

Clause Structure in Gyeli

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1 Introduction

1.1 Clauses within the dissertation 'A Grammar of Gyeli'

1. Introduction
2. Phonology
3. Nominal System
4. Verbal System
5. Clauses
 - 5.1 Simple Clauses
 - i. Argument Marking and Valency
 - A. Intransitive Clauses
 - B. Transitive Clauses
 - C. Ditransitive Clauses
 - ii. Adjuncts
 - iii. Non-Verbal Clauses
 - iv. Questions
 - v. Comparison Constructions
 - 5.2 Complex Clauses
 - i. Coordination
 - ii. Subordination
 - A. Relative Clauses
 - B. Complement Clauses
 - C. Reported Speech
 - D. Conditional Clauses
 - E. Adverbial Clauses
 - 5.3 Information Structure
6. Texts
7. Lexicon

1.2 The Gyeli language

- ISO 639-3: gyi
- 'Pygmy' hunter-gatherers in southern Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea (4000-5000 speakers scattered in a vast area)
- Bantu A80 (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Northwest, A, Makaa-Njem (A.80))
- Gyeli also known under the names Bagyeli, Bakola, Bajelli, Bako, Bogyel, Likoya, Babinga...
- Contact with farming communities of other Bantu languages (Basaa, Kwasio, Bulu, Fang, Ewondo, Bakoko, Yasa)
- Endangered language because of change of subsistence
- Different varieties of Gyeli depending on contact language
- *Ngòló* variety of my dissertation spoken in the Bulu region
- Data: mostly own fieldwork within framework of a DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages) project, previous work by Renaud (1976) concentrates on variety in contact with Mvoumbo speakers and on phonology + nominal morphology; there are significant differences between the two varieties/descriptions in terms of lexicon, phonology and morphology

Outline of this talk:

1. Introduction
2. Simple clauses
 - 2.1 Valency and arguments
 - 2.2 Adjuncts
 - 2.3 Non-verbal clauses
 - 2.4 Questions
3. Complex clauses
 - 3.1 Coordination
 - 3.2 Subordination
 - Relative clauses
 - Linkless subordinate clauses
 - Complement clauses
 - Reported speech
 - Adverbial clauses

2 Simple Clauses

- Gyeli has a general S V O₁ O₂ (X₁, X₂, X₃) word order
- this order is prevalent in Bantu languages (Bearth 2003: 125)

2.1 Valency and Arguments

2.1.1 Intransitive Clauses

In intransitive clauses, the verb requires only one argument, a subject, but no object.

- (1) á vòdà
a-H vòdà
3S-PRES rest
'S/he rests.'

- Note: first line in examples is surface form, second line represents underlying form
- Note: tense is marked tonally on both subject markers and/or the verb

Subject marking

- subjects are marked by noun phrases that are nominal and/or pronominal
- the subject pronoun serves as host for potential tense marking tones
- in the present and recent past tense, the pronoun can be omitted if there is a nominal subject, in all other tenses, the subject pronoun must occur (as host for the tense tones)
- if the nominal subject is a proper name and the subject pronoun is omitted in the present tense, the tense tone attaches to the proper name (this does not happen with other nouns)

- (2) a. Màm̀bì á lù̀ngà
Màm̀bì a-H lù̀ngà
PN 3S-PRES grow
'Mambi grows.'
- b. Màm̀bí lù̀ngà
Màm̀bì-H lù̀ngà
PN-PRES grow
'Mambi grows.'

- since the subject pronoun is optional in the present tense, I consider the pronoun a free morpheme (rather than a subject concord prefix on the verb)

2.1.2 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses require two arguments, a subject and an object.

- (3) Màm̀bì à dé má-ntúà
Màm̀bì à dè-H H-ma-ntúà
PN 3S.PST1 eat-PST OBJ.LINK-6nc-mango
'Mambi ate mangoes.'

Object marking

- typically, an object follows the verb
- unlike in many other (Savannah) Bantu languages (4), there is no object marking on the verb (5)

(4) Swahili

ni-na-m-piga **Hamisi**
1S.SBJ-PRES-3S.OBJ-beat PN
'I beat Hamisi.'

(5) Gyeli

a. mé bìyó **Màmbì** S V O_N
mè-H bìyɔ-H Màm̀bì
1S-PRES beat-R PN
'I beat Mambi.'

b. mé bìyó **nyê** S V O_{PRO}
mè-H bìyɔ-H nyê
1S-PRES beat-R 3S.OBJ
'I beat him.'

Object position

- the pronominal object can be fronted and precede the verb; in this case, the verb is in the focus position
- this seems not possible with nominal objects

(6) mé nyê bìyò S O_{PRO} V
mè-H nyê bìyò
1S-PRES 3S.OBJ beat
'I BEAT him.'

2.1.3 Ditransitive Clauses

- ditransitive verbs require three arguments
- in basic sentences, the indirect object follows the verb

(7) Àdà á líbélé Màm̀bì màtùà S V IO DO
Àdà à-H líbɛɛ-H Màm̀bì màtùà
PN 1S-PRES show-R PN 1nc.car
'Ada shows Mambi a/the car.'

- the direct object can change position with the indirect object if the latter is animate and the former inanimate; in that case, the indirect (phrase final) object is in focus

(8) Àdà á líbélé màtùà Màm̀bì S V DO IO
Àdà à-H líbɛɛ-H màtùà Màm̀bì
PN 1S-PRES show-R 1nc.car PN
'Ada shows MAMBI a/the car.'

2.2 Adjuncts

- adjuncts differ from arguments in that they are not required by the verb's valency
- their order is largely variable

(9) S V DO X1 X2 X3

bùdì	bógà	bá	gyámbó	bédéwò	[ndáà] _{X1}
b-ùdì	bó-gà	ba-H	gyámbò-H	H-be-déwò	ndáà
2nc-person 2-other 2P-PRES prepare-R OBJ.LINK-8nc-food also					
[kìsínì	dé	tù] _{X2}	[nà ménó] _{X3}		
kìsínì	dé	tù	nà ménó		
7nc.kitchen LOC inside ? 7nc.morning					

'Other people will also prepare food in the kitchen tomorrow.'

2.3 Non-verbal Clauses

- there are several types of clauses that do not involve a verb
- demonstratives can serve as predicates as in (10)
- in this case, the demonstrative precedes the noun which is usually follows

(10) nû mwánò wâ
 nû m-wánò w-â
 1.DEM/PROX 1nc-child 1-1S.POSS
 'This is my child.'

- also a possessive pronoun can serve as predicate as in (11)
- in both (10) and (11), no copula is needed

(11) nkwànò wô wâ
 nkwànò wô w-â
 3nc.honey 3.DEM.PROX 3-1S.POSS
 'The honey is mine.'

- a copula is used in identity statements as in (12)
- the copula is formally similar to the subject marker from which it only differs in the tonal pattern
- the copula agrees with the head noun

(12) Àdà áà ngèlénè
 Àdà áà ngèlénè
 PN 3S.COP 1nc.teacher
 'Ada is a teacher.'

- the identificational marker wé is invariable

(13) ntémbó wâ wé nû
 ntémbó w-â wé nû
 1nc.younger.brother 1-POSS.1S ID 1.DEM.PROX
 'My younger brother is this.'

- in cleft sentences, the class 7 identificational marker *yí* in its short or *yî* in its long form is used as a default

- (14) *yí(i)* bwánò bá dé mántúà
yí(i) b-wánò ba-H dè-H H-ma-ntúà
 7.ID 2nc-child 2-PRES eat-R OBJ.LINK-6nc-mango
 'It's the children who eat mangoes.'

2.4 Questions

based on Question Type Questionnaire (Riedel & Patin 2011: 161-170)

- polar questions
- tag questions
- wh-questions

2.4.1 Polar and Tag Questions

- in questions without question words (wh-questions), a phrase is usually marked by a question marker *nà* (15b), unless it is clear from the context that the phrase is a question, then there is no marking (15a) (not even intonational)

- (15) a. *wè nyé nyê?*
wè nyê-H nyê
 2S.PST1 see-R 3S
 'Did you see him?'
 b. *nà wè nyé nyê*
nà wè nyê-H nyê
 Q 2S.PST1 see-R 3S
 'Did you see him?'

- for emphasis, the particle *nâ* can be used after the question marker
- pragmatic function: expressing speaker's disbelief

- (16) *nà nâ wè nyé nyê?*
nà nâ wè nyê-H nyê
 Q like.this? 2S.PST1 see-R 3S
 'Did you really see him?'

- a polar question can also be phrased as a tag question with the question tag *ngáà* which can occur at the beginning or the end of the question
- the question is tonally and syntactically identical to the affirmative clause

- (17) a. *wè nyé nyê, ngáà?*
wè nyê-H nyê ngáà
 2S.PST1 see-R 3S Q(tag)
 'You saw him, didn't you/right?'
 b. *ngáà, wè nyé nyê?*
ngáà wè nyê-H nyê
 Q(tag) 2S.PST1 see-R 3S
 'Right, you saw him?'

2.4.2 Wh- Questions

wh-question words for subjects and objects are expressed by interrogative pronouns *nzá* 'who' and *gyí* 'what', differentiating animate and inanimate arguments

Subject

- subject interrogative pronouns always occur in situ, i.e. phrase initially
- preference to use progressive marker *nzí* in past questions

- (18) a. **nzá** *nzí* *nyê Màm̀bì?*
 nzá nzí-H nyê Màm̀bì
 who PROG-R see PN
 `Who saw Mambi?'
 b. **gyí** *nzí* *bvú̀d̀ kàsà?*
 gyí nzí-H bvú̀d̀ kàsà
 what PROG-R break 7nc.bridge
 `What broke the bridge?'

Object

- in basic question, object interrogative pronoun occurs phrase initially (object fronting)

- (19) a. **nzá** *wèé* *kwálélé?* O S V
 nzá wèé kwálélé-lé
 who 2S.PRES.NEG like-NEG
 `Who don't you like?'
 b. **gyí** *Àdà láá* *pá'á* *wà* *sâ?* O S V X
 gyí Àdà láá-H pá'á wà sâ
 what PN read-R 1nc.side 1:ATT 1nc.father
 `What does Ada read for father?'

- the object interrogative pronoun can also occur in situ and is then in focus

- (20) a. *wèé* *kwálélé* **nzá?** S V O
 wèé kwálélé-lé nzá
 2S.PRES.NEG like-NEG who
 `WHO don't you like?'
 b. *Àdà láá* **gyí** *pá'á* *wà* *sâ?* S V O X
 Àdà láá-H gyí pá'á wà sâ
 PN read-R what 1nc.side 1:ATT 1nc.father
 `WHAT does Ada read for father?'

Double object, IO

- question words either phrase-initial (21a) or in situ (21b)
- phrase-final interrogative pronouns are in focus (21c)

- (21) a. **nzá** *á* *vé* *béfùm̀bí?* IO S V DO
 nzá a-H vê-H H-be-fùm̀bí
 who 3S-PRES give-R OBJ.LINK-8nc-orange
 `Whom does s/he give the oranges?'

- b. á vé **nzá** bèfùmíbí? S V IO DO
 a-H vê-H nzá be-fùmíbí
 3S-PRES give-R who 8nc-orange
 'Whom does s/he give the oranges?'
- c. á vé bэфùmíbí **nzá**? S V DO IO
 a-H vê-H H-be-fùmíbí nzá
 3S.PRES give-R 8nc-orange who
 'WHOM does s/he give the oranges?'

Double object, DO

- the same holds for direct object questions

- (22) a. **gyí** wé gyíkésé bwánò? DO S V IO
 gyí wε-H gyíkεε-H b-wánò
 what 2S-PRES teach-R 2nc-child
 'What do you teach the children?'
- b. wé gyíkésé **gyí** bwánò? S V DO IO
 wε-H gyíkεε-H gyí b-wánò
 2S-PRES teach-R what 2nc-child
 'What do you teach the children?'
- c. wé gyíkésé bwánò **gyí**? S V IO DO
 wε-H gyíkεε-H b-wánò gyí
 2S-PRES teach-R 2nc-child what
 'WHAT do you teach the children?'

Questions with comitative marker *nà*

- questions with reciprocal verbs require the comitative marker *nà*

- the object is then marked twice: 1) interrogative pronoun (usually phrase initial) and 2) as object pronoun following the comitative

- (23) a. **nzá** yáà lá **nà** nyê? O1 S V COM O1
 nzá yáà lâ-H **nà** nyê
 who 1P.PST2 talk-R COM 3S.OBJ
 'Who did we talk to?'
- b. **nzá** wè nzí làdtò **nà** nyê tísòní? O1 S V COM O1 X
 nzá wε nzî-H làdtò **nà** nyê tísòní
 who 2S PROG-PST meet COM 3S.OBJ 7nc.town
 'Who did you meet in town?'

- other contexts where the comitative is required are instrumental/manner questions including 'with'

- here, the comitative usually occurs phrase initially

- two different constructions: 1) [PRO COM who] 'they and who', 2) [COM 2-who] 'with who (Pl)'

- (24) a. **bá nà nzá bâ kè pê?**
 bá nà nzá bâ kɛ-H pê
 3P COM who 3P.FUT go there
 'Who will they go there with?'
- b. **nà bà-nzá bwánò bá nzí dúnà é wû?**
 nà ba-nzá b-wánò ba-H nzî-H dúnà é wû
 COM 2-who 2nc-child 3P-PRES PROG-R quarrel LOC there
 'Who do the children argue with there?'

Adjunct questions

- wh-question words asking for adjuncts usually occur at the beginning of the phrase

- (25) Locative

é vé wéè lúmèlè bwánò sùkúli? X1 S V O X2
 é vé wéè lúmele b-wánò sùkúli
 LOC where 2S.FUT send 2nc-child 7nc.school
 'Where will you send the children to school?'

- temporal questions are formed with NPs: 'what day' or 'what time', depending on the speaker's expectation for the answer

- (26) Temporal

- a. **dúβò lé vé à nzí pámò?** X1 S V
 dúβò lé vé a nzî-H pámò
 5nc.day 5:ATT which 3S PROG-R arrive
 'When did she arrive (what day)?'
- b. **wùlà yá vé à nzí pámò?** X1 S V
 wùlà yá vé a nzî-H pámò
 7nc.hour 7:ATT which 3S PROG-R arrive
 'When did she arrive (what time)?'

3 Complex Clauses

3.1 Coordination

- three coordination relations (Mauri 2008, Haspelmath 2007):

- combination (conjunction) *nà* 'and'
- contrast (adversative coordination) *ndí* 'but'
- alternative (disjunction) *nânà/kânà* 'or'

Combination coordination

- coordinations that are temporally simultaneous are always coordinated with the comitative *nà*

(27) Simultaneous

á gyímbó **nà** sá mákwási
a-H gyímbɔ-H **nà** sâ-H H-ma-kwási
3S-PRES dance-R COM do-R OBJ.LINK-6nc-clapping
'He is dancing and clapping (his hands).'

- temporally sequential events are preferably expressed by temporal adverbs in a subordinate clause, but the comitative is also possible in a coordination

(28) Sequential

- a. mɛ djí mbê **kóò/yéré** kè
mɛ djî-H mbê kóò/yéré kè
1S.PST1 open-PST1 3nc.door just/then go
'I opened the door, just/then leaving.'
- b. mɛ djí mbê **nà** kè
mɛ djî-H mbê **nà** kè
1S.PST1 open-PST1 3nc.door COM go
'I opened the door and left.'

- atemporal events are usually not coordinated with the comitative *nà*, but simply juxtaposed in linkless clauses

- sentences from the questionnaire were modified into either oppositions or sequences ('Doctors are rich and lawyers marry pretty girls.' → 'Doctors are rich, but/then lawyers marry pretty girls.')

(29) Atemporal

bàmpê bá dé bátídí (?nà) bàkfúbò bá dé
ba-mpê ba-H dè-H H-ba-tídí (?nà) ba-kfúbò ba-H dè-H
2nc-dog 2-PRES eat-R OBJ.LINK-2nc-meat (?COM) 2nc-chicken 2-PRES eat-R
mákà
H-ma-ka
OBJ.LINK-6nc-leaf
'Dogs eat meat (?and) chicken eat leaves.'

Contrast coordination

- different subtypes of contrast 'depending on origin of conflict' (Mauri 2008, Haspelmath 2007): 1) oppositive, 2) corrective, 3) counterexpectative

- all of these subtypes are expressed with the same contrast coordination marker *ndí* 'but'

(30) a. Oppositive

mè gyàgá békùndá ndí Àdà à gyàgá
 mε gyàga-H H-be-kùndá ndí Àdà a gyàga-H
 1S.PST1 buy-PST1 OBJ.LINK-8nc-shoe but PN 3S.PST1 buy-PST1
 tsílè yá sòtì
 tsílè yá sòtì
 7nc.smallness 7:ATT 1nc.trousers
 'I bought shoes whereas Ada bought shorts.'

b. Corrective

á sàlé béd̀t̀ò nkòlé mpfùnd̀ò ndí à nzí kè
 a-H sàlé béd̀t̀ò nkòlé mpfùnd̀ò ndí a nzî-H kè
 3S-NEG PST.NEG ascend 3nc.hill fast but 3S.PST1 PROG-R go
 nà kè tsídéè
 nà kè tsídéè
 COM 7nc.walk slow
 'He didn't run up the hill, but went slowly.'

c. Counterexpectative

Àdà á dyà nté bvùbvù ndí àá lálé
 Àdà a-H dyà nté bvùbvù ndí àá lá-lé
 PN 3S-PRES 7nc.tallness 3nc.size much but 3S.PRES.NEG play-NEG
 basket
 basket
 basketball
 'Ada is very tall, but he doesn't play basketball.'

Alternative coordination

- alternative coordination can be expressed with both *kânà* and *nânà* 'or'

- (31) a. wé njí nà bì nânà/kânà wé lígè?
 wε-H njî-H nà bì nânà/kânà wε-H lígε
 2S-PRES come-R COM 1P.OBJ or 2S-PRES stay
 'Do you come with us or do you stay?'
- b. kânà àà njì nà byô ká(nà) àà lúmèlè
 kânà àà njì nà b-yô ká(nà) àà lúmèlè
 or 3S.FUT come COM 8-OBJ or 3S.FUT send
 'Either he will bring it or he will send it.'

3.2 Subordination

- difference subordination and coordination (Haspelmath 2007: 46-48):

- coordination for phrases and clauses, subordination restricted to clauses
- coordination: symmetrical relation between two coordinated elements; subordination: clausal dependency

- prosodic difference in Gyeli: coordination is one intonation phrase, subordination different intonation phrases

3.2.1 Relative Clauses

"A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC." (Andrews 2007: 206)

- Gyeli does not have a distinct grammatical class of relative pronouns, but may use attributive linkers (ATT) that are also used in noun + noun constructions

AGR class	ATT linker
1	wà
2	bá
3	wá
4	mí
5	lé
6	má
7	yá
8	bé
9	nyà

Table 1: Attributive linkers in the different agreement classes

- relative clauses (RC) may either be marked by an attributive linker ATT or may not be marked morphologically; often, the attributive linker is optional

- relative clauses are marked prosodically: 1) verb final relative clauses take a boundary tonal pattern, 2) there is a pause at the end of a relative clause which is treated as an intonation phrase

- based essentially on the Relative Clause Questionnaire (BantuSyn Project Members 2010: 243-250)

- accounting for different types of relative clauses (restrictive, non-restrictive, cleft, free) in different positions in sentence and head of RC varying in grammatical function

- free relative: "relative word in the nominal relative clause has no antecedent, since the antecedent is fused with the relative" (*I know what you want.*) (McArthur 2005)

Head of RC is subject of RC

- the relative clause follows the NP it modifies

- no attributive linker needed for marking relative clause, but optional (at least if modified NP is human)

(32) Head of RC is subject of RC

a. restrictive: S1 [S1 V V] S1 V O X

bwánò	bùdâ	[bá	lìmbó	dyúà]	bá	sá
b-wánò	b-ùdâ	ba-H	lìmbò-H	dyúà	ba-H	sâ-H
2nc-child	2nc-woman	2-PRES	know-R	swim	3S-PRES	do-R
má-sâ	é	nsá'à	wá	jíwó		
H-ma-sâ	é	nsá'à	wá	jíwó		
OBJ.LINK-6nc-game	LOC	3nc.shore	3:ATT	7nc.river		

'The girls who know how to swim are playing at the riverbanks.'

b. non-restrictive: S1 [S1 V O] COP S1

Àdà [á lĩmbó mbásâ] àà só wáà
 Àdà a-H lĩmbɔ-H mbásâ àà só w-áà
 PN 3S-PRES know-R 7nc.hunt 3S.COP 1nc.friend 1-POSS.1S

'Ada who knows how to hunt is my friend.'

c. cleft: V S1 [(ATT) S1 V O X]

yí bwánò bùdâ [(bá) bá sá másâ
 yí b-wánò b-ùdâ (bá) ba-H sâ-H H-ma-sâ
 7.ID 2nc-child 2nc-woman (2:ATT) 2-PRES do-R OBJ.LINK-6nc-game
 é jíwó]
 é jíwó
 LOC 7nc.river

'It's the girls who are playing by the river.'

d. free relative: S V O [V X]

mé nyé mùdì/nzá [nzí nji pá'à wáà]
 mɛ-H nyê-H m-ùdì/nzá nzî-H nji pá'à w-áà
 1S-PRES see-R 1nc-person/who PROG-PST1 come 3nc.side 3-POSS.1S

'I see (the person) who passed by me.'

- intuition on ATT: rather used with/for: inanimate, emphasis (cleft sentences more likely to use ATT)

Head of RC is direct object of RC

- relative clause immediately follows NP it modifies

- if relative clause modifies subject of main clause, the subject of the relative clause just follows the main subject NP

- if the relative clause doesn't have an attributive linker, the direct object is not expressed and therefore the RC is headless

- if the relative clause modifies the direct object of the main clause, an attributive linker is required (more likely to be used?) as in (33d)

(33) Head of RC is direct object of RC

a. restrictive: S1 [S2 V] S1 V X

bwánò bùdâ [wè nzí nyê] báà kè máà
 b-wánò b-ùdâ wɛ nzî-H nyê báà kè máà
 2nc-child 2nc-woman 2S.PST1 PROG-PST1 see 2.FUT go 6nc.sea

'The girls who you saw will go to the sea.'

b. non-restrictive: S1 [S2 V X] COP S1

míyù wáà [wè nzí nyê ndtáwò] àà
 míyù w-áà wɛ nzî-H nyê ndtáwò àà
 1nc.sibling 1-POSS.1S 2S.PST1 PROG-PST1 see 9nc.house 3S.COP
 ŋgyé'èlè
 ŋgyé'èlè
 1nc-teacher

'My brother, who you saw at the house, is a teacher.'

c. cleft: ID S1 [S2 V]

yí bwánò bùdâ [wè nzí nyê]
yí b-wánò b-ùdâ wε nzí-H nyê
7.ID 2nc-child 2nc-woman 2S.PST1 PROG-PST1 see

'It the girls who you saw.'

d. free relative: S1 V IO DO [ATT.DO S2 V]

mè láà bò mùdì [wà Àdà kwàlè]
mε láà-H bô m-ùdì wà Àdà kwàlè
1S.PST1 tell 2.OBJ 1nc-person 1:ATT PN like

'I told them who Ada likes.'

Head of RC is indirect object of RC

- again, the relative clause immediately follows the NP it modifies

- the indirect object can be expressed in the RC with an object pronoun rather than with the attributive linker as in (34b)

(34) Head of RC is indirect object of RC

a. restrictive: S1 [S2 V DO] COP

mwánò mùdâ [mè nzí vè kálàdè] áà mpâ
m-wánò m-ùdâ mε nzí-H vè kálàdè áà mpâ
1nc-child 1nc-woman 1S.PST1 PROG-PST1 give 7nc.book 3S.COP good

'The girl to whom I gave the book is nice.'

b. non-restrictive: S1 [IO S2 V DO] COP

Àdà [nyè Màm̀bì vé kálàdè] áà mpâ
Àdà nyè Màm̀bì vê-H kálàdè áà mpâ
PN 3S.OBJ PN give-R 7nc.book 3S.COP good

'Ada, to whom Mambi gives the book, is nice.'

c. cleft: ID S1 [ATT.IO S2 V DO]

yí bwánò bùdâ [bá áà lúm̀èlè békùl̀à]
yí b-wánò b-ùdâ bá áà lúm̀èlè H-be-kùl̀à
7.ID 2nc-child 2nc-woman 2:ATT 3S.FUT send OBJ.LINK-8nc-present

'It's the girls that she will send the presents to.'

d. free relative: S1 V [IO S2 V DO]

mé l̀imbó [nzá áà líb̀èlè b́éyìgà]
mé l̀imbó-H nzá áà líb̀èlè H-be-yìgà
1S.PRES know-R who 3S.FUT show OBJ.LINK-8nc-picture

'I know who she will show the pictures to.'

Linkless subordinate clauses

- in linkless subordinate clauses, there is no grammatical element linking the two clauses
- the subordinate clause functions as an intonational phrase and is followed by a pause
- in (35), the subordinate clause can only precede the main clause since the subordinate clause doesn't express its subject
- the verb in the subordinate clause occurs in its infinitival form and is thus uninflected for tense and realis marking

(35) pá mò tísò nì, á sù mé lé bù ò [V X] S V O
pá mò tísò nì a-H sù mé lé b-ù ò
arrive 7nc.town 3S-PRES greet-R 2nc-person
'After having arrived in town, he greets the people.'

- in contrast to (35), the temporal clause in (36) can also occur at the end of the sentence (question then: is it a subordinate clause or just a fronted adjunct?)

(36) mì mbvú mí lálè lâ/dè, mè bé mè bée sù kù lì
mì mbvú mí lálè lâ/dè mε bε-H mε bée sù kù lì
4nc-year 4-three pass/today 1S.PST be-PST1 1S.PST be.? 7nc.school
'Three years ago, I was in school.'

Complementizer *nâ*

(37) S1 V [COMP S1 V O]
mé sisó [nâ mé nyé má ndá wò]
mε-H sisò-H nâ mε-H nyê-H H-ma-ndá wò
1S-PRES be.happy-R COMP 1S-PRES see-R OBJ.LINK-6nc-houses
'I'm happy to see the houses.'

- in complement clauses expressing a wish or order, the verb will be in the optative form in the subordinate clause

(38) S1 V [COMP S2 V O]
mé wú mbé nâ á gya mbó ò bédé wò
mε-H wú mbε-H nâ a-H gya mbó ò be-dé wò
1S-PRES want-R COMP 3S-PRES cook.OPT 8nc-food
'I want her/him to cook food.'

- the same is true for main clauses expressing prohibitions/laws/taboo

(39) yî bé mē mpí ndá [nâ mé dé è]
yî bé-H mē mpí ndá nâ mε-H dé è
7.ID be-R 1S.OBJ 9nc.prohibition COMP 1S-PRES eat.OPT
'It was forbidden for me to eat.'

- the complementizer is also used with certain temporal adverbs as in (40)

(40) sò ò nâ á pá mò tísò nì, á sù mé lé bù ò
sò ò nâ a-H pá mò tísò nì a-H sù mé lé b-ù ò
before COMP 3S-PRES arrive-R 7nc.town 3S-PRES greet-R 2nc-person
'Before he arrives in town, he greets the people.'

Reported speech

- reported speech is expressed with the complementizer *nâ*
- most often, the quotative index (QI) (Güldemann 2008) is the main clause of a complement construction, most often using the say verb *kî* 'say'
- reported discourse (RD) most often direct

(41) [yóò bá kî nâ]_{QI} [éékè mwánò wéè mùdâ wà
yóò ba-H kî-H nâ éékè m-wánò w-éè m-ùdâ wà
so 2-PRES say-R COMP EXCL 1nc-child 1-POSS.3S 1nc-woman 1:ATT
nù à bwáá]_{RD}
nù a bwáá
1:DEM 3SPST1 give.birth.PRF

'So they say: "Oh, his child who is the wife of that one, has already given birth".'

- the quotative index can also just consist of speaker reference and the complementizer

(42) [nyè nâ]_{QI} [ooh mùdâ, bàmbé, kè djî mbómbò mwánò
nyè nâ ooh m-ùdâ bàmbé, kè djî mbómbò m-wánò
3S COMP EXCL 1nc-woman sorry go ask.IMP 1nc.homonym 1nc-child
sá yí dè]_{RD}
sá yí dè
7nc.thing 7.DEM eat

'He: "Oh, wife, excuse me, go and ask the homonym [the other Nzambi] for a little to eat.'

- (43) is an example of indirect speech

(43) [mùdì wà sòndyé à nzí kî nâ]_{QI} [ká mè nyé
m-ùdì wà sòndyé a nzí-H kî nâ ká me nyé-H
1nc-person 1:ATT 1nc.police 3S.PST PROG-R say COMP if 1S.PST see-R
àksidê]_{RD}
àksidê
1nc.accident

'The police officer asked whether I saw that accident.'

Adverbial clauses

- Gyeli has various adverbials introducing adverbial subordinate clauses

- temporal: *sóò* 'before', *písè* 'after', *lí* 'when'; all with COMP
- cause/reason: *púù yá* 'because (reason of)'
- conditional: *ká* 'if'
- concession: *tó mpù* 'even though, although'

- adverbial subordinate clauses can both precede and follow the main clause

(44) Temporal

mè nzí nô fótò [lí nâ Àdà à nzí bè
 me nzî-H nô fótò lí nâ Àdà a nzî-H bè
 1S.PST PROG.PST1 take 1nc.photo when COMP PN 3S.PST PROG.PST1 be
 à nzéé dè mántúà]
 a nzéé dè H-ma-ntúà
 3S PROG eat 6nc-mango

'I was taking photos while Ada was eating mangoes.'

(45) Reason

yà nzí gyâ djî [púù yá (nâ) lèvídó
 ya nzî-H gyâ djî púù yá (nâ) le-vidó
 1P.PST PROG-R sleep 7nc.forest 7nc.reason 7:ATT (COMP) 5nc-darkness
 lè múà djî]
 le múà djî
 5.PST PROSP 7nc.forest

'We slept in the forest because it was about to get dark in the forest.'

(46) Conditional

[ká wé wúmbé djímbèlè lébimbú] déè pémbó
 ká wε-H wúmbε-H djímbεle H-le-bímbú déè pémbó
 if 2S-PRES want-R lose OBJ.LINK-5nc-weight eat.IMP 7nc.bread
 mwánò sâ
 m-wánò sâ
 1nc-child 7nc.thing

'If you want to lose weight, eat less bread.'

(47) Concession

à bwámó djî [tò mpù á sàlé
 a bwámɔ-H djî tò mpù á sàlé
 3S.PST receive-PST1 7nc.position even like.this 3S.PST.NEG NEG.PST
 sílé sùkúli]
 síle-H sùkúli
 finish-R 7nc.school

'He got the job although he didn't finish school.'

4 Outlook

- fill in gaps in data
- organize and structure different constructions that I find
- good diagnostics for complementation and subordination

Abbreviations

1S	first person singular	HL	falling tone
1P	first person plural	ID	identificational marker
2S	second person singular	IMP	imperative
2P	second person plural	INCEP	inceptive
3S	third person singular	IO	indirect object
3P	third person plural	L	low tone
AGR	agreement	LH	raising tone
ANA	anaphoric	nc	noun class
ANT	anterior	NEG	negation
APP	applicative	NOM	nominal
ATT	attributive linker	OBJ	object
BEN	benefactive	OBJ.LINK	object linker
C	consonants	PRF	perfect
CAUS	causative	OM	object marker
cl.	class	PRES	present
COM	comitative	PRO	pronoun
COMP	complementizer	PROG	progressive
COMPL	completive	PROSP	prospective
COP	copula	PROX	proximal
DEM	demonstrative	PST	past
DIST	distal	QUOT	quotative
DISTR	distributive	R	realis
DO	direct object	SIM	similative
F	final vowel	TAM	tense, aspect, mood
FUT	future	V	vowel
H	high tone	σ	syllable

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