

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MƏKAĀ

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Relative clauses in Məkaā always follow the antecedent of the relative pronoun. The characteristics of a relative clause are: tone perturbation within the first syllable of the subject as well as the first morpheme of the verb, and concord between the head noun and the relative pronoun on the basis of the class of the noun. The relative pronoun follows the relative clause. In most relative clauses there is either a pronoun or a possessive adjective which is coreferential with the antecedent. If the antecedent is locative, a suffix is placed after the relative article. Any given antecedent may have only one relative clause.

Les propositions relatives en Məkaā sont toujours postposées à l'antécédent de la relative. Les caractéristiques d'une proposition relative sont: perturbations tonales au niveau de la première syllabe du sujet ainsi que du premier morphème du verbe; et un article relatif régi par l'accord de classe et placé après la proposition relative. Dans la plupart des relatives il y a soit un pronom, soit un adjectif possessif qui est coréférentiel avec l'antécédent. Si l'antécédent est de valeur locative, il y aura un suffixe postposé à l'article relatif. Un antécédent donné ne peut avoir qu'une proposition relative.

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper¹ is to describe restrictive relative clauses in Məkaā.² We discuss the characteristics of relative clauses (RCs) in general, the different kinds of RCs, and some features of the matrix clause containing the RC.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF RCs

Relative clauses in Məkaā can be identified in three ways: (1) They occur within noun phrases. (2) A high replacive tone marks the beginning of the RC. (3) A relative article is found at the end of the RC. Besides these distinguishing features, RCs have few restrictions that independent clauses do not have.

1.1 POSITION WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

The RC follows the head, which may be a noun, as in (1), or a pronoun, as in (2). It also follows any modifiers of the noun, as

in (3). (In the examples, low tone is not marked, and the RCs are enclosed by brackets [].)

- (1) **mə ɲə-dǎg m-udǎ [ɲə-yǎ wo i-dǎw]**
 I pres prog-see 1-woman pres prog-give you 8-food
yě
 1:rel art
 'I see the woman who is giving you food.'
- (2) **nyǎ ā-mə-yǎ b-ag [bwǒ ā-mə-kyab]**
 he pst-pft-give 2-those(people) 2:they pst-pft-succeed
wǎ o-kǎlad
 2:rel art 2-books
 'He gave books to those who passed (in school).'
- (3) **mǎ ɲwa kwām āgugwān [wǒ ɲə-kūnow-kusə] yī**
 I take 9:bag new you prog-just-buy 9:rel art
 'I take the new bag which you just bought.'

Examples (1) through (3) show that a post-nominal strategy (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Downing 1978) is always used in forming RCs in Məkaā, that is, the head is found to the left of the RC.

The head need not be the last nominal in the matrix clause, as seen in (2) above, in which the head is an initial indirect object advanced to final direct object. The direct object *chômeur* follows the RC.³ Another example is (4), where the head is a noun, which is also the subject of the matrix clause.

- (4) **ˊ-wǒlɛ [mǎ ɲə-ɲkēny] yī jī-sə kī-jilə**
 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry 7:rel art 7-be adj-heavy
 'The suitcase that I am carrying is heavy.'

The head of the RC functions as part of the matrix clause, and it is not inside the RC. This is discussed in 1.2.

1.2 HIGH REPLACIVE TONES

High replacive tones occur in two places within the RC. The first tone of the subject noun or pronoun is replaced by a high tone, as shown in (5). (Class 1 subject pronouns must be omitted in certain cases and then the tone is also omitted.)⁴ In addition, all the tones of the first morpheme of the verb are replaced with high tones, as shown in (6) and (7). In (6) the first morpheme, the progressive aspect marker, normally has one low tone. The only verb morpheme in (7), the radical, normally has three low tones. In the following examples, high replacive tone is indicated by ˊ+.

- (5) **a ɲə-dǎg ˊ-wǒlɛ [ˊ+ m-uud**
 he pres prog-see 7-suitcase 1-person
ˊ+ ɲə-ɲkēny] yī →
 pres prog-carry 7:rel art
/a ɲə dǎg wǒlɛ mǔud ɲə ɲkēny yī/
 'He sees the suitcase which the person is carrying.'

- (6) **mā jii kwām [ˈ+ a ˈ+ ŋgə-ŋwa] yī** →
 I want 9:bag he pres prog-take 9:rel art
/mā jii kwām ā ŋgə ŋwa yī/
 'I want the bag which he is taking.'
- (7) **Zheyī ō [ˈ+ mā ˈ+ jagəla nə shī] yē** →
 1:God foc I pray to him 1:rel art
/Zheyī ō mā jāgəla nə shī yē/
 'It is to God that I pray.'

The way in which a high replacive tone marks the beginning of the RC shows that the head of the RC is outside of the RC. This is especially clear when a noun from either class 3 or class 7 is the subject of the RC. Nouns of these two classes have a low tone prefix. When a high replacive tone comes before one of these nouns in independent clauses, the high tone is usually realized on the last tone of the preceding word, as in₅(8). In (8) the direct object is marked by a high replacive tone.

- (8) **m-uud mā-də ˈ+ ˈ-wund** → **/muud mā də wund/**
 1-person pft-eat 7-peanut
 'The person ate peanuts.'

However, when the subject noun of the RC is a class 7 noun, the high replacive tone is neutralized and is not realized on the head, because of the boundary between the matrix clause and the embedded RC, as seen in (9).

- (9) **ma mpyé ˈ+ ŋkwōnd [ˈ+ ˈ-ncwombə y-ā-fudə]**
 1:neg know:neg DO 1:month 7-sheep 7:it-pst-die
yē → **/ma mpyé ŋkwōnd ncwombə yā fudə yē/**
 1:rel art
 'I don't know the month when the sheep died.'

1.3 RELATIVE ARTICLE

A relative marker is found immediately after the RC to which it relates. Whether this morpheme is a pronoun or simply an article is difficult to decide. It looks like a pronoun because it agrees in class with the head noun (class 1, **yē**; class 2, **wā**; class 4, **mī**; class 6, **mā**; and classes 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9, **yī**), and often there is no other morpheme that can function as a pronoun. This is shown in the subject and direct object RCs in (10) and (11).

- (10) **mə ŋgə-dəg m-udā [ŋgə-yə wo i-dəw]**
 I pres prog-see 1-woman pres prog-give you 8-food
yē
 1:rel art
 'I see the woman who is giving you food.'

- (11) a ṅgə-dǎg ʔ-wóle [mǎ ṅgǎ-ṅkēny] yí
 he pres prog-see 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry 7:rel art
 'He sees the suitcase that I am carrying.'

However, if this morpheme is a pronoun, it is strange that it occurs after the RC and not in its normal expected position within the RC, that is, as subject pronoun in the subject position before the verb. Otherwise the word order in RCs seems to be the same as the word order in independent clauses. Neither is this morpheme found at the beginning of the RC, as is the case in Tunen (Dugast 1971), where the RC is introduced by the particle *ō* followed by a relative pronoun. Beavon (1982), in discussing RCs in Konzime, a neighboring language in the same language family, calls this RC-following morpheme a relative article.

Sometimes there is another morpheme in the RC, the object of a preposition or a possessive adjective which refers back to the head noun, as in (12) and (13). In cases such as these there would be two pronouns both agreeing with the head, if the final morpheme is called a relative pronoun. In (13) *bē* agrees in class with *bwān*, but also in person and number with *mudā*.

- (12) mǎ ā-mə-kwey bāgē [wó ā-mə-fey cūdū nə
 I pst-pft-find 5:knife you pst-pft-cut 1:meat with
 d-wo] yí
 5-it 5:rel art
 'I found the knife with which you cut the meat.'

- (13) ma mpyē m-udā [bw-ān b-ē b-wó
 I:neg know:neg 1-woman 2:children 2-her 2-they
 ā-mə-fudə] yē
 pst-pft-die 1:rel art
 'I don't know the woman whose children died.'

This relative article can be replaced by a demonstrative adjective, as seen in (14). The demonstrative adjective can also be found immediately after the head and before the RC, as in (15). In either case, the relative article does not occur. That the relative article and the demonstrative adjective cannot occur with the same RC supports the idea that the relative article is a determiner modifying the head, just as the demonstrative adjective also is. This relative article is like the "sentential definitizer" *la* in Ngemba (Chumbow 1977), which occurs at the end of certain types of embedded sentences (including RCs) and which indicates the definiteness of the head noun. The meaning of sentences (14) and (15) is the same.

- (14) mǎ ā-mə-yǎ Marī ʔ-wóle [mǎ ṅgǎ-ṅkēny]
 I pst-pft-give Marie 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry

ga

7:this

'I gave Marie this suitcase that I'm carrying.'

- (15) **mə ā-mə-yā** **Marī ʔ-wōlē** **ga**
 I pst-pft-give Marie 7-suitcase 7:this

[mə ŋgā-ŋkēny]

I pres prog-carry

'I gave Marie this suitcase that I'm carrying.'

Substituting the relative article, as in (16), eliminates only the semantic component of proximity that is provided by the demonstrative in (14) and (15).

- (16) **mə ā-mə-yā** **Marī ʔ-wōlē** **[mə ŋgā-ŋkēny]**
 I pst-pft-give Marie 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry

yī

7:rel art

'I gave Marie the suitcase that I'm carrying.'

1.4 RESTRICTIONS ON RCs

Although more research in this area is still required, so far in our study we have found few restrictions that govern RCs. Word order and the kinds of obliques permitted in the RC are the same as in independent clauses. Passives are also found in RCs. However, the perfective aspect morpheme **shī** is not allowed in RCs, as shown in (17).

- (17) ***mə ŋgā-dāg** **m-udā** **[nyā ā-shī-yā** **wo**
 I pres:prog-see 1-woman 1:she pst-pftv-give you

i-dāw] yē

8-food 1:rel art

'I see the woman who gave you food.'

(18) is the preferred rendering of (17). The meaning is the same.

- (18) **mə ŋgā-dāg** **m-udā** **[nyā ā-yā** **wo i-dāw]**
 I pres prog-see 1-woman 1:she pst-give you 8-food

yē

1:rel art

2. KINDS OF RCs

In this section we "classify relative clauses on the basis of the grammatical relation of the shared nominal within the relative clause" (Frantz 1982). First, we discuss subject, direct object, and indirect object RCs; then the oblique RCs, namely, instrument, comitative, benefactive, locative, time, manner, and cause RCs, each of which is described separately. Finally, possessive RCs are discussed.

2.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT RCs

Subject and object RCs resemble the corresponding independent clauses in word order and content. The distinguishing characteristics of each kind are pointed out below.

2.1.1 Subject RCs

Subject RCs contain a pronoun replacer as subject. This pronoun can be omitted only when the head is a class 1 noun and the verb in the RC begins with a consonant. This subject pronoun is omitted in the same way from independent clauses when the subject is a noun. (19) shows a subject RC with the subject pronoun, and (20) shows a subject RC without the pronoun. (21) shows the subject pronoun missing in the independent clause corresponding to the RC in (20).

- (19) **mā cɛl mā-gwala [mā ā-mə-kud] mā**
 I want 6-bananas 6:they pst-pft-fall 6:rel art
 'I want the bananas that fell.'

- (20) **mə ɲgə-dāg m-udā [ɲgə-yā wo i-dāw]**
 I pres prog-see 1-woman pres prog-give you 8-food
yē
 1:rel art
 'I see the woman who is giving you food.'

- (21) **m-udā ɲgə-yā wo i-dāw**
 1-woman pres prog-give you 8-food
 'The woman is giving you food.'

2.1.2 Direct object RCs

Direct object RCs differ from subject RCs in that there is never a replacer pronoun for the direct object relation in the RC. (22) and (23) illustrate direct object RCs. (As mentioned in section 1.2, direct object is flagged in independent clauses by a high replacive tone, but by no other non-tonal morpheme.)

- (22) **a ɲgə-dāg ˀ-wōlɛ [mā ɲgə-ɲkēny]**
 he pres prog-see 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry
yī
 7:rel art
 'He sees the suitcase that I'm carrying.'

- (23) **ˀ-kwand [mā ɲgə-də] yī y-ā-mə-kud**
 7-banana I pres prog-eat 7:rel art 7:it-pst-pft-fall
ˀ-lū ˀ-kwand-əsh
 3-head 7-banana-loc
 'The banana I'm eating fell off the (banana) stalk.'

2.1.3 Indirect object RCs

Indirect object is flagged by the preposition **nə** in independent clauses. In an indirect object RC there is the same preposition **nə** followed by the uninflected pronoun **shī**, and this prepositional phrase occurs after the direct object in the normal position of an indirect object. (24) shows an independent clause with **muud** as the indirect object, and (25) shows the same clause as a RC. Indirect object RCs are not as frequent as subject and direct object RCs because many verbs require the initial indirect object to advance to final direct object, as shown in (26), (27), and (28).

- (24) **mə ā-mə-yāna kúwo nə m-uud**
 I pst-pft-give away l:chicken to/with l-person
 'I gave away the chicken to the person.'
- (25) **mə ŋə-dǝg m-uud [mə ā-mə-yāna kúwo**
 I pres prog-see l-person I pst-pft-give away l:chicken
nə shī] yē
 to him l:rel art
 'I see the man to whom I gave away the chicken.'
- (26) **mə ā-mə-yə m-uud kúwo**
 I pst-pft-give l-person l:chicken
 'I gave the man the chicken.'
- (27) ***mə ā-mə-yə kúwo nə m-uud**
 I pst-pft-give l:chicken to l-person
- (28) **mə ŋə-dǝg m-uud [mə ā-mə-yə kúwo]**
 I pres prog-see l-person I pst-pft-give l:chicken
yē
 l:rel art
 'I see the man to whom I gave the chicken.'

(26) and (27) show that the verb **yə** 'give' requires that **muud**, the initial indirect object, advance to direct object. **kúwo** 'chicken', the initial direct object, is a final direct object chômeur. (27) is not allowed. (28) shows the corresponding RC.

2.2 OBLIQUE RCs

Oblique RCs resemble their corresponding independent clauses as to word order and content. Some kinds of oblique RCs are distinguished by a pronoun or possessive adjective that helps to indicate which oblique is relativized. Other kinds are unmarked and are distinguished from each other only by the meaning of the head.⁶ Each of the oblique RCs is described separately below.

2.2.1 Instrument RCs

An instrument RC always has a prepositional phrase, **nə shī** 'with it', where the corresponding independent clause would have

'with it', where the corresponding independent clause would have an instrument nominal phrase, consisting of the preposition **nə** followed by a noun or pronoun. See (29), (30), and (31). In some cases, the **shī**, which is uninflected, may be replaced by an inflected object pronoun that agrees in class with the head noun. This is shown in (30) and (31). Notice that the inflected pronoun is not allowed in (31).

- (29) **mə ā-mə-lī ʔ-faambə nə fa**
 I pst-pft-clear 7-field with 9:cutlass
 'I cleared the field with the cutlass.'
- (30) **mə ā-mə-kwey bāgē [wō ā-mə-fēy cūdū**
 I pst-pft-find 5:knife you pst-pft-cut 1:meat

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nə shī} \\ \text{with it} \end{array} \right\}] \text{yī}$$
 5:rel art

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nə d-wo} \\ \text{with 5-it} \end{array} \right\}$$

 'I found the knife you cut the meat with.'
- (31) **mə ŋə-dəg fa [mə ā-mə-lī ʔ-faambə**
 I pres prog-see 9:cutlass I pst-pft-clear 7-field

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nə shī} \\ \text{with it} \end{array} \right\}] \text{yī}$$
 9:rel art

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (*\text{nə ny-wo}) \\ \text{with 9-it} \end{array} \right\}$$

 'I see the cutlass I cleared the field with.'

2.2.2 Comitative RCs

A comitative clause expresses a state experienced, or an action done, together with someone, or with something animate or inanimate. When something inanimate is involved, the comitative is expressed with the prepositional phrase **nə** plus a noun (the thing), as in (32). This is an oblique in the initial as well as the final stratum, and it cannot advance to the subject, as the object does in (33). In the comitative RC the "thing" is the head, and inside the RC it is referred to by the prepositional phrase **nə shī** 'with it', as in (34).

- (32) **mə ā-mə-ŋgul cāānzə nə kafɛ**
 I pst-pft-drink 5:soup with 1:macabo
 'I drank the soup with macabo.'
- (33) **cāānzə y-ā-mə-ŋgul-ow nə kafɛ**
 5:soup 5:it-pst-pft-drink-pass with 1:macabo
 'The soup was drunk with macabo.'
- (34) **mə cɛl i-kā [b-ūdā b-wō ā-mə-jāmb**
 I like 8-leaves 2-women 2-they pst-pft-prepare

ʼ-fyāŋ nə shí] yí
 7-sauce with it 8:rel art
 'I like the leaves with which the women
 prepared the sauce.'

When the comitative idea involves only animates in independent clauses, it is expressed by a somewhat more complex construction which can be described best as involving two parties, A and B. Party A is the main subject or has been mentioned previously, while party B is the person or persons (or other animates) who are involved secondarily in the action or state.

If party A is expressed with a pronoun, a comitative phrase is used. It is irrelevant whether party B is expressed with a noun or a pronoun. The comitative phrase is made up of three parts: a plural pronoun, a conjunction, and a marker. The plural pronoun is **sā** 'we (exclusive)', **shā** 'we (inclusive)', or **bā** 'you (pl)' or 'they'. The conjunction is **nā** 'and'. The marker is either class 1 marker **a** (if only two people are involved) or class 2 marker **o** (if more than two people are involved). The conjunction **nā** and the markers **a** and **o** fuse to result in **nā** and **nō** respectively. A list of the comitative phrases found follows in (35). Note that -pl means dual.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|---------------|
| (35) | sā nā | 'me and him' | (+1, +3, -pl) |
| | sā nō | 'me and them; we and
him/them' | (+1, +3, +pl) |
| | shā nō | 'me and you and him/them' | (+1, +2, +3) |
| | bā nā | 'you (sg) and him; he and him' | (-1, +3, -pl) |
| | bā nō | 'you (sg) and them;
you (pl) and him/them;
he and them; they and
him/them' | (-1, +3, +pl) |

The plural pronoun shows whether party A is first person, inclusive or exclusive, or one of the other persons. When it is one of the other persons, whether it is second or third person is clarified by a subject pronoun (**bī** 'you (pl)' or **bwō** 'they') following the comitative phrase, as shown in (36).

- (36) **bā nō** **b-wō** **ā-mə-kə-ŋkēny** ʼ-kakāw
 he and them 2-they pst-pft-go-carry 7-cocoa
 'He carried cocoa with them.'

The class marker shows the number involved. If there is only one person in each of the two parties, the class 1 marker **a** is used; thus it is dual. If either party involves more than one person, the class 2 marker **o** is used, making a plural, as shown in (35) above.

In order to specify who party B is, a noun may be used after the comitative phrase, before the subject pronoun, as in (37).

- (37) **bā nō o-mīyōṇā b-wō ā-mə-kə-ŋkēny ʔ-kakāw**
 he and them 2-brothers 2-they pst-pft-go-carry 7-cocoa
 'He carried cocoa with his brothers.'

Even when a pronoun or noun follows the comitative phrase, it may not be clear just who the participants are. Therefore, party B may be separated from party A and expressed by the prepositional phrase, **nə** 'with' plus a nominal representing party B. In (38) it is unclear whether 'you (sg)' or 'you (pl)' went to the fields with them. (39) disambiguates (38) by use of the 'you (sg)' subject and the prepositional phrase. A clause cannot contain both the comitative phrase and the prepositional phrase, as seen in (40).

- (38) **bā nō (bī) ā-mə-kə ī-faambā**
 you/he and them you(pl) pst-pft-go 8:to-fields
 'You went to the fields with them.'
- (39) **wo ā-mə-kə nə b-wo ī-faambā**
 you(sg) pst-pft-go with 2-them 8:to-fields
 'You (sg) went with them to the fields.'
- (40) **sā nā sē ā-mə-jāmb i-dōw (*nə nyə)**
 I and her we pst-pft-prepare 8-food with 1:her

That the comitative phrase contains a plural pronoun may be evidence that the initial subject is a conjoined subject, including both party A and party B. Party A can ascend to become the subject without party B, and then party B becomes a subject *chômeur*, expressed by the prepositional phrase **nə** plus pronoun. Although this prepositional phrase looks like the comitative phrase involving inanimate things (as in (31)), it is not the same under a conjunct ascension analysis. It is not an oblique, but a subject *chômeur*.

In the preceding discussion, party A was expressed with a pronoun. If party A is expressed with a noun (and party B is also expressed by a noun), then party A and party B are joined by the conjunction **bā**, as in (41).

- (41) **nyə ā-mə-lāgə m-úud bā m-udā yā**
 1:he pst-pft-leave with 1-person with/and 1-woman 1:his
 'He left the man with his wife.'

A comitative RC involving animates can also use either the comitative phrase or the prepositional phrase, very similar to the comitative in independent clauses discussed above. Party B is the shared nominal. If the comitative phrase is used, as in (42), party B is part of the group expressed by the phrase. Thus it differs from a subject RC, where the subject is entirely coreferential with the head. It may be noted that in a comitative

RC there is no need for a noun also to specify party B since it has already been specified in the head.

- (42) **mə ɲə-dǝg mwāmudúm [sǝ nǎ sǝ ā-mə-kə**
 I pres prog-see boy we and him we pst-pft-go
˘-shikûl-ǝshǐ] yē
 7-school-loc 1:rel art
 'I see the boy with whom I went to school.'

If the prepositional phrase is used as in (43), the comitative RC involving animates has the same form as the comitative RC involving inanimates.

- (43) **mə ɲə-dǝg b-udǎ [wǝ ā-mə-kə nǎ b-wo**
 I pres prog-see 2-women you pst-pft-go with 2-them
ǐ-faambǝ] wǎ
 8-to-field 2:rel art
 'I see the women you went to the field with.'

2.2.3 Benefactive RCs

In an independent clause a benefactive RC is signalled by the class 5 noun **shǔ** 'profit, because'. **shǔ** may be modified either by another noun (forming an associative phrase), as in (44), or by a possessive adjective, as in (45). The possessive adjective agrees in class with **shǔ**, but in person and number, with the person benefiting from the action.

- (44) **ɲǎ ā-mə-kə-ɲkēny ˘-kakǎw shǔ mə sǝŋgú**
 1:he pst-pft-go-carry 7-cocoa 5:profit AM 1:father
 'He carried cocoa for (his) father.'
- (45) **˘-kǎǎndǝ y-ā-mə-léd-ow shǔ d-ǝ**
 3-shirt it-pst-pft-sew-pass 5:profit 5-my
 'The shirt was sewn for me.'

A benefactive RC is formed by using **shǔ** followed by a possessive adjective replacer agreeing in class with **shǔ** and in person and number with the head noun, as in (46) and (47). **shǔ** cannot be followed by the uninflected **shǐ** because **shǔ** is not a preposition but a noun (46). The benefactive may be further specified by adding the locative suffix **shǐ** to the possessive adjective, as illustrated in (47).

- (46) **wo ji-sǝ m-uud [mǝ ā-mə-gú cúdú shǔ**
 you 1-be 1-person I pst-pft-kill 1:animal 5:profit
d-ǝ /(*shǐ)] yē
 5-his it 1:rel art
 'You are the person for whom I killed the animal.'
- (47) **mə mpú b-údúm [ǎ ɲǝ-jǎmb shǔ**
 I know 2-people he pres prog-cook for 5:profit

d-āŋ-ēshī] wā

5-their-loc 2:rel art

'I know the people for whom he cooked.'

2.2.4 Locative RCs

In independent clauses the locative is expressed in various ways. All locatives are marked by a preceding high replative tone, as shown in (48). Most locatives also bear the locative suffix **-sh** or **-shī**, as shown in (49), but this suffix does not usually occur on a small set of nouns, which includes **njāw** 'house' (class 3), **ngwāla** 'town' (class 3), **kwāādō** 'village' (class 9), **faambō** 'field' (class 7), and perhaps a few others.

- (48) **mə ŋə-kə** **ˈ+ i-faambō** → /mə ŋə kə ífaambō/
 I pres prog-go loc 8-fields
 'I am going to the fields.'

- (49) **mə-jīwō mē-sə** **ˈ+ i-lungā-sh** → /məjīwō mēsə ílungāsh/
 6-water 6-be loc 8-buckets-loc
 'Water is in the buckets.'

In locative RCs there is usually no replacer for the locative in the RC. If the RC verb is not followed by any objects or any obliques, the locative suffix may be added to the verb, as shown in (50) and (51). This suffix is not obligatory, but it is preferred in this environment. (50) is preferred over (51), though they both have the same meaning.

- (50) **ˋ-njāw [mō ŋə-jāmbˋ]** **yī**
 3-house I pres prog-cook 3:rel art
 'the house in which I am cooking'

- (51) **ˋ-njāw [mō ŋə-jāmb-ēshī]** **yī**
 3-house I pres prog-cook-loc 3:rel art
 'the house in which I am cooking'

The noun **cīnog**, meaning 'place', may also be used in locative RCs. This noun may only be used in the language as an anaphor to refer to a place that has previously been mentioned. In the locative RC, it has no agreement with the head, but it is used, nevertheless, to specify the location of the head. (52) shows how **cīnog** can be used.

- (52) **mə ŋə-dāg** **ˋ-njāw [mō bē-ŋə-jāmb** **nyongú**
 I pres prog-see 3-house I fut-prog-prepare 1:mother
i-dēw cīnog ˋ-mān] **yī**
 8-food place 3-tomorrow 3:rel art
 'I see the house where I will prepare my mother
 food tomorrow.'

Note that the head is obligatory in Məkaā, as in (53), even though it is not obligatory in English.

- (53) **mə mpú ʔ-kíl [ā ngə-zhu] yí**
 I know 7-place he pres prog-come from 7:rel art
 'I know where he is coming from.'

2.2.5 Time RCs

In independent clauses time is expressed by a noun or a time word, which is not flagged to show it expresses time. Time RCs may be formed in two ways. Most commonly the RC modifies a head noun that expresses time, for example **ja** 'time' (class 7), **cā** 'since' (class 7), and **jwāw** 'day' (class 5), as seen in (54), (55), and (56).

- (54) **ʔ-ja [nyə ā-mə-kə i-faambā] yí mə**
 7-time she pst-pft-go 8:to-fields 7:rel art I
ā-mə-bagələ bw-ān
 pst-pft-guard 2-children
 'When she went to the fields, I took care of the children.'
- (55) **ʔ-cā [nyə ā-mə-kə kwāādā] yí ngúm**
 7-since she pst-pft-go 9:village 7:rel art 1:husband
y-ā nya fwē də
 1-her he:neg yet:neg eat
 'Since she went to the village, her husband has not eaten.'
- (56) **ma mpyē ngwōnd [ʔ-ncwombə y-ā-mə-fudā] yē**
 I:neg know:neg 1:month 7-sheep it-pst-pft-die 1:rel art
 'I don't know the month the sheep died.'

In the above examples, there is no replacer in the RC that refers back to the head.

Less commonly a time RC may be formed with an infinitive functioning as the head. This infinitive must be of the same verb stem as the main verb in the RC. The meaning is "when..." or perhaps "as for the time when...." Such a RC, preceded by an infinitive, must come first in the sentence and may not come after the matrix clause, as shown in (57) and (58). Only the subject of the infinitive may precede the infinitive, as illustrated in (58).

- (57) **wú-lə [b-wō ā-wu nə nyə jiwō] yí**
 5:leave-inf 2-they pst-leave with 1:him 5:water 5:rel art
ā mūsə kə ʔ-njāw
 he then go 3-house
 'When they took him away from the river, he then went home.'

- (58) **Polin, kǎ-lə [nyǎ ā-kə] yī shwi d-ē**
 Polin 5:go-inf 1:shē pst-go 5:rel art 5:funeral 5-her
y-ā-bə kī-bulǎ-lugə
 5:it-pst-be adj-very-animated
 'When Pauline died, her funeral went very well.'

2.2.6 Manner RCs

In independent clauses manner is expressed by use of an adverb, such as **togútogú** 'slowly', not flagged to show that it expresses manner. Or manner may be expressed with a fixed adverbial phrase, such as **nə cǎcǎ** 'quickly', which we do not understand fully yet. In a RC manner is expressed by use of the noun **mbiī** 'manner, way' (class 3) as head, as shown in (59).

- (59) **mə ngə-dǎg ʔ-mbiī [ǎ ngǎ-shêy] yī**
 I pres prog-see 3-way he pres prog-work 3:rel art
 'I see how he is working.'

However, manner is most often expressed with a special construction that resembles a RC. In place of the head noun is **nda**, which does not seem to have a class like a noun. (In other cases, **nda** functions as a preposition meaning 'like' or 'as for'.) When a clause has **nda** as head, the marker at the end of the clause is **nǎ**. Such a clause also has high replacive tones like a RC. Thus, although the head of this construction is not a noun and the marker at the end of it is different, this may be a special type of RC. This is supported by the fact that such a clause cannot have perfective aspect, which is marked by **shī**, as is characteristic of clear cases of RCs. (60) is an example of this use of **nda**.

- (60) **mə ā-mə-dǎg nda [nyǎ ā-mə-shêy] nǎ**
 I pst-pft-see way 1:he pst-pft-work mkr
 'I saw how he worked.'

2.2.7 Cause RCs

In independent clauses cause is signalled by **nǎcǎ** 'because of', as in **nǎcǎ nyǎ** 'because of him'. The cause RC has the noun **sǎ** 'thing' (class 7) as head noun, and it contains the adverb **ntǎnǎ** 'like this' as an oblique, as illustrated in (61). In place of **sǎ**, it may have the interrogative **nǎcǎjī** 'why' as head, although this may not be the preferred alternative (see (62)). In place of **ntǎnǎ**, the prepositional phrase **nə shī** 'with it' may be used, as in (63), where **shī** refers back to **sǎ**. This prepositional phrase, however, does not occur when **nǎcǎjī** is the head, as in (64).

- (61) **ma mpyē ʔ-sǎ [nyǎ ā-mə-sǎ ntǎnǎ]**
 I:neg know:neg 7-thing 1:he pst-pft-do like this

yī

7:rel art

'I don't know why he did this.'

- (62) **ma mpyē nēcājī [nyā ā-mə-sā ntānə] yī**
 I:neg know:neg why l:he pst-pft-do like this 7:rel art
 'I don't know why he did this.'

- (63) **mə mpū ʔ-sā [kālād nyā ā-mə-cil-ow nə**
 I know 7-thing l:letter l:it pst-pft-write-pass with

shī] yī

it 7:rel art

I know why the letter was written.'

- (64) **mə mpū nēcājī [kālād nyā ā-mə-cil-ow**
 I know why l:letter l:it pst-pft-write-pass

(*nə shī)] yī

with it 7:rel art

'I know why the letter was written.'

2.3 POSSESSIVE RCs

A possessive RC is a RC where the head possesses one of the elements in the RC. This possession is signalled by a possessive adjective, which agrees in person and number with the head and agrees in class with the possessee (see (65)). The possessive adjective may be omitted where it is very clear anyway who the possessor is, as in (66). Example (13) in section 1.3, incidentally, is also a possessive RC.

- (65) **bw-ân [mā ā-mə-lēsha nə nyongū w-ân]**
 2-children I pst-pft-speak with l:mother 2-their
wā mā-kə tōn
 2:rel art pft-go outside
 'The children, with whose mother I spoke, went outside.'

- (66) **ʔ-kākāgā [mā ā-mə-ŋwa ʔ-kwas (y-ā)] yī**
 7-child I pst-pft-take 3-pencil 3-his 7:rel art
mā-kə tōn
 pft-go outside
 'The child, whose pencil I took, went outside.'

3. MATRIX CLAUSE

In this section we discuss briefly the matrix clause in which the RC is imbedded. We limit our discussion to the function of the head noun and the number of embedded RCs allowed. So-called cleft constructions also contain RCs, but they are not described because they function in the same way as other RCs.

3.1 FUNCTION OF THE HEAD NOUN

As mentioned above, a RC occurs immediately following its head noun. This noun can have any function in the matrix clause, that is, it may be any term or oblique, and it retains its normal position in the clause. If, for example, the head noun is a locative, the RC is followed by the appropriate locative clitic or suffix, such as **cû** 'inside', **-dí** 'at the home of', or the general locative suffix **-sh**, as illustrated in (67), (68), and (69).

- (67) **mə á-mə-dǽg ʔ-wólɛ [mə ɲǽ-ɲkēny] yí**
 I pst-pft-see 7-suitcase I pres prog-carry 7:rel art
cû
 inside
 'I looked inside the suitcase I'm carrying.'

- (68) **a mə-kə wó m-uud [b-wó dǽ-jǽw nə Waag]**
 1:he pft-go chez 1-person 2-they hab-call with Waag
yé-dí
 1:rel art-chez
 'He went to the home of the person they call Waag.'

- (69) **a mə-kə ʔ+ ʔ-njǽw [mə á-mə-shumə] yí-sh**
 1:he pft-go loc 3-house I pst-pft-build 3:rel art-loc
 'He went to the house that I built.'

3.2 NUMBER OF RCs

There appears to be a restriction that one head noun can have no more than one RC. (70) is not allowed.

- (70) ***mə á-mə-kə lǽg-al mw-ǎn ɲ-wó [nyǽ**
 I pst-pft-go leave-with 1-child 1-my 1:he
á-ɲǽ-bɛ nə acúmbá] yé ɲǽ-sǽ
 pst-prog-follow with older 1:rel art pres prog-do
ʔ-shikûl Bǽŋ Mbaŋ] yé
 7-school Abong Mbang 1:rel art
 'I accompanied my second son (lit., who follows the oldest) who goes to school in Abong Mbang.'

The sentence is acceptable if one or the other RCs is omitted.

It is permissible for one RC to be embedded in another. In such a case, the first relative article (i.e. of the embedded RC) is omitted, as shown in (71).

- (71) **m-uud [mə á-mə-dǽg ʔ-ja [mə á-mə-ɲǽ-kə**
 1-person I pst-pft-see 7-time I pst-pft-prog-go

[í-faambě nə kugú]] yě mə-kúnów-wós
 8:loc-fields yesterday 1:rel art -just-arrive

kwāádě

9:village

'The man I saw, when I was going to the fields yesterday,
 just arrived in the village.'

Example (72) shows that it is permissible to have two relative clauses in one matrix clause if they modify two different head nouns.

(72) ʔ-ja [mə á-mə-ŋgə-kə í-faambě nə kugú]
 7-time I pst-pft-prog-go 8:loc-fields yesterday

yí mə á-mə-děg m-uud [mə-kúnów-wós]
 7:rel art I pst-pft-see 1-person -just-arrive

ě-ga

1-this

'When I was going to the fields yesterday, I saw this
 man who just arrived (in the village).'

4. CONCLUSION

RCs are very similar in structure to their corresponding independent clauses. Although the beginning and end of RCs are marked by high replacive tone and a relative article, word order is the same as in independent clauses. The verb differs only in having a high replacive tone on the first morpheme and in never having the perfective marker **shí**. The grammatical relation of the shared nominal in the RC is flagged similarly to the way the same grammatical relation is flagged in independent clauses. The major difference between RCs and independent clauses is the absence of a replacer for the head in the RC in those cases where the corresponding grammatical relation in an independent clause is not flagged by a segmental morpheme.

NOTES

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²Məkaā is a Bantu language spoken in southeast Cameroon by approximately 70,000 people. It is classified by Guthrie (1970:11) as A 83.

³The terminology used in this paper is according to Frantz's (1981) definitions.

⁴The subject pronoun is required (with or without the noun) in independent clauses for all classes except for the low tone class 1 when the verb following begins with a consonant. The pronoun is omitted in the same way in subject RCs, when the subject is class 1 and the verb begins with a consonant.

⁵In independent clauses final direct object is marked by a high replacive tone which comes immediately following the verb and just preceding the direct object, in all verb constructions except the progressive aspect and the hortative mood.

⁶Using Keenan and Comrie's (1977) definition we can say that the oblique RCs are formed with two different strategies, that is, some are formed using a +case-coding strategy and others are formed using a case-coding strategy.

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