

## 14 Relativization

### 14.1 Basics of relative clauses

Relative clauses are *in situ* (i.e. internally headed) in the sense that the head noun is not extracted and placed to the left of the relative clause proper. However, the head noun is often clause-initial or in second position.

Relative clauses in Jamsay are **restrictive**. That is, the propositional content of the relative clause is asserted of the head noun, unless explicitly negated at a higher level ('[a person who likes this weather] doesn't exist'). Jamsay relatives are not used for parenthetical (nonrestrictive) relatives, as in English *I like John, who (by the way) is in Texas right now*.

Some morphosyntactic features typical of relative clauses (preverbal L-toned subject pronominals instead of pronominal suffixes, H(H...)L unsuffixed Perfectives) recur in several other types of subordinated clause. Some spatiotemporal and manner clauses are simply relative clauses with a noun like 'day' or 'place, manner' as head.

#### 14.1.1 Relative clause with final *mà* plus repeated head noun

The full structure of a relative clause, with  $N_x$  representing the noun functioning as lexical head within the NP relativized on, and SP representing a preverbal subject pronominal (in non-subject relatives), is (xx1).

(xx1) [[... [...  $N_x$  ...]<sub>NP</sub> ... (SP) Verb-Ppl] *mà*  $N_x$ ]

In this maximal version, **the head noun  $N_x$  appears twice**, once internally within the relativized-on NP (which may also contain a possessor and/or a postnominal modifier), and once externally (as an unmodified noun) after Possessive *mà*. While the redundant (*mà*  $N_x$ ) portion is often omitted, there are many textual examples like (xx2) where it does occur, and it is clearly part of the relative-clause system.

- (xx2) a. [[wàkàtì kî-ká:                    ñów<sup>n</sup>ò [ñú: lè] t'éwé  
 [[**time.L** Rdp-grasshopper damage [millet in] inflict  
 bèrè-gó-Ø]                                    mà wákátì ∴ fú:] kò:-ró  
 be.able-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh] **Poss time** all] be.Nonh-Neg  
 'There is no time when grasshoppers can not inflict damage on the  
 millet.' **2004.3.8**
- b. [[dà:ɲà-nǒ: [ùrò mà bèrè:] kùn-ó-Ø]  
 [[water.jug [house.L Poss in.L] be.in-Neg-Ppl.Nonh]  
 mà úró] kò:-ró  
 Poss **house**] be.Nonh-Neg  
 'There is no house that a water jug is not in.' **2004.3.13**

- c. [[dàná-m [dàná yǎ: méy<sup>n</sup>],  
 [[**hunt-Ppl.PI.L** [hunt go and],  
 [èjù-nòw<sup>n</sup>ó é:-jè-bà dèy],  
 [field-meat see-RecPf-3PIS if],  
 [[èjù-nòw<sup>n</sup>ó kù<sup>n</sup>] yò:ró méy] tã:<sup>n</sup>-m]  
 [[field-bush Def] stalk and] shoot.Impf-Ppl.PI  
 mà dàná-m] yó≡kò  
**Poss hunt.Ppl.PI] exist≡be.Nonh**  
 ‘There are some hunters who, having gone hunting, if they have seen the  
 wild animals, having stalked those animals, shoot (them).’ **2004.3.16**
- d. [[dògùrù sâl kò:-ró-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[**time.L** prayer be.Nonh-Neg-Ppl.Nonh Def]  
 mà dógúru kù<sup>n</sup>] lè  
 Poss **time** Def] in  
 ‘(back) in the time when there was no praying (=before Islam)’  
**2004.3.20**
- e. [ìjè è íjé bèrê:-∅] mà ìjé  
 [**position.L** 2PIS.L stand can.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] Poss **position**  
 ‘the position (or: situation) where you-PI stand’ **2004.3.24**

While the mà is usually present in this construction, in (xx3.a) the head noun níṅír<sup>n</sup>é ‘day’ is repeated after the core relative clause without mà. This may be related to the fact that níṅír<sup>n</sup>é can be used as a kind of (loose) compound final with no Possessive morpheme and none of the tonal changes typical of real nominal compounds (§5.xxx). At any rate, I have another textual example with mà preceding níṅír<sup>n</sup>é (xx3.b).

- (xx3) a. [níṅír<sup>n</sup>è wó bè nár<sup>n</sup>à] níṅír<sup>n</sup>é  
 [**day.L** 3SgO 3PIS.L bear.Perf.HL] **day**  
 ‘they day on which they have borne him (=on which he was born).’  
**2004.3.12**
- b. [níṅír<sup>n</sup>è [[èné áyà] mà úrò]  
 [**day.L** [[RefIP husband.HL] Poss house.Loc.HL]  
 wò dô:-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>] mà níṅír<sup>n</sup>é  
 3SgS reach.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def] Poss **day**  
 ‘the day on which she (=new bride) has arrived at her husband’s house’  
**2004.3.20**



In place of [mà N<sub>x</sub>], I have one textual example with nám ‘owners’ (§5.xxx) added to a relative with human plural head. It is possible, however, that dé : sà-m in (xx6) is really a 1Sg subject form (‘I have carried’) rather than a plural participle, in which case the material preceding nám is a quotation.

(xx6) [ [... mà dú: dé: -sà-m] nám] yó≡kò  
 [[... Poss load carry-Reslt-Ppl.PI] owners] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘there are some who bear the burden of ...’ 2004.3.24

#### 14.1.2 Coordinated relatives with a shared head

Here I cover conjoined and disjunctive relatives. I begin with **conjoined** relatives.

In (xx1), below, the head noun is associated with a double or triple relative clause. As usual, there is no overt conjunction linking the clauses. The head noun is normally not repeated in the noninitial relative clause(s). In the textual examples, the truth conditions of all of the relatives must be satisfied for the overall NP to refer properly. In (xx1.a), the two relatives denote events (one negative) that are two sides of the same coin. In (xx1.b), one relative denotes a primary action, while the other is a higher-level proposition (‘of whom you are aware’). In (xx1.c), the first and second relatives denote similar but distinct actions, while the third relative is a paraphrase of the second.

(xx1) a. [ àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm tàrá yà: -lú-m]  
 [man-**Pl.L** collective.hunt go-Perf.Neg-**Ppl.PI**]  
 [úró bé: -m] yó≡kò  
 [house.Loc.HL stay-**Ppl.PI**] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are (some) men who do not go on the hunt and who (instead) stay home.’ 2004.3.3

b. [ ìnè-m [ dùṅdàṅá lè] jéyè-m]  
 [person-**Pl.L** [elephant with] fight.Perf.HL-**Ppl.PI**]  
 [só: ù sâ-m] yó≡kò  
 [awareness 2SgS.L have.Perf.HL-**Ppl.PI**] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are people who have fought with an elephant, (people) of whom you are aware.’ 2004.3.4

c. [ è wó≡ŷ] [ [mòr<sup>n</sup>ó wárà-m]  
 [2Pl 3Sg≡it.is] [[be.together farm.Perf.HL-**Ppl-PI**]  
 [mòr<sup>n</sup>ó bírè-m]  
 [be.together work.Perf.HL-**Ppl-PI**]  
 [bírè túmnó] bírè-m kù<sup>n</sup> ]  
 [work(noun).L one] work.Perf.HL-**Ppl-PI** Def]  
 ‘You and them, (people) who have farmed together, who have worked together, who have worked on (=done) the same job’ 2004.3.25

A **disjunctive** relative clause of the same type is possible (xx2). For disjunction in general, see §7.xx. The coordinands are followed by *má* (mà) ‘or’.

- (xx2) [ ìnè nì-dî:ⁿ ñé:-rⁿà-m má ⇒ ] [ nǒ:-rⁿà-m mà ]  
 [person.L here eat-Impf-Ppl.Pl or] [drink-Impf-Ppl.Pl or]  
 ‘the people who eat here or who drink here’

#### 14.1.3 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

Relative clauses are most reliably identified by observing **tone-dropping on the final word in the head NP**. This word would otherwise have at least one H-tone, but it appears in relatives with all-L tones.

If the head NP (excluding alienable possessors) ends in two or more words, in many cases the nonfinal word(s) are already L-toned by tone-dropping triggered by a following modifier (adjective or demonstrative). However, there are some NP types that end in two (rarely more) words, each of which has at least one H-tone. When such a NP functions as relative clause head, **tone-dropping applies simultaneously** to the relevant words. The relevant combinations are [noun + cardinal numeral], and inalienably possessed nouns with nonpronominal possessor (§6.xx).

The audible tone-dropping patterns for relative-clause heads are summarized in (xx1). Please read the “key” underneath.

(xx1) Tone-Dropping Sites within Head NP

- a. [**noun.L**]
- b. [alienable possessor.NP - (mà) – **noun.L**]
- c. [**inalienable.possessor.NP** - **noun.L**]
- d. [**noun.L** – **adjective.L**]
- e. [**noun.L** - **numeral.L**]
- f. [**noun.L** - **Plural bē.L**]

**key:** bolded and underlined word undergoes audible tone-dropping specifically due to relativization; bolded but not underlined words have already undergone tone-dropping due to regular NP-internal rules; unbolded words (alienable possessors) retain their lexical tones.

Inalienably possessed nouns (with nonpronominal possessor NP) and certain types of compounds have at least one H-tone in both the left and right component when they occur NP-finally (more precisely, when they are not followed by a modifying adjective or demonstrative). Examples include compounds with final *bâ:ⁿ* (bâṅâ) ‘owner’ or its plural *nám* (§5.xx). When such a NP functions as relative head, the left and right components undergo simultaneous tone-dropping.

Unless the entire head NP is omitted (“headless” relatives, see below), the NP-final word targeted by relative-clause tone-dropping is either a noun or a postnominal modifier. If there is a postnominal adjective and/or a postnominal

demonstrative (núŋò ‘that’), this postnominal modifier will have already forced tone-dropping on the preceding word (a noun or an inner postnominal adjective). For example, an NP of the form [dog big that] is already expressed as [dog.L big.L that] in main clauses, as each nonfinal word drops its tones under the influence of the immediately following modifier. Therefore the only change the NP undergoes as relative head is that the final word, here the demonstrative ‘that’, also undergoes tone-dropping, resulting in [dog.L big.L that.L].

Examples where **just one word** undergoes tone-dropping due to relativization are in (xx2). These are cases where the NP does not end in two tonally independent elements.

- (xx2) a. [émé dòŋǒ-m] [gùjú lè]  
 [1PIP Dogon-Pl] [skin Inst]  
 cìgè bè bìrê:-Ø  
**thing.L** 3PlS.L work.Impf-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘Our Dogon people [topic], the thing(s) that they make from hides’  
 (cìgè) **2004.3.17**
- b. [ùrò dàyà] mì wô:-Ø  
 [house.L **small.L**] 1SgS.L be.Hum-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the small house where I am’ (úró, dáyá)
- c. [[má ùrò] númò-Ø] é:-sà-Ø  
 [[1SgP **house.L**] fall.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-3SgS  
 ‘He saw my house that fell’ (úró)
- d. [[ [kó àrgà] bè pánà-Ø kù<sup>n</sup> ]  
 [[[NonhP **side.L**] 3PlS skin.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def]  
 mà àrgá] lè  
 Poss side] in  
 ‘on the side (of the cowhide) that they skinned (i.e., the inside of the hide)’ **2004.3.17**

(xx2.a) has a simple one-word head NP ‘thing’. In (xx2.b), the relevant NP is ùrò dáyá ‘small house’ in main clauses; the noun úró ‘house’ has already dropped its tones because of the modifying adjective. When the NP functions as relative head, the adjective also drops its tones. In (xx2.c), the 1Sg alienable possessor má is unaffected by the tone-dropping that applies to the noun ‘house’

In a [**noun + numeral**] sequence, in ordinary clauses both the noun and the numeral have their lexical tones (tonal independence). When such an NP is head of a relative, both the noun and numeral drop their tones (xx3).

- (xx3) a. [ñè-m kùròy] yérè-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [**woman-Pl.L six.L**] come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘the two women who came’ (< ñě-m kúróy ‘six women’)

- b. [cè: tùrù] wò dènê: cêw  
 [thing.L one.L] 3SgS.L want.Impf-∅ all  
 ‘any one thing that you want’ **2004.4.4**

We also get simultaneous tone-dropping for the following combinations when functioning as relative-clause heads: possessor plus inalienable noun (xx4.a), compounds of type [x̄ n̄] where neither the initial nor the final changes its tones in a main clause (xx4.b), [x̄ n̄] compounds where the final has an overlaid H(H...)L tone contour while the initial retains its lexical tones (xx4.c), and compounds whose final is báŋà (bâ: <sup>n</sup>) ‘owner’ or its plural counterpart nám following a lexical-toned initial (xx4.d). The combination [noun + Plural bé] also undergoes simultaneous tone-dropping, as long as bé remains within the (internal) head NP as opposed to appearing at the end of the clause, following the participle (xx4.e).

- (xx4) a. [à:màdù dè:] bàmàkó wô-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [Amadou.L father.L] Bamako be.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘Amadou’s father who is (living) in Bamako’ (á:mádù dē:)
- b. [mè:tèrè gà:rà] bè jâ:<sup>n</sup>-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [meter.L eight.L] 3PIS.L dig.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘the eight meters (depth) that they have dug’ (mé:térè gá:rà)
- c. [dòmno ñê-m] yérè-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [Domno.L woman-Pl.L] come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘the women of Domno (village) who have come’ (dómnó ñê-m)
- d. [pè:tàyà bà:<sup>n</sup>] núw<sup>n</sup>-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [Petaga.L owner.L] die.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘the resident of Petaga (village) who died.’ (pé:tàyà bà:<sup>n</sup>)
- e. [ínè bè] â:-m  
 [person.L Pl.L] catch.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl  
 ‘the people whom they conscripted’ (íné bé) **2004.4.22**

#### 14.1.4 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

Among the most **common heads** of relatives are íné ‘a person (who...)’, cě: ‘a thing (that...)’, and spatiotemporal and manner nouns like dógúró ‘time’ and dǐ:<sup>n</sup> ‘place, manner’. On the spatiotemporal and manner cases, see the discussion of relevant adverbials in Chapter 15.

A **pronoun** cannot head a relative. Instead, the pronoun is placed to the left in its independent form (with H-tone), in apposition to a proxy noun, which is either human

íné ‘person’ or nonhuman cě: ‘thing’ (xx1). The independent pronoun is external to the relative clause proper. Tone-dropping applies to the proxy noun (hence ìnè, cè:), but not to the pronoun.

- (xx1) a. é [ ìnè [ ñè-î-n yòwò lé ]  
**you-PI** [ **person.L** [woman-child-Sg accept Dat]  
 yǎ:~m kù<sup>n</sup> ]  
 go.Impf-**Ppl.PI** Def]  
 ‘You-PI, the people who go in order to receive the girl (the bride).’
- b. mí [ ìnè ní dâ:<sup>n</sup>-n ]  
**1Sg** [ **person.L** here sit.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg ]  
 ‘I who am sitting here’ **2004.3.16**
- c. é [ ìnè tàrá bó:nò-m kù<sup>n</sup> ]  
**2PI** [ **person** collective.hunt proclaim.Perf-**Ppl.PI** Def ]  
 ‘you-PI who have proclaimed the collective hunt’ **2004.3.1**

While cě: ‘thing’ is extremely common as a default head in object relatives (‘the thing that you brought’ = ‘what you brought’), I have one example where a Verbal Noun cognate to the participialized verb is used as head.

- (xx2) ò-y wǒ-r bè ô:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>,  
**give-VblN.L** 3Sg-Dat 3PlS.L give.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def,  
 [wò cé]≡ỹ  
 [3SgP.L possession]≡it.is  
 ‘What(-ever) they give her [topic], it’s hers (to keep).’ **2004.3.20**

#### 14.1.5 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

When the head of a relative is a **conjoined NP**, expressed by dying-quail intonation on both conjuncts (§7.xxx), the first conjunct has its regular tones plus the dying-quail conclusion. The second conjunct drops to all-L tone, and preserves a version of the special intonation, expressed as exaggerated prolongation (but with flat low pitch). In (xx1), for example, ‘woman’ and ‘man’ are jointly modified by the relative clause, as is shown both by the location of the intonational modifications and by the PI Participial suffix.

- (xx1) [ ñě-n ∴ à-n ∴ ] yérè-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [ **woman-Sg** **man-Sg.L** ] come.Perf.HL-Ppl.PI Def  
 ‘[the woman and the man] who came’ (< ñě-n ‘woman’, à-n ‘man’)

#### 14.1.6 Headless relative clause

**Headless relatives** with no overt head noun are also possible.

In (xx1), we have headless subject relatives. The full form of (xx1.a) would have íné ‘person’ as overt head, while that of (xx1.b) would have cě: ‘thing’ as head (in both cases, in L-tone form).

- (xx1) a. òw<sup>n</sup>ò-sǎy<sup>n</sup>      dò:-gó-m      kù<sup>n</sup>  
cemetery      arrive-Impf.Neg-**Ppl.PI**      Def  
‘those (people) who do not arrive (=go) there’
- b. yè-kàná      céjé      jé:rè-m  
woman-new meet      bring.Perf.HL-**Ppl.PIb**  
‘those who greet and bring (into the village) the new bride’ **2004.3.20**
- b. dá:ŋá      mǎ:      bèrɛ=kò-∅  
water.jar build      can.Impf≡be.Nonh-**Ppl.Nonh**  
‘that which (=good clay) can make (good) water jars’ **2004.3.13**

Headless object relatives are common, the implied head being cě: ‘thing’.

- (xx2) [à:-lí-∅      cêw] ... [â:-∅      cêw]  
[catch-Perf.Neg-**Ppl.Nonh** all] ... [catch.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Nonh** all]  
‘whatever he has not caught; ... whatever he has caught’ **2004.3.16**

For headless adverbial relatives, where a head noun meaning ‘time’ or the like is implied, see §15.xxx.

#### 14.1.7 Preverbal L-toned subject pronominal in relative clause

The conditions for the appearance of a **preverbal L-toned subject pronominal** are given in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. subject relatives: no overt subject pronominal  
b. non-subject relatives: a subject pronominal, if present, appears in preverbal position; it therefore has L-tone, as always for pre-verbal subject pronominals.

Numerous examples occur in the sections below on subject relatives, object relatives, and PP relatives.

#### 14.1.8 Participial verb in relative clause

The verb in a relative clause can be in any of a wide range of AN categories, positive and negative. However, the verb cannot take subject pronominal suffixes. Instead, the

verb ends in a **Participial** suffix (xx1), agreeing with the head noun (which may be subject, object, or anything else). If verb-chaining is present, only the final verb is participial in form.

(xx1) Participial Suffixes on Verb in Relative Clause

- a. Nonhuman -∅
- b. (human) Sg -n
- c. (human) Pl -m

Examples occur throughout this chapter.

These suffixes are identical to the usual suffixes on nouns and adjectives, expressing humanness and number. Recall that all relatives have a 3rd person head (even though this may be in apposition to a 1st or 2nd person pronoun). The nominal-type agreement of participles is therefore ideally suited to relative clauses. However, because the Participial suffix for nonhumans is phonologically zero, the verb of a relative clause may be indistinguishable in form from a main-clause verb.

The nonzero Participial suffixes have no tones of their own. Instead, the tone of the final syllable of the stem spreads to the end of the syllable. For example, the unsuffixed Imperfective of non-monosyllabic stems always end in a short F-toned vowel. This F-tone is realized (without vowel lengthening) on the CvC syllable that includes the -n or -m Participial suffix: yèrê- ‘come.Impf’, yèrê-m ‘one who comes’, Pl yèrê-m. The only C-final verb is kùn- ‘be in’, whose inflected forms are limited to the L-toned unsuffixed Perfective. It has the following participles, with the usual H(H...)L unsuffixed Perfective relative-clause tone contour: Nonhuman kûn-∅, Sg kún-ìn, Pl kún-ùm. The vocalic extensions (with high vowels) in -ìn and -ùm are common in adjectival morphology.

- (xx2) [ùrò [èn é bé] kûn-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrê:  
 [house.L [Refl Pl] **be.in.HL-Ppl.Nonh** Def] Poss in  
 ‘in the house where they live (“in which they are”)’ **2004.3.18**

A monosyllabic short-voweled F-toned /Cv-/ stem has its vowel lengthened before the zero Participial suffix (as do similar stems before 3SgS -∅ in main clauses), by Contour-Tone Mora Addition (§3.xxx). This applies to the quasi-verbs sà- ‘have’, and to quasi-verbs wò- and kò- in the locational sense ‘be’. Their forms, with H(H...)L tone, with zero Participial suffix are sâ:-∅, wô:-∅, and kô:-∅ (xxx). There is no lengthening before nonzero suffix: Sg Participial sâ-n, wô-n. At least sâ-n has a variant sán-ìn (Pl sán-ùm) where the first n appears to have been reanalysed as part of the stem.

- (xx3) a. [gùjú kù<sup>n</sup> lè], lòyò kô:-∅ ∴ fú:]  
 [skin Def in], dirt.L **be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh** all]  
 dègè=kò

lick.Impf=be.Nonh

‘All the filth that is in the hides, it (=tanning solution) licks away.’

**2004.3.17**

- b. àr<sup>n</sup>-úm      mà      cì-cèr<sup>n</sup>è-úró  
man-Pl      Poss      Rdp-circumcision.L-house  
dì:<sup>n</sup>      kô:-Ø      jín  
manner.L      **be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh**      like  
‘(the women’s excision house was) just like the way men’s circumcision house was’ **2004.3.18**

- c. íjé      nîm      dî:<sup>n</sup>      èmè      wô:-Ø      lè  
today      now      manner.L 1PlS.L      **be.Hum-Ppl.Nonh**      in  
‘in the situation we are in nowadays’ **2004.3.19**

In addition to normal use in productively formed relative clauses, participles are also found in several types of compounds (mostly agentive in sense). These compounds have their own tone contours; see §5.xxx for details.

#### 14.1.9 Participle of Nonhuman Imperfective with =kò

In the unsuffixed Imperfective verb, the form for Nonhuman subject consists of the Imperfective verb stem plus Nonhuman kò ‘be’. Example: yèrê- ‘come.Impf’ plus kò, realized as yèrê kò ‘it will come’ after tone sandhi.

When such a combination occurs in a relative clause, the Participial suffix is added to =kò. The forms are Nonhuman =kò-Ø, Sg =kò-n, and Pl =kò-m. Compare the parallel Perfective and Imperfective relative clauses in (xx1.a-b).

- (xx1) a. [ìnè-m lè] gó:      túmnò-m  
[person-Pl.L Inst] dance(noun) begin.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl**  
‘the people with whom the dance began’
- b. [ìnè-m lè] gó:      túmnó=kò-m  
[person-Pl.L Inst] dance(noun) begin.**Impf=be.Nonh-Ppl.Pl**  
‘the people with whom the dance will begin’

In this imperfective construction, participles of =kò- remain L-toned. Therefore the Nonhuman participle ending in =kò-Ø does not undergo Contour-Tone Mora Addition (xx2).

- (xx2) a. cè:      kó      t'é:rè=kò-Ø  
thing.L NonhO      show.Impf=**be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh**  
‘(some) thing that shows it’

- b. [ànà kár<sup>n</sup>á=kò-∅] yó=kò ⇒  
 [village.L do.Impf=be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh] exist=be.Nonh  
 ‘There are villages that do (that).’ **2004.3.18**

By contrast, when kò- in the locational sense ‘be’ is participialized, we get F-tone as a realization of the usual H(H...)L tone overlaid on the unsuffixed Perfective in relatives. This does undergo Contour-Tone Mora Addition with the Nonhuman Participial suffix -∅ =, hence kô : -∅; see §14.xxx.

#### 14.1.10 Participle of jǐ̀ - ‘in the meantime’

In a special ‘in the meantime’ construction, a form related to the usual Past participle jǐ̀ : <sup>n</sup> can be conjugated pronominally, and can therefore form participles. The conjugatable form is jǐ̀ -, morphologically an unsuffixed Imperfective verb. It follows a regular VP in a chain construction. See §10.xxx for details and examples, including relatives.

#### 14.1.11 Relative-clause participle including positive AN morpheme

With rare exceptions, Perfective -tǐ- and allomorphs (-yà-/yè-, -â : -) are replaced by the unsuffixed Perfective, with a special tone contour, in relative-clause participles (§14.xxx, below). However, other AN suffixes may occur in participles. For negative suffixes, see §14.xxx, just below. Examples: Resultative (xx1.a), Recent Perfect (xx1.b), Experiential Perfect (xx1.c), Habitual (xx1.d), and marked Imperfective (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. cè : ù kúnó-sà-∅ cêw  
 thing.L 2SgS.L put-**Reslt**-Ppl.Nonh all  
 ‘whatever you have put (in it)’ **2004.3.17**
- b. [bè dérè] [àrá nǒ : -jè-n]  
 [3PIP.L elder.sib.HL] [porridge drink-**Rec.Pf**-Ppl.Sg]  
 ‘their (=circumcision novices’) elder brother, who has already been circumcised’ **2004.3.18**
- c. [kǐ-kòjú á : -térè-n]=î : lúgúr-á : rà-m  
 [Rdp-viper catch-**ExpPf**-Ppl.Sg]=Foc look.for-Habit-1SgS  
 ‘I’m looking for someone who has (once) caught a viper.’
- d. [kòñî : <sup>n</sup> nûŋ] nùŋ-á : r<sup>n</sup>à-m yó=kò  
 [guitar song.HL] sing-**Habit**-Ppl.Pl exist=be.Nonh  
 ‘There are some who sing guitar-accompanied songs.’ **2004.3.20**

- e. [bé kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [ìnè-m [kò tô:-m] [gúy<sup>n</sup>ó lè]  
 [3Pl too] [person.Pl.L [Dem Recip-Pl] [theft in]  
 yă:-tóyò-m≡î:  
 go-**Impf-Ppl.Pl**≡it.is  
 ‘They too [topic], they (too) were people of the same type (as us) who  
 were going clandestinely.’ **2004.5.1**

#### 14.1.12 Relative-clause participle based on negative verb or predicate

Relative clauses are formed in the regular way when the verb is negative. In the Perfective Negative (-lí-) and the Imperfective Negative (-gó-), the Participial suffix is simply added to the negative verb form.

- (xx1) a. è yâ: kú<sup>n</sup> lè,  
 2PIS.L go.Perf.HL Def in,  
 ùr<sup>n</sup>-ùm tàrá dò:-gó-m,  
**child-Pl** collective.hunt arrive-**Impf.Neg-Ppl.Pl**  
 ní: kúnó méy, ...  
 water put Grd, ...  
 ‘When you-Pl went (to the hunt), the children who weren’t going all the  
 way to the hunt put out (=offer) water (along the way), ...’ **2004.3.1**
- b. [ìnè kó àyà-lí-n] kò:-ró  
 [person.L NonhO hear-**Perf.Neg-Ppl.Sg**] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nobody who has not heard (=Everybody has heard)’ **2004.3.20**

Negative sà:-rá- ‘not have’ may be participialized.

- (xx2) ... hâl [[kíré sà:-rá-Ø] lè] yă: dó:≡kò  
 ... until [[horn **have-Neg-Ppl.Nonh**] to] go arrive.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘(from horned animals) it goes all the way to (animals) that do not have  
 horns’ **2004.3.16**

So may the negative forms of locational-existential ‘be’ quasi-verbs, wò:-ró- (human) and kò:-ró (nonhuman).

- (xx3) [ànà cín kò:-ró-Ø] yó≡kò  
 [village.L thus **be.Nonh-Neg-Ppl.Nonh**] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are villages where that sort of thing is absent (=doesn’t happen).’  
**2004.3.18**

Participial endings may be added to the negative morpheme lá- used after adjectives and other stative predicates. The Participial forms are Nonhuman lá-Ø, Sg -lá-n, and Pl -lá-m.

- (xx4) a. [pòn-sǔŋ t̀ùl]-lá-m  
[pants-cord one]-**Neg-Ppl.Pl**  
'those who are not of the same belt-cord (=extended family).' (t̀úrú, in this compound otherwise HL-toned t̀úrù] **2004.3.3**
- d. ì-n èjù-lá-n  
child-Sg good-**Neg-Ppl.Sg**  
'the child who isn't good'
- c. t̀èy èl-lá-Ø  
tea sweet-**Neg-Ppl.Nonh**  
'the tea that isn't sweet' (t̀èy, é̀r̀ù)

A relative clause can be formed from the negation of the ≡ỳ 'it is' clitic, which appears in main clauses as ≡ỳ là : . The suffixed Participial forms remain L-toned: Nonhuman là : -Ø, Sg là-n, Pl là-m.

- (xx5) a. [núŋ̀ò k̀ù<sup>n</sup> k̀é]  
[Dem Def Topic]  
[m̀àlf̀â:<sup>n</sup> d̀ánà-n mà t̀ílf̀ây≡ỳ],  
[rifle hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg Poss necessity≡it.is],  
[[m̀àlf̀â:<sup>n</sup> d̀ánà-n]≡î: là-n],  
[[rifle hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg]≡it.is **Neg-Ppl.Sg**]  
[íjù d̀ánà-n k̀ù<sup>n</sup>]≡ỳ<sup>n</sup> d̀èy  
[dog hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg Def]≡it.is if  
'That (gear) is a necessity for a rifle hunter. If he is (instead) that dog hunter, who is not a rifle hunter, ...' **2004.3.16**
- b. ìj≡î: là:-Ø k̀ù<sup>n</sup>  
do≡it.is **Neg-Ppl.Nonh** Def  
'that one who is not a dog' (ìjù)
- c. [ìnè [wó t̀ògù] wô-m] ỳèr̀é m̀òr̀ó-bà,  
[person.L [3SgP kind] be.HL-Ppl.Pl] come be.together.Impf-3PIS,  
[[wó t̀òg]≡î: là-m k̀â:<sup>n</sup>]  
[[3SgP kind]≡it.is **Neg-Ppl.Pl** even]  
[c̀èr̀è<sup>n</sup>èw<sup>n</sup>è-déné-m] ỳèr̀é m̀òr̀ó-bà  
[fun.L-want.H-Ppl.Pl] come be.together.Impf-3PIS

‘People who are his (=the deceased’s) kin will come and gather; even those who are not his kin, (but are) lovers of festivities, will come and gather.’ **2004.3.21**

#### 14.1.13 H(H...L) unsuffixed Perfective participle in relative clause

As the preceding sections have shown, the verb preceding a Participial suffix has the same form (including tone contour) that it has in main clauses (preceding a subject pronominal suffix), across a wide range of positive and negative AN categories.

However, in the positive perfective, the **unsuffixed Perfective** is almost always used instead of the suffixal Perfective (suffix  $-t\dot{i}-$ ,  $-y\grave{a}/-y\grave{e}-$ , or  $-\hat{a}:-$ ).

Moreover, there is an **H(H...L) tonal overlay** that is unique to unsuffixed Perfectives (and, as shown below, predicate adjectives) in relative clauses and some other subordinated clauses (xx1).

(xx1) H(H...L)-toned unsuffixed Perfective in relative clauses

- a. a marked (suffixed) Perfective (suffix  $-t\dot{i}-$ ,  $-y\grave{e}/-y\grave{a}$ ,  $-\hat{a}:-$ ) is almost always replaced by an unsuffixed Perfective;
- b. this unsuffixed Perfective has a H(H...L) tone contour overlaid on it.

The H(H...L) tone is realized as F-tone on monosyllables (xx2.a-b), HL tone contour on bisyllables (xx2.c), HHL on trisyllables (xx2.d), etc.

- (xx2) a.  $\grave{u}$   $j\hat{a}:-^n-\emptyset$   
 2SgS.L dig.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh**  
 ‘what you-Sg have dug’ (headless;  $j\check{a}:-^n-$ ) **2004.3.6**
- b.  $l\grave{u}g\grave{u}$   $\grave{u}$   $b\grave{a}r\acute{a}$   $j\hat{a}:-\emptyset$   $k\grave{u}^n$   
 manure.L 2SgS.L gather convey.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh** Def  
 ‘the manure that you-Sg have gathered and taken (there)’ ( $j\check{a}:-$ )  
**2004.3.6**
- c.  $d\grave{o}g\grave{u}r\grave{u}$   $k\acute{o}$   $b\grave{e}$   $p\acute{a}n\grave{a}-\emptyset$   $k\grave{u}^n$   $l\grave{e}$   
 time.L NonhO 3PIS.L skin.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh** Def in  
 ‘when they have skinned and butchered it (=animal)’ **2004.3.17**
- d. [ $b\grave{e}$   $g\acute{a}m\acute{a}r^n\grave{a}-\emptyset$   $k\grave{u}^n$   $l\grave{e}$ ]  
 [3PIS.L divide.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh** Def in]  
 ‘at (the time) when they divide it up.’ **2004.3.19**

The H(H...L) tone pattern on unsuffixed Perfective stems in relatives is realized unproblematically as F-tone on monosyllables, as HL on bisyllables, as HHL on trisyllables, and as HHHL on quadrisyllables. Because the only verbs ending in a long vowel are monosyllabic  $Cv:-$  (relative Perfective  $C\hat{v}:-$ ), and the only C-final verb is

monosyllabic kùn- ‘be in’ (relative Perfective kûn), we can generalize that all verbs associate the final L of overlaid perfective H(H...L) contour with the final mora of the bare stem. There are no #CvCvC-, #CvCv : -, or other multisyllabic stem-shapes for verbs that end in a heavy syllable and could therefore produce tone patterns like HF.

For verbs of the basic form Cṽ : - with H-tone, the overlaid perfective H(H...L) tone to produce Cṽ̂ : - results in homophony with the unsuffixed imperfective Cṽ̂ : - (i.e. Cṽ̂ : - plus final Imperfective F-tone). Thus Sg participle gô : -n from gó : - ‘go out’ can mean ‘(one) who went out’ (perfective) or ‘(one) who is going out (or: will go out)’ (imperfective).

As noted above, the unsuffixed Perfective nearly always replaces the suffixal Perfective (suffix -tî-, -yè-/-yà-, -â : -) in relative clauses. However, there are rare exceptions in the texts. Consider first (xx3).

(xx3) ù láyá-m̄, ù láyá-m̄, [nĩ : lèy]  
 2SgS.L hit.Impf-Ppl.Sg, 2SgS.L hit.Impf-Ppl.Sg, [day two]  
 [dògùrù kó ù láyá-tî-∅ :. fú : ],  
 [time.L NonhO 2SgS.L hit.Impf-**Perf**-Ppl.Nonh all],  
 [gùjú kùn] ír é≡kò  
 [skin Def] ripen.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘You-Sg keep beating (and oiling) it (=cowhide), you keep beating it, (for) two days. When you are finally done with beating it, the hide will be ripe (=cured).’ **2004.3.17**

In (xx3), -tî- occurs before fú : ‘all’, which requires the dying-quail intonation (:.) on the preceding word. If instead of láyá-tî-∅ we had the unmarked Perfective participle láyá-∅, the addition of dying-quail intonation would produce láyá-∅ :., which would be difficult to distinguish phonetically from an unsuffixed Imperfective participle with the same intonation (láyá : -∅ :.). Another possible explanation for the presence of -tî- in (xx3) is that it might be used to emphasize finality; the cowhide is oiled and beaten over a two-day period.

The adjectival verb pé :<sup>n</sup>- ‘become old’ occurred in participles with both Perfective -yè- (xx4.a) and Resultative -sà- (xx4.b) in a text about mortuary practices. These participles seem to mean ‘who has become old’, in contrast to a form of the simple modifying adjective pěy<sup>n</sup> ‘old’.

(xx4) a. [ìnè gǎ-n] [ìnè pé :<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è-n]≡î :  
 [person.L old-Sg] [person.L become.old-Perf-Ppl.Sg]≡Foc  
 nùw<sup>n</sup>ò dèy  
 die.Perf.L if  
 ‘If it is an adult, a person who has become old [focus] who has died, ...’  
**2004.3.21**

b. [ìnè pé :<sup>n</sup>-sà-n]≡î : tàṅà dèy

[person.L become.old-Reslt-Ppl.Sg]≡it.is happen if  
 ‘if it happens to be a person who has become old’ **2004.3.21**

In elicitation, I recorded one case involving Perfect -â: - in resultative-stative function (xx5).

(xx5) ìnè káw-â:-n  
 person.L be.separate-Perf-Ppl.Sg  
 ‘a different (or: separate) person’

#### 14.1.14 Relative clause based on predicative adjective

Since adjectives can directly modify nouns in the common pattern [noun.L adjective], adjectives are rarely participialized in full-fledged relative clauses. However, a predicative adjective can appear in a relative clause functioning as a manner adverbial (xx1). In this case, we get the same H(H... )L tone pattern overlaid as for unsuffixed Perfective verbs.

(xx1) sà:j-î:ⁿ, [dì:ⁿ kò tɛyⁿ .: fú: ⇒]  
 bird-child, [manner.L NonhS.L **small.HL** all]  
 àtî: kó á:≡kò  
 bird.trap NonhO catch.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘A bird, however small it may be, a bird trap will catch it.’ **2004.3.16**

Here the adjective has a basic R-toned form tɛyⁿ. The switch to F-toned tɛyⁿ is independent of the “dying quail” intonation associated with the following fú: ‘all’, and in follow-up elicitation informants gave [dì: kò tɛyⁿ] when the fú: was omitted.

#### 14.1.15 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

A relative clause may contain a VP- or verb-chain. The nonfinal VP or verb has its usual infinitival form, while the final verb has the form appropriate for relatives. The nonfinal verb is bolded in the interlinears in (xx1).

(xx1) a. ìnè ùró sùgò-n  
 person **go.up** go.down.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg  
 ‘the person who went up and came (back) down’  
 b. ìnè yǎ: yèré-m  
 person **go** come.Impf-Ppl.Sg  
 ‘one who goes and comes (back)’  
 c. bù:dù yèré mǐ-n wò ô:-Ø kùⁿ

money.L **come** 1Sg-Dat 3SgS.L give.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘the money that he came and gave me’

#### 14.1.16 Relativization within adverbial and complement clauses

Since the relativized-on NP is not fronted, there is no difficulty forming relatives inside complement clauses. (xx1.a) is an example involving ‘want’ as higher verb. That the higher verb rather than the lower verb is participialized is brought out by an elicited construction (xx1.b) that is parallel in structure, but that has a human head (and therefore a nonzero participial suffix). The resumptive 3Pl object pronominal in the lower clause in (xx1.b) is optional.

- (xx1) a. [dî :<sup>n</sup> kò dó :≡kò,  
 [place.N NonhS.L arrive.Impf≡be.Nonh]  
 ù dènè-gó-Ø] yó≡kò  
 2SgS.L **want**-Impf.Neg-**Ppl.Nonh**] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are places (in your field) that you don’t want it (=donkey) to reach.’ **2004.3.10**
- b. [[î nè gàmà-nàm] jàndú rú (bé) cér é≡kò  
 [[person certain-Pl.L] donkey (3PIO) bite.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ù dènè-gó-m] yó≡kò  
 2SgS.L **want**-Impf.Neg-**Ppl.Pl**] exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are certain people that you don’t want the donkey to bite.’

(xx2.a) is a similar example with ‘can’ as higher-level verb. (xx2.b) is based on a jussive (=embedded imperative) clause with gâ : - ‘say’ as higher-level verb.

- (xx2) a. [ñè-n è jé : bèr é-m lè]  
 [woman-Sg.L 2PIS.L marry **can**.Impf-**Ppl.Sg** with]  
 fót t-â : -Ø  
 coincide-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘He has met with a woman whom you-Pl can marry’ **2004.3.19**
- b. [cè : àmà kár<sup>n</sup>á] è gâ : -Ø kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [thing.L God do.Imprt] 2PIS.L **say**.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Nonh** Def  
 ‘what you-Pl told (=prayed to) God to do’ **2004.4.6**

In (xx3), the higher verb is ‘know (that …)’.

- (xx3) [bîr è [èné bé] bîr ê :] [èné bé] júgò-Ø  
 [work.L [Refl Pl] work.Impf] [Refl Pl] **know**.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Nonh**  
 ‘the work that they knew that they could do’ **2004.4.23**

In (xx4), the relativized-on NP ('our old wells') functions as object of the first two (but not last) verbs in a VP-chain. A literal English translation would be awkward due to "island" constraints.

- (xx4) [émé àkòrò pèy<sup>n</sup>] dàmá dùṅó mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [1PIP well.L old.L] push close.up and,  
 [sìmô: tárá èmè wògòró-sà-Ø] yó≡kò  
 [cement (re-)plaster 1PlS.L dig.out-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh] exist≡be.Nonh  
 'There are (also) our old wells that we have filled up with earth ("pushed and closed up") and have plastered cement on and excavated.' **2004.4.5**

#### 14.1.17 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping)

Morphemes that commonly occur at the end of NPs can also be used at the end of relative clauses. Morphemes that do not involve tone-dropping include those in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. Definite kù<sup>n</sup>  
 b. Plural bé  
 c. universal quantifiers fú: and cêw 'all'  
 d. kâ: or kár<sup>n</sup>à 'also, too' (usually in the combination kâ: nè)  
 e. Past jî: <sup>n</sup>

These add-ons occur, in my textual data, only in relative clauses that do not end in the optional [mà N<sub>x</sub>] segment, with repeated head noun. However, it is not clear that this represents an actual grammaticality constraint.

Although none of these elements induces tone-dropping, fú: does impose its usual dying-quail final intonation on the preceding word.

kù<sup>n</sup>, bé, fú:, cêw, and jî: <sup>n</sup> are illustrated in (xx2). (xx2.e) has no fewer than three such particles. (xxx.c), with fú:, illustrates the very common double-negative construction '[any/every X that doesn't ...] doesn't exist', i.e. 'every X ...'.

- (xx2) a. [[é wàrù-wárá-m] háybé-m kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[2Pl farming.L-farm.H-PI] protect-Ppl.PI **Def**]  
 'those who protect you farmers' **2004.3.8**
- b. [bàndî: [má kù: <sup>n</sup>] númò-m kù<sup>n</sup> bé]  
 [bandit [1Sg on] fall.Perf.HL-Ppl.PI **Def PI**]  
 jò: -gó-m  
 know-Impf.Neg-1SgS  
 'I don't know the bandits who fell on (=attacked) me.' (jùgò-)
- c. [èjù-nòw<sup>n</sup>ò à: -gó: -Ø ∴ fú: ]  
 [field.L-meat.L catch-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh **all**]

mà tǒg kò:-ró  
 Poss kind be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There isn’t any kind of animal that it (=bird trap) doesn’t catch.’ (=‘It catches every kind of animal’) (tògú) **2004.3.16**

d. [â:-∅ cêw]  
 [catch.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh **all**]  
 ‘whatever he has caught’ **2004.3.16**

e. [[pó:ró èné dò:-gó-∅  
 [[first Refl reach-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh  
 jî:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup> cêw] lè] dò:-∅ ⇒  
**Past Def all**] in] reach.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘What she could not previously reach (=do), she reaches (now, after emerging from post-partum seclusion).’ **2004.3.19**

In the sense ‘also, too’, kâ:<sup>n</sup> (variant kâr<sup>n</sup>à, extension kâ: nè) has no tonal effect on the preceding participle

(xx3) [jǎm îné bè gá-m kâ:<sup>n</sup>] yó=kò  
 [tanners person.L 3PIS.L say.Impf-Ppl.Pl **also**] exist=be.Nonh  
 ‘There are also the people whom they call “jam” (caste of tanners).’  
**2004.3.17**

#### 14.1.18 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping)

Two other morphemes that can be added at the end of a relative clause are **distributive** kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘any, each’ and demonstrative núṅò ‘this, that’.

As when it follows a simple noun, kâ:<sup>n</sup> requires **tone-dropping** on a preceding participle (xx1). This is readily observable with negative participles, since negative suffixes are otherwise H-toned. The combination of negative participle plus kâ:<sup>n</sup> is fairly common since it is part of constructions translatable ‘nobody’ or ‘nothing’, and double-negative constructions translatable freely with ‘everybody’ or ‘everything’.

(xx1) a. [è:-lî-n kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró  
 [see-Perf.Neg-**Ppl.Sg.L any**] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nobody who did not see (it).’ = ‘Everybody saw it.’ **2004.3.6**

b. [cè: bé:-rà-là-∅ kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró  
 [thing.L happen-Habit-**Neg-Ppl.Nonh.L any**] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nothing that doesn’t happen.’ **2004.3.10**

c. [nùw<sup>n</sup>ó≡y<sup>n</sup> bè:-∅ kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [kó bèrê:]  
 [death≡Foc happen-**Ppl.Nonh.L any**] [Nonh in]

ṅáǎá:dì≡yè l à:  
 rancor≡it.is Neg  
 ‘Any death that may occur during it (=wrestling competition), it is not  
 (cause for) rancor.’ **2004.3.23**

kâ :<sup>n</sup> ‘each, any’ also forces stem-wide tone-dropping on participles based on verbs containing a nonzero AN suffix, whether the suffix is L-toned as with Resultative -sâ- (xx2.a), or contains a H-tone as with Progressive -á:rà- (xx2.b).

- (xx2) a. [ì nè b ɪ r-sâ-n k â :<sup>n</sup> k ò :-r ó  
 [person.L **work-Reslt-Ppl.Sg.L any** be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nobody who worked.’ (b ɪ r-sâ-)]
- b. [ì nè n ɪ m b ɪ r è b ɪ r-à:rà-n k â :<sup>n</sup> ]  
 [person.L now work(noun) **work-Habit-Ppl.Sg.L any**  
 k ò :-r ó  
 be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nobody who is working now.’ (b ɪ r-á:rà-)]
- c. [m ò b ɪ l k ò à r g á ]  
 [vehicle Dem side]  
 [m ò l l ò -sâ-∅ k â :<sup>n</sup> ] k ò :-r ó  
 [**be.punctured-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh.L any** be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘(In) that part of the vehicle [topic], nothing was punctured (by bullets).’  
**2004.5.1**

Tone-dropping due to kâ :<sup>n</sup> ‘each, any’ also overrides the overlaid H(H...)L tone pattern otherwise required on (positive) unsuffixed Perfective participles in relative clauses.

- (xx3) [ì nè y è r è -n k â :<sup>n</sup> ] k ò :-r ó  
 [person.L **come.Perf-Ppl.Sg.L any** be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘Nobody came’ (y è r è -n)]

Demonstrative n ́ú ṅ ò (and its extended human counterparts) like modifying adjectives, forces tone-dropping on a preceding noun: ì j ù n ́ú ṅ ò ‘that dog’ (ì j ú). When it follows a relative clause, it has a tone-dropping effect on the participle. In (xx4.a), the negative participle would have the form y è l -l ́ í -n with H-toned suffix without the following demonstrative. In (xx4.b), the form of the unsuffixed Perfective participle would be w ò :-∅ without the demonstrative.

- (xx4) a. à -n y è l -l ́ í -n n ́ú ṅ ò -b â :<sup>n</sup>  
 man-Sg.L come-Perf.Neg-**Ppl.Sg.L Dem-owner**  
 ‘that man who did not come’

- b. [dì:<sup>n</sup> nîŋ ní èné wò:-∅ núŋò] lè  
 [place.L this here Logo be.Perf-Ppl.Nonh.L Dem] in  
 ‘(He said:) “here in this place where I am ...”’ **2004.4.4**

The tone-dropping induced by  $kâ:<sup>n</sup>$  ‘any’ and by  $núnò$  (and variants) interacts in an interesting way with the phonology of participles based on short-voweled quasi-verbs. Let us take as example the the ‘have’ quasi-verb that appears in main clauses as  $sà-$ . As an unsuffixed Perfective, it has participles based on  $/sâ-/$ , whose F-tone is the monosyllabic realization of the familiar H(H...)L overlaid tone used in relatives. The participles with audible suffix are Sg  $sâ-n$  and Pl  $sâ-m$ . The Nonhuman participle, however, is  $sâ:-∅$ , the vowel having been lengthened by Contour-Tone Mora Addition to permit articulation of both parts of the F-tone. Now, what happens when this  $sâ:-∅$  has its tones dropped due to a following  $kâ:<sup>n</sup>$  ‘each, any’ or demonstrative  $núnò$ ? Does it revert to short-voweled  $sâ:-∅$ , or does it show up as  $sà:-∅$ ? As (xx5) shows, the latter is the case.

- (xx5) [èjù-nòw<sup>n</sup>ò círè sà:-∅ núŋò bé]  
 [field-meat.L horn have.Perf.L-Ppl.Nonh Dem Pl]  
 tògú yàŋá méy, ...  
 kind take and, ...  
 ‘starting with those species of those animals that have horns, ...’ **2004.3.16**

In other words, there is a complex derivation, whereby  $sà-$  first combines with the H(H...)L overlay to produce  $/sâ-∅/$ , this then undergoes V-Lengthening, and finally the tone-dropping applies to yield  $sà:-∅$ .

By contrast, the Nonhuman Participle of an unsuffixed Imperfective verb with following Nonhuman  $\equiv kò$  ‘be’ (§10.xx) is L-toned all along. Therefore it does not undergo Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (in this imperfective construction). So, when  $kâ:<sup>n</sup>$  (or  $núnò$ ) is added there is no audible change, and we end up with the same short-voweled, L-toned  $\equiv kò-∅$  that we get in parallel sentences without  $kâ:<sup>n</sup>$  (or  $núnò$ ). This is seen in (xx6), which also shows that the tone-dropping effect of  $kâ:<sup>n</sup>$  (or  $núnò$ ) does not extend to the unsuffixed Imperfective stem preceding  $\equiv kò-∅$ . This is a further demonstration that the combination of unsuffixed Imperfective plus Nonhuman  $\equiv kò$  is a two-verb sequence, not an AN-type verb-suffix combination, nor a combination of verb plus pronominal-subject suffix.

- (xx6) [cè: kó té:rè $\equiv kò-∅$   $kâ:<sup>n}</sup>$ ] kò:-ró  
 [thing.L NonhO show.Impf $\equiv$ be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh any] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is nothing that shows that.’ **2004.3.18**

## 14.2 Subject relative clause

### 14.2.1 Ordinary subject relative clause

In subject relatives with human head, the verb takes nominal suffixes (Sg -n, Pl -m) instead of subject-pronominal suffixes. The -n or -m may follow any relevant AN suffixes, including negatives. Nonhuman heads are less common with subject relatives; they take -Ø participial suffix (xx1.c,f). The suffixed Perfective -tî- is dropped in favor of an unsuffixed Perfective verb with H(H...)L tone contour before the participial suffix (xx1.e). The verb in (xx1.a) is ambiguous between unsuffixed Imperfective (final F-tone, which combines with H-tone monosyllables to give stem-wide F-tone) and H(H...)L unsuffixed Perfective (expressed as F-tone on monosyllable), so two translations are given. On the other hand, yâ: -m ‘go’ with F-tone in (xx1.e) is unambiguously an unsuffixed H(H...)L Perfective. This is because ‘go’ has lexical R-tone (yǎ: -), so the unsuffixed Imperfective stem is yǎ: - with bell-shaped <LHL> tone, and the Imperfective Pl participle preserves this tone: yǎ: -m. There are no Imperfective/Perfective homophonies involving bisyllabic or longer stems, so the only problem is with lexically H-toned monosyllables like gó: - ‘go out’.

- (xx1) a. ìnè            gô: -m    .:            fú:  
**person.L**    go.out.Impf-**Ppl.PI**    all  
 or:                    go.out.Perf.HL-**Ppl.PI**  
 ‘everyone who was going out’ (Impf)  
 or: ‘everyone who went out’ (Perf)
- b. à-n            íjé            dègè            bèrè-m̃  
**man-Sg.L**    stand    spend.day    be.able.Impf-**Ppl.Sg**  
 ‘a man who can stand up all day’.
- c. cìgè            émé            mò: -nó-sà-Ø  
**thing.L**    1PIO    be.together-Caus-Reslt-**Ppl.Nonh**  
 ‘the thing that unites us’ **2004.3.11**
- d. [ìnè            úrò            pílíwé-m̃]            yó≡kò  
**[person.L**    house.Loc.HL    return.Impf-**Ppl.PI]**    exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘There are (also) some people who remain at home’ **2004.3.9**
- e. [*conseiller*    bè]            èjú            yâ: -m  
**[councilor.L**    **Pl.L]**    field    go-**Perf.HL-Ppl.PI**  
 ‘the (village) councilors who have gone to the field’ **2004.3.10**
- f. cè:            bé: -rà-là-Ø            kâ: <sup>n</sup>  
**thing.L**    happen-Habit-Neg.L-**Ppl.Nonh**    any

‘anything that doesn’t happen’ **2004.3.10**

With a nonhuman subject, the verb has no audible affix marking relativization. The head noun undergoes tone-dropping as for human subjects.

- (xx2) a. [màlfà:<sup>n</sup> kórsó-sà kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [kó bèrê:]  
[gun misfire-Perf all] [Nonh in]  
gò:-lí-Ø  
go.out-Perf.Neg-3SgS  
‘No gun that misfired went out (with the men) in that (activity)’.

#### 14.1.2 Agentives

Some subject relatives, generally consisting of a simple Imperfective participial verb without complements, function as agentives.

An example is verb *dàná-* ‘hunt’, unsuffixed Imperfective stem *dànâ-*, Agentive *dàná-m* ‘hunter’ (Pl *dàná-m*). There is no formal difference between ‘hunter’ and the imperfective relative clause ‘one who hunts’.

However, we can distinguish agentives from ordinary subject relatives when they are extended by incorporating an object noun, or other complement or adverbial. Here a true agentive takes either of two tone contours, each associated with a type of noun-noun compound. One type is [ $\bar{x}$   $\hat{v}$ -n], where the incorporated element *x* has its regular tone, and the participial verb has H(H...L) tone (xx1.a). The other is a more tightly fused [ $\bar{x}$ - $\hat{v}$ -n], where the incorporated element has its tones dropped to all-L, and the verb shifts to all-H tone (xx1.b). See §5.xxx for more detail on these compounds.

- (xx1) a. ùjùw<sup>n</sup>ó dánà-m  
mouse hunt.HL-Ppl.Pl  
‘mouse-hunters’ **2004.3.16**
- b. tàrà-yá:-m  
collective.hunt-go-Ppl.Pl  
‘those who go on the collective hunt’ **2004.3.3**

### 14.3 Object relative clause

#### 14.3.1 Ordinary object relative clause

The head noun is L-toned. If the subject is pronominal, it appears as an L-toned preverbal subject pronominal. The verb takes participial form. A (positive) unsuffixed Perfective participle has overlaid H(H...L) tone. These features are all evident in (xx1).

(xx1) [cè: ù bírè-Ø] cè:n-â:  
**[thing.L 2SgS.L work.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]** be.good-Reslt  
 ‘what you-Sg have accomplished is very good’

More nonhuman object relatives are in (xx2). The head noun and the Participial suffix are bolded in interlinears. L-toned preverbal subject pronominals appear in several examples, e.g. (xx2.a).

- (xx2) a. [lù:rò ù jùgô:-Ø] mà tэг-ú  
**[snake.L 2SgS.L know.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]** Poss speak.VbIN  
 ‘saying something about the snakes that you know (of).’
- b. kíkàjàrà tó: ù dò:-lí-Ø  
**new.field.L** sow 2SgS.L reach-**Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh**  
 ‘a new field that you-Sg have sown (in part) but have not reached (the boundary of)’ **2004.3.6**
- c. púlò-m nàṅà nàná jínè-Ø fú:  
 Fulbe-Pl **cow.L** chase have.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Nonh** all  
 ‘all the cattle that the Fulbe drive ahead and have possession of’  
**2004.3.10**
- d. hâl jàndùrù új-jè  
 until **donkey.L** go.up-RecPf  
 èjú ù yǎ:-Ø kâ:<sup>n</sup>  
 field 2SgS.L go.Impf-**Ppl.Nonh** even  
 ‘even a donkey that you-Sg have mounted and (will) go to the field (with)’ **2004.3.10**
- e. [cè: kò ñúnú-ṅò-Ø]  
**[thing.L NonhS.L be.ruined-Caus.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]**  
 yǎ: yàṅá-bà  
 go look.at.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘They will go and look at what it damaged (=the damage it did).’ (verb ñùnù-ṅó-) **2004.3.10**

If the head noun is human, the verb shows the regular participial suffix, Sg -n or Pl -m agreeing with the head.

- (xx3) a. à-n mì láyà-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
**man-Sg.L** 1SgS.L hit.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Sg** Def  
 ‘that (same) man whom I hit’
- b. ì-n bè nár<sup>n</sup>à-n kù<sup>n</sup>

**child-Sg.L** 3PIS.L bear.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Sg** Def  
 ‘the child that they have borne (=the child that was born).’ **2004.3.19**

c. ìnè ù á: bèr é-ṁ  
**person.L** 2SgS.L catch can.Impf-**Ppl.Sg**  
 ‘the person whom you are capable of wrestling’ **2004.3.23**

d. [ìnè làgù-m] ù ê: -m  
**[person.L other-Pl.L]** 2SgS.L see.Perf.HL-**Ppl.Pl**  
 ‘other people whom you-Sg have seen’ **2004.3.25**

See also the discussion of object relatives functioning as instrumental and similar compound-like nouns (‘oil for rubbing’) in §5.xxx.

#### 14.1.2 ‘what they call “X”

The verb *gá:* – ‘say’ can be used in a special type of object relative. This construction is very common in interview-style texts where an expert speaker is explaining e.g. agricultural techniques, and periodically introduces technical or archaic vocabulary. Jamsay ‘what they call “X”’ can be freely glossed as ‘so-called X’. The quoted term is the head, the subject is 3Pl (nonspecific referentially), the verb is a participial based on Perfective *gâ-* with H(H...)L contour, and Definite *kù<sup>n</sup>* is regularly added. With zero suffix, *gâ-* is lengthened by *gâ: -∅* by Contour-Tone Mora Addition (§3.xxx).

(xx1) a. kó≡y mòñù-cěm bè gâ: -∅ kù<sup>n</sup>  
 Nonh≡it.is “Mossi-point” 3PIS.L say.Perf.HL-NonhS Def  
 ‘it’s what they call “Mossi point(s)” [= arrows].’ **2004.3.2**

b. [ñè-m yà: -yér è-m] ñě-m  
 [woman-Pl.L go-come.HL-Ppl.Pl] woman-Pl.L  
 bè gâ-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 3PIS.L say.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘the women who(m) they call “go-come women”’ **2004.3.3**

#### 14.4 Relative of ‘it is’ clitic construction

The construction [*X≡y*] ‘it is X’ and its negation [*X≡y là:*] allow the complement X to be relativized on. The negative occurred (as part of a double negative) in a text (xx1).

(xx1) [[tìw<sup>n</sup>è ù jò: -gó-∅]≡y là: ]  
 [[tree.L 2SgS.L know-Inf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh]≡it.is Neg]  
 [tìw<sup>n</sup>è lǒy≡y là: -∅] kò: -ró

[tree.L medicine≡it.is Neg-Ppl.Nonh] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘Aside from trees that you-Sg don’t know, there is no tree that is not  
 medicine.’ 2004.3.27

A parallel example where the ‘it is’ clause is positive was elicited (xx2).

(xx2) [tîw<sup>n</sup>ê lǒy≡ŷ] kò:-ró  
 [tree.L medicine≡it.is] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is no tree that is medicine.’

This example is structurally interesting. ‘Tree’ shows the tone-dropping typical of relatives. Since a relative is at hand, there should be a Nonhuman Participial suffix -∅. However, there is no verb, or even a quasi-verb capable of taking Participial suffixes. This is “finessed” in (xx2), since the relevant Participial suffix is phonetically inaudible (zero). What happens when we force the issue by using a human head NP? Consider the simple ‘it is’ clause (xx3).

(xx3) ñě-n òyò-n≡î:  
 woman-Sg chief-Sg≡it.is  
 ‘A woman is (the) chief.’

When I tried to elicit a relative clause version, as in ‘there is no woman who is chief’, informants altered the construction rather than put Sg Participial -n on the clitic ≡ŷ (allomorph ≡î:). They either used compounds (e.g. ‘there is no woman chief’), or switched from relative clause to factive complement (xx4).

(xx4) [ñěn òyò-n≡î:] kò:-ró  
 [woman chief-Sg≡it.is] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘That a woman be chief, it does not exist.’

Note that ‘woman’ in (xx4) does not undergo tone-dropping; it is in the form of a main-clause subject (or topic) rather than a relative-clause head. I conclude that there is a morphological constraint against combining ≡ŷ ‘it is’ with nonzero Participial suffixes, but that relatives with nonhuman head are allowed since their zero Participial does not force the constraint to be audibly violated.

There is no problem in forming human participles of the negative construction, since here the Participial suffix is added to Negative lâ: (allomorph lâ-) rather than directly to the ‘it is’ clitic (xxx).

(xx5) [ñè-n òyò-n≡î: lâ-n] kò:-ró  
 [woman-Sg chief-Sg≡it.is Neg-Ppl.Sg] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is no woman who is not a chief.’ (=‘Every woman is a chief.’)

## 14.5 Possessor relative clause

I will discuss possessor relatives here, since their structure is relevant to the discussion of relatives involving complex postpositions (§14.xxx, below).

Three constructions are possible for possessor relatives.

In the first, observed once in a text, the possessor noun undergoes tone-dropping. Possessive *mà* is not present. In (xx1), *ìnè gàsègégé* could be mistaken for a compound (L-toned initial, lexical-toned final).

- (xx1) *sàná:* [ *ìnè gàsègégé bè nánà-m* ] = *î:*  
 necessarily [ **person.L animal** 3PlS.L drive.off.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl ] = Foc  
*ú:r<sup>n</sup>ô:* *má* ⇒  
 get.up.Impf Q  
 'Is it necessarily (=specifically) the people whose animals they (=Fulbe) have driven off (=rustled) [focus] who get up (and fight the Fulbe)?' **2004.4.25**

In the second construction, obtained in elicitation, the regular possessed NP phrase [X *mà* Y] 'the Y of X' is preserved intact. Relativization simply drops the tones on the possessor X.

In the third construction, observed in a text and in elicitation, the possessor is extracted from the possessed NP phrase and placed immediately to its left, but nonetheless undergoes tone-dropping. Its original place within the possessed NP phrase is occupied by a resumptive third person or Nonhuman pronominal possessor with its normal H-tone (except for L-tone, as usual, before an inalienable). The resumptive pronominal is not Reflexive/Logophoric in form.

In elicitation, my assistant gave (xx2.a) and (xx2.b) as interchangeable. (xx2.a) has the second construction with [X *mà* Y], while (xx2.b) illustrates the third type with extraction and resumptive possessor pronominal.

- (xx2) a. [ *ìnè mà ìjú* ] *mì wô:-n kù<sup>n</sup>*  
**person.L** Poss dog] 1SgS.L kill.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 'the person whose dog I killed'
- b. *ìnè [wò ìjú] mì wô:-n kù<sup>n</sup>*  
**person.L** [ **3SgP** dog] 1SgS.L kill.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 [= (a)]

Textual examples of the extraction pattern are in (xx3.a-d). (xx3.e) is an elicited example involving an inalienable noun.

- (xx3) a. *bùrò [kó lègú] éjù-Ø*  
**pond.L** [ **NonhP** earth] good.HL-Ppl.Nonh  
 'a (seasonal) pond whose clay is good (for pottery).' **2004.3.13**
- b. *ìnè [wò cé] ñáká-sà-n*  
**person.L** [ **3SgP.L** possession] be.incomplete-Reslt-Ppl.Sg

‘a person whose possession (=equipment) was incomplete (=missing something)’ **2004.3.24**

- c. [ìnè [wó búgù] wó dègè-gó-n]  
**[person.L [3SgP gunpowder] 3SgO spend.day-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Sg]**  
 gò:-lí-Ø  
 go.out-Perf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘Nobody<sub>x</sub> went out (to the bush) whose<sub>x</sub> gunpowder didn’t last him<sub>x</sub> all day.’ **2004.3.24**

- d. [ìnè [[wó jèjú] bérè] sî:<sup>n</sup>lé  
**[person.L [[3SgP body] in] disease]**  
 sówó mèy<sup>n</sup> kô-n cêw dàyá-bà  
 jab and be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Sg all leave.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘They (=colonial army recruiters) would leave (=reject) anyone in whose body a disease had penetrated and was (still there).’ **2004.4.21**

- e. ìnè [wò dê:] mì wô:-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
**person.L [3SgP.L father] 1SgS.L kill.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def**  
 ‘the child whose father I killed’

In (xx4), the possessed noun is separated from the possessor by an adverb.

- (xx4) [ìnè gàrá: jìré é:-n]≡ì: là:  
 [person.L a.lot eye see.Impf-Ppl.Sg]=it.is Neg  
 ‘(A farmer) is not someone whose eyes see a lot (while he is bent over with the hoe).’ (Imperfective participle (ê:-n) **2004.4.4**

## 14.6 PP relative clause

### 14.6.1 With simple postposition

In PP relatives, only the NP complement of the postposition is logically relativized on, as is brought out by English translations with stranded prepositions (‘the house that I live in’). However, in Jamsay, **both the postposition and the complement NP undergo tone-dropping**. The usual general features of relativization are also applicable: Participial suffix on the verb agreeing with the head, preverbal L-toned subject pronominal, and H(H...)L tone overlay on a (positive) unsuffixed Perfective verb.

The first set of examples (xx1) involve the all-purpose postposition *lè* (§8.xxx). Since *lè* is already L-toned, we cannot observe audible tone-dropping on it, but tones are audibly dropped on the preceding noun (or noun modifier).

- (xx1) a. [cè: lè] lá: kò tùmno=kò-Ø

[**thing.L Inst**] first NonhS.L begin.Impf≡be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the thing with which it first begins’ (cě:) **2004.3.6**

- b. [ìnè-m lè] wò túmnò-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [**person-Pl.L Inst**] 3SgS.L begin.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘the people with whom he began’ (íné-m)
- c. [“...” [ìnè lè] bè gá:-sà-n] kò:-ró  
 [“...” [**person.L Dat**] 3PlS.L say-Reslt-Ppl.Sg] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There was nobody to whom they (had) said “...”.’ (íné)  
**2004.3.11(emended)**
- d. jèmè-ñě-n [ìnè lè] yă: tèg-ú tégé  
 blacksmith-woman-Sg [**person.L Dat**] go speak.VblN speak  
 wò bèrê-gò-n kâ:<sup>n</sup>  
 3SgS.L can.Impf.Neg.L-Ppl.Sg any  
 [ñě-m kù<sup>n</sup> mà bèrê:] [kó nò] kò:-ró  
 [woman-Pl Def Poss in] [Nonh now] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘A blacksmith woman [topic], there is nobody among the (noble) women  
 to whom she cannot go and speak.’ (íné) **2004.3.13**
- e. dá:ɲá [cè: lè] kó bè mǎ̀-∅  
 water.jar [**thing.L Inst**] NonhO 3PlS.L build.Impf-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘Water jars, the thing (raw material) with which they make them (is ...)’  
 (cě:) **2004.3.13**

If the preposition has at least one H-tone, tone-dropping on the postposition (as well as on the complement NP) is audible. This applies to spatial postpositions such as *mánà* ‘on’ (xx2.a), and to Purposive *jé* (xx2.b-c).

- (xx2) a. [tà:bàl mánà] wò íjè-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [**table.L on.L**] 3SgS.L stand.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘the table on which he stood’ (tà:bǎl, mánà)
- b. [cè: jè] ù yà:-lí-∅  
 [**thing.L for.L**] 2SgS.L go-Perf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the thing for which (= the reason why) you-Sg did not go.’ (cě:, jé)  
**2004.3.3**
- c. [bù:dù jè]  
 [**money.L for.L**]  
 bíré mì bírè-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>  
 work(noun) 1SgS.L work.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def

‘the money for which I (have) worked’ (bú : dù, j é)

- d. [tògù dójù] mì dâ :<sup>n</sup>-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [shed.L under.L] 1SgS.L be.sitting.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘the shed (=shelter) under which I am sitting’ (tògù, dójù)

Nouns denoting places or times can be used, without a postposition, as heads of relatives in adverbial function.

- (xx3) [dâ : yà bè yérè-Ø]  
 [night.L 3PlS.L come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]  
 ‘(on) the night (when) they arrived here’ **2004.3.11**

See also the temporal, spatial, and manner adverbial clauses (special subtypes of relative clause) as described in §15.xxx.

#### 14.1.2 With complex PP of type [NP mà Postp]

Consider now what happens when the postposition is separated from its complement NP by an **intervening Possessive** morpheme (mà). This occurs with a number of spatial postpositions that take complements in the form of “possessors.”

In (xx1), an intervening mà does not prevent tone-dropping from applying to both the complement NP ‘house’ and to the postposition ‘in’. Here, then, the complex PP pattern [NP mà Postp] is treated exactly like the simple PP pattern [NP Postp] discussed above.

- (xx1) a. [[dâ : yà-nǒ : [ùrò mà bèrè : ] kùn-ó-Ø]  
 [[water.jug [house.L Poss in.L] be.in-Neg-Ppl.Nonh]  
 mà úró] kò : -ró  
 Poss house] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘There is no house that a water jug is not in’ (i.e., every house has a water jug) (úró, bèrè : ) **2004.3.13**
- b. [tògù mà dójù] mì dâ :<sup>n</sup>-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [shed.L Poss under.L] 1SgS.L be.sitting.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘the shed (=shelter) under which I am sitting’ (tògù, dójù)
- c. [ìnè mà jìrè] mì íjè-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [person.L Poss in.front.of.L] 1SgS.L stand.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘the person in front of whom I am standing’ (jìrè)
- d. [ìnè mà dî :<sup>n</sup>] mì íjè-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [person.L Poss beside.L] 1SgS.L stand.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def

‘the person close to whom I am standing’ (dǐ ɿ̃<sup>n</sup>)

- e. [ɿ̃nè mà pènè] mì íjè-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [person.L Poss beside.L] 1SgS.L stand.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘the person near whom I am standing’ (pénè)

Now consider (xx2). Here tone-dropping applies to the complement NP (‘thing’), but not to the postposition kù : <sup>n</sup> which follows it after intervening mà.

- (xx2) a. [kò fú : ] [ [cè : mà kù : <sup>n</sup> ]  
 [Nonh.L all] [[thing.L Poss on]  
 wò dɿ̃ŋê : -Ø]≡ỹ  
 3SgS.L sit.down.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]≡it.is  
 ‘All that [topic], it’s what she will sit (=live) on.’ (cě : ) 2004.3.20
- b. [cè : mà kù : <sup>n</sup> ] è jéyè-Ø  
 [thing.L Poss on] 2PlS.L fight.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the thing about (=over) which you-Pl fought’ 2004.4.6

The differential application of tone-lowering in (xx2) and (xx2) could be taken as evidence that there are two distinct types of “complex PP,” both of the form [NP mà Postp]. One of them, e.g. with bèrê : ‘in’, behaves syntactically like a simple PP. The other, e.g. with kù : <sup>n</sup>, behaves syntactically like a possessed NP phrase. This in turn suggests that kù : <sup>n</sup>, but not bèrê : et al., is still treated as a tonal locative (§8.xx), and therefore as itself a kind of mini-PP. Indeed, textual examples where kù : <sup>n</sup> can be glossed concretely as ‘on the head of’ suggest that kù : <sup>n</sup> is still closely connected by native speakers to the source noun kú : <sup>n</sup> ‘head’. The synchronic connection between bèrê : ‘in’ and the original source noun bèré ‘belly’ seems weaker.

This reasoning leads to an analysis of [X mà kù : <sup>n</sup>] ‘on NP’ as structurally [[X Poss head]-Loc], i.e., ‘on X’s head’. Here the NP complement X functions as possessor of ‘head’, not (directly) as complement of the Locative postposition. We have seen in §14.xx, above, that in one attested construction, a relativized possessor remains in place and simply drops its tones, with no change in the possessed noun. This is consistent with the tone-dropping pattern in ‘what she will sit (=live) on’ in (xx2.a), above.

Parallel to ‘on the head of’ (xx2), above, is (xx3), where the “postposition” is overtly a PP on its own.

- (xx3) [ɿ̃nè mà gũn lé] mì dâ : <sup>n</sup>-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [person.L Poss behind in] 1SgS.L be.sitting.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘the person behind whom I am sitting’

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