal

According to Keenan (1985: 147), the encoding of the role of the head noun in the embedded sentence is, cross-linguistically, one of the most significant parameters from the viewpoint of typological variation. In Mundabli, the head nominal can always be represented within the relative clause. This is generally done by use of a pronoun which takes the same position in the relative clause as in a main clause. The presence of a representative nominal is only obligatory when the representative nominal functions as the subject of the relative clause (see (52)). In all other types of relative clauses, the use of a representative head nominal is optional.

(52) mɔ̀ [wù kə̀ dzé w-ɔ̄ dʒʉ́ gbàm
CLI.man CLI P3 (B)say.IPFV CLI-REL CL3a.word CL7/8.god
tō k-ɔ́ ŋgɔ̄] kə̀ dī Pă Pítà Kìá
CL7/8.day CL7-DET upon P3 (B)be Pa P. K.
'The person who was preaching on that day was Pa Peter Kia.'

The object relative clause in (53) may or may not contain a representative head nominal.

(53) dʒŭ nō̰ [bə̄ kə̀ lə̌ kpī y-ɔ̄ (ɣì)
CL9.goat SUBD IMPERS.PRO PI (A)make (B)die CL9-REL CL9
tō b-ɔ́ ŋgɔ̄] kə̀ bān ánā́ būbūbūbū
CL7/8.day CL8-DET upon P3 (B)be.white like.that IDEO.white
◇'The goat which was killed on that day was completely white.'

In a locative relative clause, the object of the locative phrase may be omitted, as shown in (54) so that the locative phrase gets stranded. The use of the locative preposition ǐ (omitted in (54)) is, as always, optional.

(54) kpē w-ɔ́ nō̰ [bɔ̋ fə̋ dʒī kūo ʃī w-ɔ́
CL3.pot CL3-DET SUBD CL2 PI (A)put (C)enter (A)go.down CL3-REL
dɔ̄ w-ɔ́ (wū) mɨ́], wū fə̋ gə́ ə́ mo̰mo̰
CL3a.beans CL3a-DET CL3 in CL3 PI (B)be.big ADVLZ very
◇'The pot into which they put the beans was very big.'

Unlike the type of locative relative clause exemplified by (54), locatives which do not describe the spatial relation to an object or location, but rather location at a certain place, henceforth referred to as "absolute locative relative clauses", never contain a representative nominal. Absolute locative relative clauses always take the semantically bleached noun dɛ̀ 'place' as head nominal and the postverbal relativizer agrees with a locative proform glossed 'PROX', likely a remnant of Proto-Bantu locative class 16, which encodes proximity (55).

(55) ká à wɔ̄ŋ mɛ̄, ká m̀ = mū, mɪ̄
when 2SG.TOP (A)squish (A)finish when 1SG.TOP=(B)drink 1SG.FOC
n = tsɔ̀ dɛ̀ nō̰ [wān w-ā kə̀
1SG.TOP=(A)show CL9/10.place SUBD CL1.child CL1-2SG.POSS P3
fɪ̄ f-ɔ́]
(B)pass PROX-REL
'When you have finished squishing [the small berries], when I will have drunk [the juice], I will show [you] where your child has gone.'

A dative phrase is optionally introduced by the locative preposition ǐ (see (56a)), and requires a dative postposition lā. When the representative head nominal in a relative clause is the argument of a dative phrase, it can be omitted so that the dative phrase gets stranded (56b). In this case, the locative marker ǐ usually gets omitted so that the dative postposition lā is left alone (56b).

(56) a. mbɛ̄ [nǭ wù kə̀ dʒìɛ́ b-ɔ́ (ǐ) bɔ́
CL2.people SUBD CLI P3 (B)cook.IPFV CL2-REL (LOC) CL2.LOC
lā], bɔ̌ kə̀ fân
DAT CL2 P3 (A)be.rich
◇'The people for whom she used to cook were rich.'

b. mbɛ̄ [nǭ wù kə̀ dʒìɛ́ b-ɔ́ lā], bɔ̌ kə̀
CL2.people SUBD CLI P3 (B)cook.IPFV CL2-REL DAT CL2 P3
fân
(A)be.rich
◇'The people for whom she used to cook were rich.'

In a comitative relative clause, the representative nominal can be omitted only if the comitative marker ā is also absent, as shown in (57), see (61) for an example of a comitative relative clause in which the comitative phrase is not omitted.

(57) sìŋ̱ [nǭ wù fə̌ tán y-ɔ̄ sɔ̀ y-ɔ̄], yì fə̌
CL9.knife SUBD CLI PI (B)cut CL9-REL CL9.meat CL9-DET CL9 PI
dụ̀
(A)be.blunt
◇'The knife that she cut the meat [with] was blunt.'

Comparison with main clauses

The situation regarding the representation of the head nominal within the relative clause in Mundabli is almost the same as in Mungbam. Just as only subject relative clauses must obligatorily contain a resumptive pronoun, the subject is also the only obligatory argument in a main clause. Additionally, stranding of a locative phrase is possible in main clauses as well as in relative clauses. Alternatively, in both, the locative phrase can be omitted entirely. Concerning absolute locatives, locative phrases can always be omitted in main clauses. There are no locative pronouns, which may explain the complete absence of representative head nominals in absolute locative relative clauses. In both main and relative clauses, the dative phrase can either be completely omitted (as in Mungbam) or get stranded, which is not possible in Mungbam. Just like in Mungbam, in both relative and main clauses a comitative argument may only be omitted if also the comitative marker is omitted. Thus, the differences in Mundabli and Mungbam relative clauses are reflected in the differences they show in main clauses. In both languages, the conditions for omission of arguments are exactly the same in main and relative clause.

3.5 Accessibility to relativization

Another typologically relevant factor in relative clause structure concerns the permissible grammatical functions of the head nominal within the relative clause (Andrews, 2007: 207). In Mundabli, there is no restriction on the grammatical relation of the representative nominal within the relative clause. The representative nominal within a relative clause may be the subject, object, dative argument or the comitative argument of the relative clause, or it may be the argument of a locative phrase (see (58) , (59) , (60), (61) and (62) , respectively). The representative nominal can also be the possessor in a genitive phrase, as in (63).

(58) mɔ̀ [wù kə̀ dzé w-ɔ̄ dʒú̄ gbàm
CLI.man CLI P3 (B)say.IPFV CLI-REL CL3a.word CL7/8.god
tō k-ɔ́ ŋgɔ̌] kə̀ dī Pă Pítà Kìá
CL7/8.day CL7-DIST.DEM upon P3 (B)be Pa P. K.
'The person who was preaching on that day was Pa Peter Kia.'

(59) dʒŭ nǭ [bə̄ kə̀ lə̌ kpī y-ɔ̄ (yì)
CL9.goat SUBD IMPERS.PRO PI (A)make (B)die CL9-REL CL9
tō b-ɔ́ ŋgɔ̌] kə̀ bān ánā́ būbūbūbū
CL7/8.day CL8-DET upon P3 (B)be.white like.that IDEO.white
◇'The goat which was killed on that day was completely white.'

(60) wàn w-ɔ̄ [nǭ m=fə̄ fə̄ w-ɔ̄ kpə̋
CLI.child CLI-DET SUBD ISG.TOP=PI (B)give CLI-REL CL3/7a.money
ĭ́ wú lā] ké tʃŭ á́ kè-kè
LOC CLI.LOC DAT (C)return (B)come ADVLZ CL9.hand~RED
◇'The child to whom I gave the money came back with empty hands.'

(61) ŋkɔ̀m [nǭ ntí fə̄ lɔ̄ w-ɔ̄ ā wù] kwâ
CLI/2.hoe SUBD N. PI (A)go.bush CLI-REL COM CLI (A)break
fĭ́
(B)pass
◇'The hoe with which Ntie went to the farm broke.'

(62) kpē w-ɔ́ [nǭ bə̋ fə̄ dʒī kūo ʃī w-ɔ́
CL3.pot CL3-DET SUBD CL2 PI (A)put (C)enter (A)go.down CL3-REL
dɔ̄ w-ɔ́ mí], wū fə̄ gə́ á́ mǫ̀mǫ̀
CL3a.beans CL3a-DET in CL3 PI (B)be.big ADVLZ very
◇'The pot into which they put the beans was very big.'

(63) wān [nǭ mán mű́ dǐ́ w-ɔ̄ ngàʃǎ]
CLI.child SUBD CLII/I2.name CLI2.3SG.POSS (B)be CLI-REL N.
fə̋ lɔ̀ ɲű́
PI (A)go.bush CL3/7a.farm
◇'The child whose name is Ngasha went to the farm.'

It is important to mention that in Mundabli it is impossible to form a relative clause where the head noun plays no obvious grammatical role within the relative clause. While this is possible in Mungbam (see 2.5), in Mundabli such a situation requires the use of the subordinate construction which was intrduced in § 3.3.3. Example (64) is the translation equivalent of the Mungbam relative clause given in (23).

(64) dzɛ́́ nǭ bā gbā ná kpān w-ɔ́
CL3/7a.sound SUBD IMPERS.PRO (A)cut.IPFV as CL3.tree CL3-DET
fyá mī ā fə́́m
(B)give.IPFV ISG.FOC COM CL7/8.problem
◇'The sound as they are cutting the tree disturbs me.'

3.6 Asymmetries between main and relative clause properties

As pointed out above (section 2.6), relative clauses and main clauses in African languages commonly differ regarding their inflectional or focus marking possibilities with typically fewer possibilities available in the relative clause as compared to the main clause.

In Mundabli, inflectional possibilities are nearly the same in main and relative clause, but there are slight differences. All temporal and aspectual distinctions exist in both main and relative clauses. A relative clause can be interrogative, in which case basically the same construction is used as in a main clause. Also focus marking is expressed in the same way in main and relative clause. Only the way in which negation is marked differs considerably between main and relative clause. All these aspects are treated in turn. Since the data are not in every case sufficient to support a clear statement regarding tonal effects, some further differences between main and relative clauses not presented here may eventually be discovered.

Mundabli has no restrictions on the occurrence of temporal or aspectual distinctions in relative clauses. Tense is marked by preverbal particles and specific tone patterns on the verb. All tenses can occur in both main and relative clause and also the aspectual perfective/imperfective distinction, marked by ablaut and specific verb tone patterns, exists in both main and rel-

ative clauses. We are not aware of a difference between tonal marking in main and in relative clauses.

Also interrogative can be expressed in a relative clause. Apart from the relativizer, which follows the relative verb, the same construction is used for interrogative main and relative clauses (see 65 and 66).

(65) mɔ̀ nǭ [wù yɨ́ŋ w-ɔ̄ gbɔ̄ ndɛ́] kpɨ̌
CLI.man SUBD CLI (C)build CLI-REL CL3.house who (B)die
◇'The man who built whose house died?'

(66) yɛ́n dɨ́ sɨ̀ŋ nǭ [bə̄ fə̄ tán y-ɔ̄ mān
CL9-this (B)be CL9.knife SUBD IMPERS.PRO PI (B)cut CL9-REL what
ā yì]
COM CL9
◇'This is the knife that they cut what with?'

The word order is the same as in a main clause, with focus-induced word order changes possible.

Focus marking is basically the same in main and relative clauses. In order to be focused, the subject of a main clause can occur in IAV-position. The same happens in relative clauses, as can be seen in (67) and (68) which are opposed to a relative clause with unmarked word order in (69).

(67) bī tsè mɔ̀ [nǭ fə̄ gīa w-ɔ̄ wù dʒǔ
IPL (A)search CLI.man SUBD PI (A)steal CLI-REL CLI CL9.goat
y-ɔ̄]
CL9-DET
◇'We look for the man that [he] stole the goat.'

(68) ń=kɔ̀ŋ sə̄ k-ɔ́ [(nǭ) táŋ k-ɔ́
1SG.TOP=(A)love CL7/8.clothes CL7-DET SUBD (B)buy CL7-REL
nyùŋfù (kɨ́)]
N. CL7
◇'I like the piece of clothes that Nyungfu bought.'

(69) ń=kɔ̀ŋ sə̄ k-ɔ́ [(nǭ) nyùŋfù táŋ
1SG.TOP=(A)love CL7/8.clothes CL7-DET SUBD Nyungfu (B)buy
k-ɔ́ (kɨ́)]
CL7-REL CL7
◇'I like the piece of clothes that Nyungfu bought.'

In (67), it is the representative nominal which is in focus, in (68), a nominal other than the representative nominal is in focus. Note that the postverbal relativizer precedes the focused subject. Verum focus can also be expressed in a relative clause (70) , although this is not very common. Just like in a main clause, it is marked by the particle tə́ which precedes the verbal complex.

(70) fán dɪ́̄ mɔ̀ [nǭ wù tə́ kə̀ tʃū w-ɔ̄]
here (B)be CLI.man SUBD CLI VFOC P3 (B)come CLI-REL
◇'Here is the man who did come.'

While main and relative clauses are identical regarding tense, aspect, etc., they differ with regard to negation. Two different negation strategies are attested in main clauses, the choice between which is semantically determined. In relative clauses on the other hand, no such distinction is made. In order to show how negation in relative clauses differs from negation in main clauses, it is necessary to first explain the two negation strategies which are attested in main clauses. In the regular case, a main clause is negated by adding the discontinuous negative marker ā...wɔ̄ around the verb complex (71). In cases where the negation can be translated as 'not yet', the second negation strategy is applied (72). It requires the use of a copula auxiliary and will be referred to as 'auxiliary negation'.

(71) bī ā wʉ́̄ wɔ̄ ɲɔ̄ nɪ́̄
CL8 NEG (B)hear.IPFV NEG (B)talk CLI.mother.3SG.POSS
'They are not listening to their mother's advice[26].'

(72) n=dɑ́̄ ɲɔ́̄m wɔ̄ ɲɑ̀m
1SG.TOP=(B)be.NEG (B)turn.fufu NEG CLI4.fufu
◇'I have not turned fufu yet.'

In (72), the copula dɪ́̄ and the negative morpheme ā are contracted to [dɑ́̄].

In relative clauses, only auxiliary negation is attested, see (73). Mundabli differs in this respect from Mungbam, which employs auxiliary negation in main clauses much in the way that it is used in Mundabli,[27] but allows the regular negation construction (see (33)) in relative clauses.

[26] The class 8 pronoun can be used in an abusive manner to refer to human beings, equating them with inanitmate things.

[27] A negation construction is found in Mungbam which uses dà or dā (depending on the dialect) as the negator, and has similar semantic properties to Mundabli auxiliary negation. This morpheme may also function as a negative copula, as its apparent cognate in Mundabli does. However, a *positive* copula verb with the form dɪ is found only in Missong.

(73) bɔ̋ fə̋ mù bɔ̀ k-ɔ́ [nǭ bī fə̋ dɨ̋ k-ɔ́
CL2 PI (A)take CL7/8.bag CL7-DET SUBD IPL FUTI (B)be CL7-REL
ā̋ də̀ wɔ̄], bɔ̋ mɨ́ dʒì kɨ̌ ɪ̋ kìa mī.
NEG (A)see NEG CL2 CONSEC (A)put CL7 LOC CL9.basket in
◇'They took the bag we did not see and put it into a basket.'

4 Discussion

We conclude this chapter by discussing the key points of similarity and difference between relative clause constructions in Mungbam and Mundabli, and draw attention to some relevant typological issues. A still-unresolved issue concerning the Yemne-Kimbi languages is their exact genetic affiliation. While the languages were on the basis of early survey work grouped together under the low-level genetic unit "Western Beboid" (Hombert, 1980), subsequent work (Good and Lovegren, 2009; Good et al., 2011) has suggested that a more cautious interpretation is in order, given various lexical and morphological dissimilarities between the languages, and a lack of clear shared innovations to motivate the grouping. In the present study we have covered relative clauses in both languages in a parallel fashion, hoping that in doing so we might more easily uncover bits of evidence which will shed further light on the historical relationship between the two languages. Though in this study we have uncovered several interesting parallels between the two languages, and have also noted some curious points of difference, we do not find ourselves in a position to say anything new about the level of genetic relationship between the two languages.

Both languages make use of a non-concordant relativizing particle, with similar phonetic shape, which introduces the relative clause. This particle is optional in both languages, though it is omitted more frequently in Mundabli. Mundabli additionally has a concordant relativizer which is cliticized to the end of the verbal complex. Such a feature is not found in Mungbam. Relative clauses in Mundabli can then be doubly marked, once with a pre-RC relativizer nǭ, and again with the concordant verbal enclitic. Although we mentioned examples of other languages in the area which double-mark their relative clauses, it should be recalled that more than one relative marker is still rare cross-linguistically (Kuteva, 2009: 13, fn. 2). Concerning the concordant clitic in Mundabli, it can be noted that although it is not uncommon for relative clauses to contain a relativizing marker on the verb, this type of marking usually occurs in verb-final languages (Andrews, 2007: 231). Exceptions to this generalization are, however, attested in several Narrow Bantu

languages. In Shingazidja (G44a, Comoros), with basic SVO word order, for example, relative clauses contain a different final vowel from corresponding main clauses, which effectively indicates that the host verb is part of a relative clause:

(74) a. e=mw-idzí ha-ib-í e=n-dovu y-á
AUG$_1$=CLI-thief 1(PST)-steal-FV AUG$_9$=CL9-elephant CL9-of
hahe
his
"The thief stole his elephant."

b. e=mw-idz' yá-ib-a n-dovu
AUG$_1$=CLI-thief CLI(REL-PST)-steal-FV CL9-elephant
ha-táw-a
CLI(PST)-run.away-FV
"The thief who stole an elephant ran away." (Patin, 2010: 196–7)

As we speculate in § 3.3.3, the double-marking of Mundabli relative clauses might be explainable as the result of a contact scenario, since a similar marking feature is witnessed in the neighboring language Naki. The ultimate source of this feature, however, remains unclear in light of the fact that in the other Beboid languages for which data are available, Noni (Hyman, 1981: 91–94), and Nchane (Boutwell, 2010: 18–9), no such postverbal particle is found.

Neither Mungbam nor Mundabli shows restrictions on relative clause formation which might be explained by the accessibility hierarchy. Both languages, however, display a situation contrary to the tendency suggested by Keenan and Comrie (1977: 92), and confirmed on the basis of a larger data set by Comrie and Kuteva (2011a,b), where pronoun retention[28] is a required relativization strategy in subject relatives, but not in non-subject relatives. As we point out in sections 2.4 and 3.4, the prevalence of the gap strategy in non-subject relatives, and the pronoun retention strategy in subject relatives, is to a large extent explained by similar restrictions on main clauses: subject arguments may not be omitted from main clauses, but non-subject arguments may when their reference is inferrable from context.

Finally, we note that there are two Mundabli constructions which correspond to the Mungbam noun-modifying clause construction. One Mundabli construction corresponds more or less to relative clause constructions in other languages, with a semantic requirement concerning the relationship between the head noun and the relative clause. The second is a type of

[28] That is, the use of a pronoun which is obligatory in relative clauses but only optionally present in main clauses (Comrie and Kuteva, 2011b).

more general subordinating construction (shown in (64)). Relative clauses in Mungbam, on the other hand, are subsumed under a single noun-modifying clause construction (cf. Comrie (1998)) which has much looser requirements concerning the relationship between the head noun and the modifying clause. The broader significance of this distinction between the two languages is still to be explored more fully.

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