

Relative clauses in Cuwabo

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Abstract

This paper gives an overview of the morphology and syntax of relative clause constructions in Cuwabo, an understudied P34 Bantu language spoken in North-eastern Mozambique. While most Bantu languages make use of some relative markers, usually derived from demonstratives or possessives pronouns, Cuwabo does not have any morphological markers to indicate relativeness. Rather, the language uses specific verb forms that correspond to the conjoint tenses forms. Another characteristic of Cuwabo, which is even more peculiar among the relatives in Bantu, is that, while the logical subject only appears post-verbally, the subject marker on the relativized verb always agrees with the antecedent element, i.e. the head noun, giving constructions such as ‘the trees are cutting the man’ to express the object relative ‘the trees that the man is cutting’.

After presenting the formal connection between relativization and the conjoint/disjoint system in Cuwabo, I will examine in detail this question of agreements in Cuwabo relatives and will try to draw parallels with the same constructions in some other Bantu languages. We will pay particular attention to the non-subject relatives whose logical subject can, under its pronominal form, be cliticized to the verb. In this respect, it will be interesting to confront this morphosyntactic construction with Makhuwa’s (P31).¹

Plan

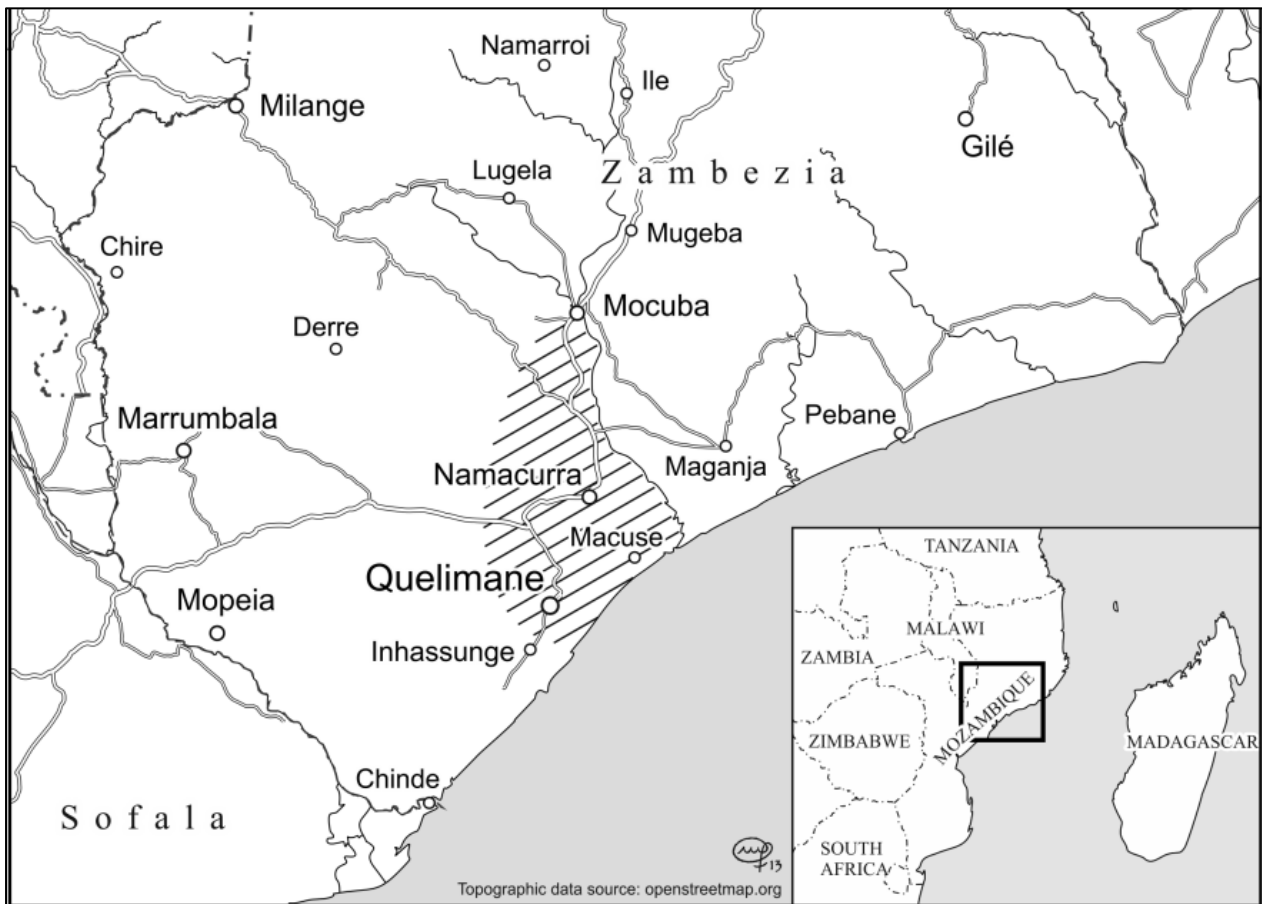
1. A few words on Cuwabo²
2. Cuwabo Verbal morphology
3. Basic typology of Bantu relatives
4. Subject relatives
5. Non-subject relatives
6. Instrumental and Comitative relatives
7. Negative relatives
8. Specific issues (Habitual marker / Fixed expressions / Clefting and wh-questions)

¹ The following abbreviations will be used in this talk: 1SG = 1st Person Singular ; 2SG = 2nd Person Singular ; 2PL = 2nd Person Plural ; 3SG = 3rd Person Singular ; 3PL = 3rd Person Plural ; APPL = Applicative ; CE = Counterexpectational ; CL = Class ; CJ = Conjoint ; COP = Copula ; DEM = Demonstrative ; DET = Determiner ; DJ = Disjoint ; Ext. = Extension ; F = Falling (tone) ; FUT = Future ; FV = Final Vowel ; HTD = High Tone Doubling ; H = High (tone) ; INE = Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas ; L = Low (tone) ; LOC = Locative ; MS = Macrostem ; NC = Noun Class ; NEG = Negative ; NP = Noun Phrase ; OM = Object Marker ; PERF = Perfective ; PFT = Perfect ; PL = Predicative Lowering ; POSS = Possessive ; PRO = Pronoun ; PST = Past ; REL = Relative ; SM = Subject Marker ; TAM = Tense Aspect Mood ; VB = Verbal Base

1 A few words on Cuwabo

- Eastern Bantu language, P34 (Guthrie 1967-71), Mozambique
- belongs to the P30 Makuwa group, the largest one in the country.
- more than 800.000 speakers (INE 2007), mostly around Quelimane city (Southern part of the Zambezia Province in Mozambique).

Figure 1: Map of the Cuwabo speaking area



Phonology

- 5-vowel system
- vowel length contrast but no penultimate lengthening
- Among more peculiar consonants:
- retroflex stops /t/ (-tt-)³ and /d/ (-dd-)
 - retroflex sonorant /ɽ/ (-lr-)
 - fricative dental /θ/ (-dh-)

³ in accordance with the orthographic standardization of Mozambican languages decided by the NELIMO (Núcleo de Estudos das Línguas Moçambicanas)

Tonology

- binary system of H and L tones (acute accent for H).
- Tone Bearing Unit : mora
- High Tone Doubling (HTD) : an underlying H doubles onto the next mora
- Falling contour tone : result of HTD, appear on surface only on prosodic purposes.

(1) waábâla⁴ ‘wear clothes’
waábálela ‘dress well’

- Lexical and grammatical functions of tones :

Lexical : distinguish words’ meaning

Grammatical : express grammatical distinctions

2 Verbal morphology

Table 1: Structure of the inflected verb stem

NEG	initial (SM)	TAM	NEG	TAM	MacroStem			
					OM	stem		
						VB	FV	
						root (Ext.)		
	ó					gul	á	‘to buy’
ka	ddi					gul íh	île	‘I did not sell’
	mu		hi	ná	ddí	nyimul	a	‘before you offend me’
	o	gaa	hí			súñz	i	‘if you do not study’

- One slot only for object marking (OM) on the verb.
- OM exist only for the 1st and 2nd persons, and classes 1 and 2.
- Distinction between H-toned and L-toned verbal stems (lexical tone for H verbs) > common in Bantu, but not in surrounding languages (Makhuwa, Sena)

⁴ In this work, only H and F tones will be assigned with respectively acute and circumflex accents over the segment. L tone is not graphically represented (default tone).

3 Basic typology of Bantu relatives

Different morpho-syntactic strategies for relative constructions in Bantu (Downing and al. 2010)

- specific relative conjugation (Chewa, Shingazidja, Makonde)
- relativizer (Chewa, Luganda, Shingazidja, Tswana)
- relative subject marker (Zulu)
- connective marker (Chimwiini, Mbochi)
- demonstrative marker (Bàsàa, among others).

Question of variation in agreement among Bantu: what does the SM on the verb agree with?

- At least three types of relatives in Bantu languages (cf. Demuth & Harford 1999, Zeller 2004, Henderson 2007 among others)

(2) Type 1: Agreement with relativized NP and the subject (Henderson 2007)

Type 2: Agreement with subject only

Type 3: Agreement with relativized NP only

Type 1: “an affixal complementizer displays agreement with the relativized NP while the verb displays agreement with the subject.” (Henderson 2007)

(3) Shona (S10) (Demuth & Harford 1999)

mbatya dza-va-kason-era vakadzi mwenga
10.clothes 10REL-2SM-sewed-APPL1 2.woman 2.bride
‘clothes which the women sewed for the bride’

Type 2: “while a complementizer is present, it does not display agreement with the relativized NP. However, the verb does agree with the subject.” (Henderson 2007)

(4) Swati (S43) (Zeller 2004)

umfati tintfombi la-ti-m-elekelela-ko⁵
1.woman 10.girl REL-10-1OM-help-RS
‘the woman whom the girls help’

⁵ Here *la-ti-melekelelako* is the underlying form. On the surface it actually appears as *le-ti-melekelelako*. This vocalic change on the relative morpheme from [a] to [e] is due to an assimilation in height with the vowel of the following subject prefix.

Type 3: No segmental relative marker. The SM on the verb agrees with the relativized NP, i.e. the head noun, and not the logical subject, which remains in a postverbal position, as in type 1 relatives.
 > Common in North-western Bantu languages.

- (5) Dzamba (zone C) (Bokamba 1976)
 imundondo **mú**-kpa-aki omoto
 5.jug 5.REL-took-IMP person
 ‘the jug which the person took’

What about Cuwabo?

Table 2: Characteristics of relatives clauses in Cuwabo compared with some other Bantu languages

Language	S-V inversion ⁶	Rel pronoun	Rel clitic	Rel agrees with relativized NP	SM agrees with relativized NP	Tone
Shona - T1	yes	×	yes	yes	×	yes
Swati - T2	×	×	yes	×	×	?
Dzamba - T3	yes	×	×	×	yes	yes
Cuwabo - T3	yes	×	×	×	yes	× (yes)

Cuwabo relatives are formally identical with conjoint verb forms.

- Distinction between conjoint (CJ) and disjoint (DJ) verb forms
- Terminology: “conjoint/disjoint” (Meeusen 1959); “conjunctive/disjunctive” (Creissels 1996).
- Despite their different segmental morphology, these verb forms encode the same tense/aspect semantics, but differ in their relation with what follows the verb. The conjoint form cannot appear clause-finally, while the disjoint form canonically does appear in clause-final position, as illustrated with Cuwabo in (6).

- (6) a. Conjoint : *ddińgúlá ‘I am buying’ > ddińgúlá nyumba ‘I am buying a house’
 b. Disjoint : ddínógúlá ‘I am buying’

- CJ/DJ alternation is often associated with focal interpretations.
- In Cuwabo, 7 basic conjugations with the CJ/DJ alternation: present, present perfective, past imperfective, past perfective, future, continuous future and conditional, but only in the affirmative form.
- Cuwabo affirmative relative verb forms are formally identical to these 7 CJ forms.
- Cuwabo negative relatives exist, using the negative prefix -hi-.

⁶ S-V inversion occurs with the relativization of object, locatives, and instrumentals.

Table 3: Present form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
o-ń-gúla nyumba <i>'he is buying a house'</i>	o-n-límá mpeza <i>'he is cultivating sesame'</i>	... o-ń-lóga <i>'who is talking'</i>	... o-n-líma <i>'who is cultivating'</i>
o-ń-mú-gulá raya <i>'he is buying a ray'</i>	o-ni-múlíma naambedde <i>'he is cultivating maize'</i>	... o-ń-mú-logā <i>'who is talking to him'</i>	... o-ni-mú-líma <i>'who is cultivating it'</i>
o-ń-lévéléla efaádhîmu <i>'he is forgiving the snake'</i>	o-m-béddégela bahari <i>'he is staring at the tattoo'</i>	... o-m-péréngéza <i>'who is informing'</i>	... o-n-líbélela <i>'who is swearing'</i>
o-ń-mú-levelélá mulezéli <i>'he is forgiving the alcoholic'</i>	o-ni-m-béddegela bwerubwerú <i>'he is staring at the shrimp'</i>	... o-ń-m-peréngéza <i>'who is informing him'</i>	... o-ni-mú-líbelela <i>'who is swearing to him'</i>

Table 4: Past Imperfective form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
waá-gúla nyumba <i>'he was buying a house'</i>	waá-líma mpeza <i>'he was cultivating sesame'</i>	... waá-logā <i>'who was talking'</i>	... waá-limā <i>'who was cultivating'</i>
waá-mú-gula raya <i>'he was buying a ray'</i>	waá-mú-lima naambedde <i>'he was cultivating maize'</i>	... waá-mú-logā <i>'who was talking to him'</i>	... waá-mú-limā <i>'who was cultivating it'</i>
waá-lévelela efaádhîmu <i>'he was forgiving the snake'</i>	waá-béddegela bahari <i>'he was staring at the tattoo'</i>	... waá-pérengezā <i>'who was informing'</i>	... o-n-líbélela <i>'who was swearing'</i>
waá-mú-leveléla mulezéli <i>'he was forgiving the alcoholic'</i>	waá-m-beddegela bwerubwerú <i>'he was staring at the shrimp'</i>	... waá-m-perengezā <i>'who was informing him'</i>	... waá-mú-libelelā <i>'who was swearing to him'</i>

Table 5: Present Perfective form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
o-guḷ-lé nyumba <i>'he bought a house'</i>	o-lim-ilé mpeza <i>'he cultivated sesame'</i>	... o-lóg-ilē <i>'who talked'</i>	... o-lím-ilē <i>'who cultivated'</i>
o-mu-guḷ-lé raya <i>'he bought a ray'</i>	o-mu-lim-ilé naambedde <i>'he cultivated maize'</i>	... o-mu-lóg-ilē <i>'who talked to him'</i>	... o-mu-lím-ilē <i>'who cultivated it'</i>
o-leveléḷ-lé éfaádhîmu <i>'he forgave the snake'</i>	o-beddegeḷ-lé báhari <i>'he stared at the tattoo'</i>	... o-peréngéz-ilē <i>'who informed'</i>	... o-libélél-lē <i>'who swore'</i>
o-mu-leveléḷ-lé múlezéli <i>'he forgave the alcoholic'</i>	o-m-beddegeḷ-lé bwérubwerú <i>'he stared at the shrimp'</i>	... o-m-péréngéz-ilē <i>'who informed him'</i>	... o-mu-líbéleḷ-lē <i>'who swore to him'</i>

Table 6: Past Perfective form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
waa-gúǎ-lé nyumba <i>'he had bought a house'</i>	waa-lim-ílé mpeza <i>'he had cultivated sesame'</i>	... waa-log-íle <i>'who had talked'</i>	... waa-lim-íle <i>'who had cultivated'</i>
waa-mu-gúǎ-le raya <i>'he had bought a ray'</i>	waa-mu-lím-íle naambede <i>'he had cultivated maize'</i>	... waa-mu-lóg-ilē <i>'who had talked to him'</i>	... waa-mu-lím-ilē <i>'who had cultivated it'</i>
waa-levélél-le efwaadhîmu <i>'he had forgiven the snake'</i>	waa-beddegél-le bahari <i>'he had stared at the tattoo'</i>	... waa-peréngéz-ile <i>'who had informed'</i>	... waa-libélél-le <i>'who had sworn'</i>
waa-mu-lévélél-le mulezéli <i>'he had forgiven the alcoholic'</i>	waa-m-béddégél-le bwerubwerú <i>'he had stared at the shrimp'</i>	... waa-m-péréngéz-ilē <i>'who had informed him'</i>	... waa-mu-libélél-lē <i>'who had sworn to him'</i>

Table 7: Future form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
o-náá-gúǎ-é nigagádda <i>'he will buy dry cassava'</i>	o-náá-sákúǎ-é kalruúnga <i>'he will choose a sickle'</i>	... o-náá-lóg-e <i>'who will talk'</i>	... o-náá-lím-e <i>'who will cultivate'</i>
o-náá-mú-gúǎ-e balacáwu <i>'he will buy cod'</i>	o-náá-mú-sákúǎ-é nyangeséra <i>'he will choose a fishing basket'</i>	... o-náá-mú-log-ē <i>'who will talk to him'</i>	... o-náá-mú-lim-ē <i>'who will cultivate it'</i>
o-náá-gúǎlíhédh-e mbuga <i>'he will sell rice to'</i>	o-náá-búddúgél-e guluwe <i>'he will attack the pig'</i>	... o-náá-péréngéz-e <i>'who will inform'</i>	... o-náá-libélél-e <i>'who will swear'</i>
o-náá-mú-gúǎlíhédhe naambede <i>'he will sell him maize'</i>	o-náá-m-búddúgél-e kalaba <i>'he will attack the old man'</i>	... o-náá-péréngéz-ē <i>'who will inform him'</i>	... o-náá-mu-libélél-ē <i>'who will swear to him'</i>

Table 8: Continuous Future form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
o-gá-gúǎ nigagádda <i>'he will be buying dry cassava'</i>	o-gá-sákula kalruúnga <i>'he will be choosing a sickle'</i>	... o-gá-lóga <i>'who will be talking'</i>	... o-gá-líma <i>'who will be cultivating'</i>
o-gá-mú-gula balacáwu <i>'he will be buying cod'</i>	o-gá-mú-sakula nyangeséra <i>'he will be choosing a fishing basket'</i>	... o-gá-mú-loga <i>'who will be talking to him'</i>	... o-gá-mú-lima <i>'who will be cultivating it'</i>
o-gá-gúǎlíhedha mbuga <i>'he will be selling rice to'</i>	o-gá-búddugela guluwe <i>'he will be attacking the pig'</i>	... o-gá-pérengeza <i>'who will be informing'</i>	... o-gá-libelela <i>'who will be swearing'</i>
o-gá-mú-gulihedha naambede <i>'he will be selling him maize'</i>	o-gá-m-buddugela kalaba <i>'he will be attacking the old man'</i>	... o-gá-pérengeza <i>'who will be informing him'</i>	... o-gá-mu-libelela <i>'who will be swearing to him'</i>

Table 9: Conditional form of CJ and relatives (with and without OM)

CJ form		Relative form	
H verb	L verb	H verb	L verb
o-gaa-guǎ-lé nigagádda <i>'he would buy dry cassava'</i>	o-gaa-lim-ílé kalruúnga <i>'he would choose a sickle'</i>	... o-gaa-log-íle <i>'who would talk'</i>	... o-gaa-lim-íle <i>'who would cultivate'</i>
o-gaa-mu-guǎ-le balacáwu <i>'he would buy cod'</i>	o-gaa-mu-lím-íle nyangasera <i>'he would choose a fishing basket'</i>	... o-gaa-mu-lóg-ilē <i>'who would talk to him'</i>	... o-gaa-mu-lím-ilē <i>'who would cultivate it'</i>
o-gaa-gulíhédh-e mbuga <i>'he would sell rice to'</i>	o-gaa-buddúgél-le guluwe <i>'he would attack the pig'</i>	... o-gaa-peréngéz-ile <i>'who would inform'</i>	... o-gaa-libélel-le <i>'who would swear'</i>
o-gaa-mu-gulíhedh-e naambedde <i>'he would sell him maize'</i>	o-gaa-m-búddúgél-le kalaba <i>'he would attack the old man'</i>	... o-gaa-m-péréngéz-ilē <i>'who is informing him'</i>	... o-gaa-mu-libélel-ilē <i>'who is swearing to him'</i>

- Cuwabo relatives: no specific morphology, no specific tone pattern (except for the Present Perfective tense, cf table 5)

Question: how distinguish between relative and CJ forms if their forms are strictly identical (except for Present Perfective)?

- CJ forms can in principle not appear in the final position of a sentence.
- Transitive verbs: different tone pattern on the object following the verb: **after a CJ form, the augment which is purely tonal in Cuwabo, does not appear** on the object, as illustrated in (7). On the contrary, after a relative verb the object appears in citation form, without tone alteration (8).

(7) CJ verb forms + augment absence

míyó nnááfun' áanamalaba > cit. form: **anámalaba** [Maria 436.5']
 míyó n-náá-funá anamalaba
 1SG.PRO 1PL-PRES.CJ.2-want 2.worker
 'I want working-men.'

(8) Relative verb forms + citation form

óddúle ontóta náma vaddíddi > cit. form: **náma** [Fred 23']
 óddúle o-n-tóta náma vaddíddi
 1.DEM.III 1-PRES-hunt.REL 10a.animal much
 'that one who hunts a lot.'

- this first tone lowering (or absence of augment) usually known as Predicative Lowering (PL).
- In Makhuwa (van der Wal 1999), PL is a tonal process which consists in deleting the first primary H tone of a noun interpreted as a focus in the sentence.
- In Cuwabo, this PL phenomenon occurs in the same context as already shown in (7), but not only: as examples in (9) illustrate, the object following every negative form undergoes a lowering of the first H tone.

(9) Augment absence on objects after negative tenses

a. Negative Present

míyó kaddínjá nama ya gulúwe > citation form: **náma** [T6b]

míyó ka-ddi-ń-já nama ya gulúwe
 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG-PRES-eat 9.meat 9.CONN 9.pork
 ‘I do not eat pork meat’

b. Negative Present Perfective

nyúwô múnóddímagiyédha, míyó kaddijílé muradda > cit. form: **murádda** [T8a]

nyúwô mú-nó-ddí-magiyédha míyó ka-ddi-j-ílé muradda
 2PL.PRO 2PL-PRES.DJ-1SG-accuse 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG-eat-PERF.DJ 3.pastry
 ‘you are accusing me, but I did not eat the pastry!’

c. Negative Participial

masiku meénjééné: nihívalagá: moottó: > cit. form: **móottó** [T14b]

masiku méenji wééné ni-hí-vál-agá moottó
 6.day 6.many 6.INT 1PL-NEG-ask.for-DUR 3.fire
 ‘we did not ask for fire days along’

d. Negative Conditional

mugaahífwánye mabaagiri: kámúgulení: rá:ya > citation form: **mabáágiri** [T26e]

mu-gaa-hí-fwány-e mabaagiri ká-mú-gul-e ráya
 2PL-COND-NEG-find-FV 6.fish.sp IMP-2PL-buy-FV 9a.fish.sp
 ‘if you do not find the ‘baagiri’ fish, buy the ray fish.’

Different types of relatives

- subject relative: the head noun corresponds to the logical subject of the relative clause (‘the fruit that is on the table’),
- non-subject relative, the head noun corresponds to a constituent other than the logical subject (‘the fruit that I see’).

- Restrictive relative: The fruit which is on the table is rotten.
- Non-restrictive relative: The fruit, which is on the table, is rotten.
- Free relative: He gets whatever he wants. OR who is caught loses.
- Cleft clauses: It is beans that I like.

(10) cleft pronoun + copula + clefted constituent + cleft clause
 it is beans that I like

4 Subject Relatives

(11) Restrictive:
óddíváhe víina njángára nińlógélá kaāvó muttú ontóónyá baaddipíttá míyo. [Maria 1214.8']

ó-ddí-váh-e víina njángára ni-ń-lóg-él-á kaā-vó
 2SG-1SG-give-SUBJ too 5.card 5-PRES-say.REL-APPL NEG.1-16.LOC

muttú o-n-tóónyá baa-ddi-píttá míyo
 1.people 1-PRES-point.REL CONT.1-1SG-surpass 1SG.PRO

‘give me too a card that says there is no one who points better than I do.’

(12) Non-restrictive:
nootééne íy’ óomńívívéerí vatákûl’ áapa, nivíré voósálún’ áapá ... [Fred 119']

nootééne íyó o-ń-vívéerí va-tákûlu ápa ni-vír-é
 1PL.all.INT 1PL.PRO 1-PRES-live.REL 16-9a.house 16.DEM.I 1PL-go.by-SUBJ

‘All of us, who live in this house, let’s go ...’

(13) Free:
eńfún’ óóbúddúwamó mwaáří mwa m̃púlé [Maria 335.8']

e-ń-fúna óóbúddúwa-mó mwaáří mwa m̃púlé
 9-PRES-want.REL 15.go.out-18.LOC 18.into 18.in 18.DEM.III

‘what will go out from inside,’ (Once broken, what will go out from inside, snatch it.)

(14) Cleft:
dd’ íyééne wóonávó baáyi. Wóonávó dd’ íyééne baáyi [Maria 974']

ddi íyééne wóoná-vó baáyi
 1.COP 1.PRO 1.PAST.see.REL-16.LOC only

‘He was the only one to see.’

(15) Cleft relative without copula

odhíl' óom pádduwel' oosongóro waayé kurumaanje.

[Maria 147.5']

o-dh-ílé o-m-pádduw-el-a osongóro waayé kurumaanje

1-come.REL-PERF 15-1-show up-APPL-FV 17.front 17.POSS.1 1a.bee.sp

'a bee.sp came and showed up in front of her.' (lit. [who came and ... was a bee.sp])

(16) kurumaanje = ddi kurúmaanje = it is a bee.sp

(17) Pattern agreement for subject relatives with classes

NC	Example	REL. PRES	Trad.	REL. PAST
1	mwáaná	o-ńlóga	'the child who says'	waálóga
2	áaná	a-ńlóga	'the children who say'	aálóga
3	múrí	o-ńlóga	'the tree which says'	waálóga
4	mírí	dhi-ńlóga	'the trees which say'	dhaálóga
5	ńzáyí	ni-ńlóga	'the egg which says'	naálóga
6	mázáyí	a-ńlóga	'the eggs which say'	aálóga
9	ehíba	e-ńlóga	'the hoe which says'	yaálóga
10	dhihíba	dhi-ńlóga	'the hoes which say'	dhaálóga
14	olíbó	o-ńlóga	'the glue which says'	waálóga
15	ópá	o-ńlóga	'the pain which says'	waálóga
16	valúlí	va-ńlóga	'the space which says'	vaálóga
17	odhúlú	o-ńlóga	'the sky which says'	waálóga
18	munddúní	mu-ńlóga	'the dust which says'	mwaálóga

(18) Pattern agreement for subject relatives with persons

Person		REL. PRES	Trad.	REL. PAST
1SG	míyó	o-ńlóga	'I who say'	waálóga
2SG	wéyó	o-ńlóga	'you who say'	waálóga
3SG (cl.1)	íyééne	o-ńlóga	'he who says'	waálóga
1PL	íyó	o-ńlóga	'us who say'	waálóga
2PL	nyúwó	o-ńlóga	'you who say'	waálóga
3PL (cl.2)	áwééne	a-ńlóga	'they who say'	aálóga

5 Non-Subject Relatives

- no special relative morphology
- lexical subject in postverbal position
- SM of the relative verb always agrees in noun class with the head noun

(19) **Bírínkw' ísǐ dhiddigúlélle wéyo** > restrictive object relative [Fred, 376']

birińku éśí dhi-ddi-gúl-él-le wéyo
 10.earring 10.DEM.I 10-1-but-APPL-PERF.REL 2sg.PRO
 'These earrings you bought me, ...'

(20) **Odhowil' óókúl' oonsásányuwa: mǎpápoóro** > restrictive locative relative [Maria 866']

o-dhow-ilé ókúle o-n-sásány-uwa mǎpápoóro
 1-go-PERF.CJ 17.DEM.III 17-PRES-build-PASS.REL 6.boat
 'He went there where boats are built.'

(21) **j' íjǐlé eńkósa mwánábwá ni pááká** > cleft object relative [Helena 240']

ji éjǐlé e-ń-kósa mwánábwá ni pááká
 9.COP 9.DEM.III 9-PRES-do.REL 1.dog and 1a.cat
 'This is what the dog and the cat are doing'

- Agreement of the SM on relativized verb with the head noun and not with the postverbal subject = exceptional typological characteristic among Eastern Bantu (only found in P30 languages (Lomwe-Makhuwa-Cuwabo) and Sena (N44, South and South-West of Cuwabo area).

When no lexical subject, the pronominal form:

- can appear separately as a free morpheme always behind the relativized verb,
- can become a dependent form cliticized to the right-edge of the verb. Question : Are these enclitics personal pronouns or possessives? Having in mind the different pronominal forms of Cuwabo in (22) and looking at paradigms in (23) and (24), it appears that all the persons do not work the same way.

(22) Personal and Possessive pronominal forms

Person	Pers. Pro.	Possessive
1SG	míyo	-aga
2SG	wéyo	-awo
3SG (cl.1)	íyéene	-aye
1PL	íyo	-ehu
2PL	nyúwo	-enyu
3PL (cl.2)	áwéene	-awa

- (23) V + Pronoun Enclitics 17-PRES-pass.by.REL
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| oínvira <i>míyo</i> | = | oínvireémi | /o-ín-vira + <i>imi</i> / | ‘where I am passing by’ |
| oínvira <i>wéyo</i> | = | oínvireéwe | /o-ín-vira + <i>iwe</i> / | ‘where you are passing by’ |
| oínvira <i>íyééne</i> | = | oínvireéye | /o-ín-vira + <i>iyel</i> / | ‘where he is passing by’ |
| oínvira <i>íyo</i> | = | oínvireéhu | /o-ín-vira + <i>ihu</i> / | ‘where we are passing by’ |
| oínvira <i>nyúwo</i> | = | oínvireényu | /o-ín-vira + <i>inyul</i> / | ‘where you are passing by’ |
| oínvira <i>áwééne</i> | = | oínviraáni | /o-ín-vira + <i>ani</i> / | ‘where they are passing by’ |
- (24) V + Pronoun Enclitics 18-die-APPL-PERF.REL
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| mukwéle <i>míyo</i> | = | mukwélími | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>imi</i> / | ‘when I died’ |
| mukwéle <i>wéyo</i> | = | mukwélíwé | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>iwe</i> / | ‘when you died’ |
| mukwéle <i>íyééne</i> | = | mukwélíyé | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>iyel</i> / | ‘when he died’ |
| mukwéle <i>íyo</i> | = | mukwélíhú | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>ihu</i> / | ‘when we died’ |
| mukwéle <i>nyúwo</i> | = | mukwélínyú | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>inyul</i> / | ‘when you died’ |
| mukwéle <i>áwééne</i> | = | mukwélíáni | /mu-kw-él-e + <i>ani</i> / | ‘when they died’ |
- (25) 1SG relative enclitics
- mwádhâga waámúlogíímí dd’ úúddu** > cleft Indirect Object relative [Maria 815.5’]
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------|
| mwádhâga | <u>waá-mú-log-íímí</u> | ddi | óddu |
| 1.wife.POSS.1SG | 1.PAST-1-speak.REL-FV.1SG.pro | 1.COP | 1.DEM.I |
- ‘This is the wife I talked about.’
- (26) 2SG relative enclitics
- ésó dhiínddívúúzéewé:, kaddínásúnza** > free object relative [T49c]
- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|------------------|
| ésó | <u>dhi-ń-ddí-vuúz-éewé</u> | ka-ddi-ná-súnza |
| 10.DEM.II | 10-PRES-1-ask.REL-FV.2SG.PRO | NEG-1SG-CE-learn |
- ‘I have not studied yet what you are asking me’
- (27) 3SG relative enclitics
- Mmottéliye mmáánjéní** > free locative relative [Fred 449.5’]
- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| <u>m-mott-él-íiye</u> | m-máánjé-ní |
| 18-fall-APPL-PERF.REL.1.PRO | 18-6.water-LOC |
- ‘When she fell in the water, ...’
- (28) 1PL relative enclitics
- Maríy’ óódd’ únírmvedííhu dd’ uúllé** > free object relative [Maria 994’]
- | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| Maríyá | óóddú | <u>o-ń-ín-ved-ííhu</u> | ddi | óllé |
| Maria | 1.DEM.I | 1-PRES-1-search.REL-FV.1PL.PRO | 1.COP | 1.DEM.III |
- ‘Maria, the one we are looking for, it is that one’

(29) 2PL relative enclitics

erífúnéenyu kalógáni míyó nnowúttámbirihani. > free object relative [Maria 944.1']
e-rí-fún-éenyu ka-lógá-ni míyó n-no-wú-ttámbir-ih-a-ni
9-PRES-want.REL-FV.2PL.PRO IMP-say-2PL 1SG.PRO 1PL-IMM-2PL-receive-CAUS-FV-2PL
'whatever you want, say it, I will offer you'

- Parallel between 1PL and 2PL relatives enclitics in Cuwabo and relative enclitics in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009: 131), also derived from its possessive pronouns, for all the persons - cf (30) and (31).

(30) a. ehópá ts-áka 'my fish'

b. ki-m-phéelá ekamisá e-pasar-aly-áaka
1SG-PRES.CJ-want 9.shirt 9-iron-PERF.REL-POSS.1SG
'I want the shirt that I ironed.'

(31) a. ekoffyó ts-áwe 'his hats'

b. ki-m-phéelá ekanetá tsi-ki-vah-aly-ááwé
1SG-PRES.CJ-want 10.pens 10.1SG-give-PERF.REL-POSS.1
'I want the pens that he gave me.'

- Above P30 languages, possessive pronoun with function of logical subject of the relative clause only attested in certain North-Western Bantu languages, as proclitic this time (cf (32) and (33), from Nsuka Nkutsi (1977: 71)).

(32) Noho a. kalati yami ematilanɔ (cl.7) 'the letter I am writing'
b. mwibi monyu mwabweanɔ (cl.3) 'the thief you will catch'

(33) Benga a. bato bame bamayene (cl.2) 'the men I saw'
b. bepokolo biahu behambake (cl.8) 'the hats we bought'

(34) 3PL relative enclitics

adhówe ájántáari komídadha dhittíyíláani ríba. > restrictive object relative [Helena 155']
a-dhów-e á-jántáari komídá-dha dhi-ttíy-íláani ríba
2-go-SUBJ 2-have.dinner 10a.food-DET 10-leave-PERF.REL2.PRO 18.inside
'so that they eat the food they left inside'

(35) 3PL relative enclitics with the classes

Ñzú ñttíl' oon dháani íyééne keédhûwo. [Maria 171']
ñzú ñttíle o-ñ-dháani íyééne keédhî-wo
5.voice 5.DEM.III 17-PRES-come.REL.2.PRO 1.PRO NEG.1.know-17.LOC
'That voice, where it comes from, she does not know'

- Synchronic conclusion: these relative enclitics represent as a whole an independent paradigm and not a mix of personal pronouns on the one hand and possessives pronouns on the other.
- An additional vowel required between verbal stem and pronominal enclitics, supposedly i- submitted to vocalic coalescence (a + i = ee & e + i = ii). But irregularities, as shown in (36).

(36)	a + i	enlíméemí	‘what I cultivate’	but	eńlógíími	‘what I say’
	a + i	yahíliméemi	‘what I cultivated’	but	yaálogíími	‘what I said’ (Impf)
	a + i	enáálíméemí	‘what I will cultivate’	but	enáálogíími	‘what I will say’
	e + i	elibéléllíími	‘what I’ve sworn to’	but	elógiléemi	‘what I have said’
	e + i	yaalibéléllíími	‘what I had sworn to’	but	yaalimíléemí	‘what I had cultivated’
	e + i	egaalibéléllíími	‘what I’d swear to’	but	egaalogíléemí	‘what I would say’

- if a + i = ee and e + i = ii, this existing variation between the outputs may be the result of a confusion in use between both (?)
- These cases of coalescence are not found in other circumstances, except a + i = ee on the lexical level (e.g. méenó ‘teeth’ < /má + inó/ > certain flexibility in the output (?))
- Regarding tones, it seems the enclitic does not bear any H tone. Instead it adapts to the nature of the preceding verb + continuative or non-terminal H boundary tone.

Indirect object relatives

(37)	mbáalágá, omutóonyedhíímí ncéla, odhowelé mpika	[wh-p37a]
	mbáalágá o-mu-tóony-edh-íímí ncéla o-dhow-el-é mpika	
	1.sister.1.POSS.1SG 1-1-show-APPL-PERF.REL.1SG.PRO 5.well 1-go-APPL-PERF.CJ 3.bucket	
	‘my sister, whom I showed the well, went to fetch the bucket’	

(38)	námásunzíha, omváhiléemi malrúwá, oozívéliwa	[wh-p37b]
	námásunzíha o-m-váh-iléemi malrúwá oo-zívéliwa	
	1a.teacher 1-1-give-PERF.REL.1SG.PRO 6.flower 2.PERF.DJ-like	
	‘the teacher, whom I gave flowers, was happy’	

Possession relatives

(39)	a. mírí, dhikokówíle matábayá, dhínójúwá (na) nyenyéle	[wh-p38a]
	mírí dhi-koków-íle matába-yá dhí-nó-j-úw-á na nyenyéle	
	4.tree 4-fall-PERF.REL 6.leaf-6.DET 4-PRES.DJ-eat-PASS-FV by 10a.ant	
	‘the trees, whose leaves have already fallen, are being eaten by the ants’	
	b. *mírí dhikokówíle matábaya ááwa (POSS), dhínójúwá (na) nyenyéle	

- (40) a. **Aritáma, nínga mwánáye owúúnúwá, onkálá yeekā** [wh-p38b]
 Aritáma nínga mwánáye owúúnúwá o-n-kálá yeekā
 Aritama as 1.child.POSS.1 1.PERF.DJ.grow 1-PRES.CJ-be 1.alone
 ‘Aritama, whose child has already grown up, lives alone’
- b. **Aritáma, níngá guwó dháaye dhiinyétta, mureddá** [wh-p38c]
 Aritáma níngá guwó dháaye dhii-nyétta mu-reddá
 Aritama as 10a.cloth 10.POSS.1 10.PERF.DJ-be.wet 1-be.sick
 ‘Aritama, whose clothes are wet, is sick’

Adjunct relatives

- (41) Headless manner⁷ relative [Maria 621’]
ddirínfúná ddikálé íng’ aalígíímí vatákúlu vényu.
 ddi-m-fúná ddi-kál-é ínga yaá-li-gíímí va-tákúlu vényu
 1SG-PRES.CJ-want 1SG-be-SUBJ as 9.PAST-be.REL.DUR.1SG.PRO 16-9a.house 16.POSS.2PL
 ‘I want to be the way I used to be in your house.’
- (42) Headless cause relative [miuda 98’]
yéen’ éélóbwéya kalógîle, sabwáya yaakumbílréííye éju wéene
 íyééné élobó-ya ka-lóg-île sabwá-ya yaa-kumbílr-el-ííye
 1.PRO 9.thing-9.DET NEG.1-say-PERF because-9.DET 9.PAST-ask-APPL-PERF.REL.1.PRO
 éjo wéene
 9.DEM.II 9.INT
 ‘he did not explain (the thing, the reason) why he had asked this’
- (43) Headless locative relatives
- a. Class 16 [Helena 43’]
odhowá vatákúlu apálé vattíyláani kómíd’ éésîle
 odhowá vá-tákúlu apálé va-ttíy-íláani kómídá éésîle
 15.go 16-9a.house 16.DEM.III 16-leave.REL-PERF.2.PRO 9a.food 9.DEM.III
 ‘He went back to that house where they left that food.’

7 Manner relatives can also be constructed with an antecedent head noun such as the noun *mukálêlo* (cl.3/4) ‘way’ in example (a) or the Portuguese loan *mánéera* ‘way’ (from *maneira*) in example (b):

- a. mikálêlo dhaálíiyé: [Maria 616’]
 mikálêlo dhaá-líiyé
 4.way 4.PAST-be.REL.1.PRO
- b. moonél’ íiyé: mánéera aácéya namárogolo mbúga [miuda 139’]
 moon-él-íiyé mánéera aá-céya namárogolo mbúga
 18.see.REL-APPL-PERF.1.PRO 6.way 6.IMPF.REL-sow 1a.rabbit 3.rice
 ‘when she noticed the way the rabbit was sowing rice,’

b. Class 17

waádhôwîyé kañzíwa:wo

[Maria 136']

waá-dhôw-îyé ka-ń-zíwaa-wo

17.PAST-go.REL-1.PRO NEG.1-PRES-know-17.LOC

'she did not know where she was going'

c. Class 18

muńvírá míyó múnóddááganyedha

[ddingí 72']

mu-ń-vírá míyó mú-nó-ddááganyedha

18-PRES-go.REL 1SG.PRO 2PL-PRES-1.suspect

'wherever I go by, you suspect me'

(44) Headless locative relative with temporal meaning

mmwerélelévó kurúmáánjé:

[Maria 359']

m-mwerél-el-é-vó kurúmáánjé

18-land-APPL-PERF.REL-16.LOC 1a.bee.sp

'When the bee.sp landed, ...'

(45) Headless temporal relative with class 5 (probably from *ńsaká* 'time, moment')

nvádelíyína vańlúgúní: eétwéha

[Maria 365.7']

n-vád-el-íyí-na va-ńlúgú-ńí eé-tw-éh-a

5-hit-APPL-PERF.REL 1.PRO-INSTR 16-5.stone-LOC 9.PERF-break-STAT-FV

'When she hit the stone, it broke'

6 Instrumental and Comitative relatives

(46) Instrumental non-relatives

ootórola múkwáátte na mwáálâgo.

[Q2-N40]

oo-tórola múkwáátte na mwáálâgo

1.PERF-pierce 3.pot with 3.spear

'he has pierced a hole in the pot with a spear.'

(47) Comitative non-relatives

... **na kurúmáanj' aay' oóíl' aafiyá:**

[Maria 242']

na kurúmáanje wáaye óíle aa-fiyá

with 1a.bee.sp 1.POSS.1 1.DEM.III 1.PERF-arrive

'(together) with that bee.sp of hers, they arrived'

(48) Instrumental relatives

a. **Bu mwáálág’ ootorólfhína mukwáátte.** > cleft relative [Q2-N40bis]
bu mwáálágo o-toról-íh-í-na mūkhwáátte
3.COP 3.spear 1-pierce-CAUS-PERF.REL-INSTR 3.pot
‘it is with a spear that he has pierced a hole in the pot.’

b. **etélo éjó erńvégíwú:na onáákúttúle ótt’ úúbo** > restrictive relative [T12c]
etélo éjó e-ń-vég-íwú-na o-náá-kúttúl-e
9.van 9.DEM.II 9-PRES-play.REL-2SG.PRO-INSTR 2SG-NEG.IMP-spill-FV
óttú ôbo
14.flour 3.DEM.II
‘this van which you are playing with, do not spill the flour!’

c. **Óbú bu mbéní osuvéhílé:ná mwáána.** > restrictive relative [Q2-H10]
Óbú bu mbéní o-suv-éh-íl-é-ná mwáána
3.DEM.I 3.COP 3.knife 1-cut-STAT-PERF.REL-INSTR 1.child
‘This is the knife that the child cut himself with’

(49) Comitative relatives

a. **dhíndéeyína dhadéréétúdhá agaamal’ oopíya** > free relative [Fred 83’]
dhi-ń-d-éeyí-na dha-déréétú-dhá a-gaa-mala opíya
10-PRES-come.REL-FV.1.PRO-COM 10-good-DEM 1-DUR.SIT-finish 15.cook
‘the good things he brings (came with), after being cooked’

b. **ōdhá:n’ oodhílé:na Ddóólríndo leńsó ńttíleé** [ddoo. 79’]
ōdhá-na o-dh-íl-é-ná Ddóólrínddo leńsó ńttíle
15.come-COM 15-come-PERF.REL-COM Ddóólrínddo 5.tissue 5.DEM.III
‘As soon as Ddoolrinddo brought (came with) that tissue, ...’

c. **nzayí: níndhána íyo** > cleft rel. (with PL) [Q1-p414.gmr]
nzayí ni-ń-dhá-na íyo
5.egg 5-PRES-come-COM 1pl.PRO
‘it is an egg we brought (came with)’

- Parallel with English relatives, where the conjunction *with* appears at the right-edge of the relative clause (‘the knife I cut myself with’).
- In Cuwabo: conjunction or verbal clitic? > cliticization seems more adequate.
 - Argument 1: in (48a), a full conjunction would likely mislead the sentence’s meaning, with the following interpretation: ‘*it is a spear that he has pierced a hole with the pot.’

- Argument 2: in (48a) (48b), and (49a), the nature of the vowel which precedes the clitics *-na* changes: mid-vowel [e] > high vowel [i] or [u] (according to the preceding consonant). This vocalic change is more likely to occur between two subsequent clitics than between a clitic and a free morpheme.

7 Negative relative

- not much used in Cuwabo (elicited examples).
- negative morpheme *-hi-*, postponed to the slot for SM.
- no respective negative conjoint verb forms (unlike affirmative relatives)

(50) **ońkósáaní: mbên' uúbú ohi:ngwádda ?** > restrictive relative [Q2-Z25]
 o-ń-kósá-ní mbêni óbú o-hi-n-gwádda
 3-PRES.CJ-do-what 3.knife 3.DEM.I 3-NEG-PRES-cut.REL
 'What good is a knife which won't cut?'

(51) **kavényhávo mízíyó dhihináájéłwe síyáári** > restrictive relative [Q2-Z26]
 ka-vény-íh-á-vo mízíyó dhi-hi-náá-j-él-íw-e síyáári
 IMP-leave-CAUS-FV-16.LOC 4.plate 4-NEG-FUT-eat.REL-APPL-PASS-FV 9a.dinner
 'Remove the plates which are not required for the evening meal'

- Negative meaning thanks to *ókóódda* 'refuse', but positive form

(52) **káddí vahedhé sá báá ekoóddíl' oosígíhiwá** > restrictive relative [Q2-Z28b]
 ká-ddí-vah-edh-é sá báá e-koódd-íle oosígíhiwá
 IMP.2SG-1SG-give-APPL-FV 9a.soap 9-refuse-PERF.REL 15.apply-PASS-FV
 'Give me the soap which has not been used.'

8 Specific issues

8.1 Habitual marker

Two strategies are used: 1) First, the habitual or durative verbal morpheme *-ag-* is inserted on the right of the verbal stem, as in (53) ; 2) the verbal suffix *-ec-* is used, as in (54).

(53) **máfúgi ańgúlágímí**
 máfúgi a-ń-gúl-ág-íimí
 6.banana 6-PRES-buy.REL-HAB-FV.1SG.PRO
 'The bananas I am used to buying'

(54) **máfúgi ańgúlécíimí**
 máfúgi a-ń-gúl-éc-íimí
 6.banana 6-PRES-buy.REL-HAB-FV.1SG.PRO
 ‘The bananas I am used to buying’

(55) More examples

a. **xá! Apa dd’ uúddú wéne ońddíkuwelécá peéno** [Helena 90’]
 xá ápá ddi óddú wééne o-ń-ddí-kuwel-éc-á peéno
 INTER 16.DEM.I 1.COP 1.DEM.I INT 1-PRES-1SG-call.REL-HAB-FV IDEO
 ‘xa, this one calling me, I do not know (who he is)’

b. **okaanáámwi’ yaawíílá anóne b’ áaní onjésá:mw’ iísáv’ íjîle** [Fred 44.5’]
 o-kaanáá-mu yawíílá a-nón-é ba áaní o-ń-j-és-á-mo
 1-have-18.LOC COMP 1-know-SUBJ 2.COP who 1-PRES-eat.REL-HAB-FV-18.LOC
 ésávi éjîle
 9.caril 9.DEM.III
 ‘he wants to know who keeps eating that caril.’

- The HAB suffix -ec- is integrated into the stem: in (55a), it is taken into account for H tone assignment (the penult being the TBU of the lexical tone of H verbs).

8.2 Fixed expressions

- infinitive (class 15) + relative form of the same verb

(56) **Ōrúméél’ óoruméél’ oólí’ oókúle odhúlú ...** [Maria 1101.2’]
 ōrúméélá o-ruméél-le oólíle oókúle odhúlú
 15.disappear 15-disappear.REL-PERF 1.DEM.III 17.DEM.III 17.top
 ‘Once that one above disappeared ...’

(57) **ofíy’ óofíláání, ...** [Maria 1155’]
 ofíyá o-fíy-iláání
 15.arrive 15-arrive-PERF.REL.2.PRO
 ‘Hardly had they arrived, ...’

(58) **áp’ óoddííd’ oók’ únddíídda nyúwó, ...** [ddingí 35’]
 ápó o-ddíída ókú o-n-ddíídda nyúwó
 16.DEM.II 15-1SG.hate 15.DEM.I 15-PRES-1.hate.REL 2PL.PRO
 ‘this hating me that you hate me’

8.3 Clefting and Wh-questions

- Cleft sentence much used to question logical subjects

(59) **íng' óddíy' ooóddúkuwélá b' áani?** [Helena 34']

ínga óddí-ya o-ń-ddí-kuwélá ba áani
but 1.DEM.I-DET 1-PRES-1-call.REL 2.COP who

‘But who is this one calling me?’ (lit. [this one who is calling me, it is who?])

- Different construction between cleft and non-cleft (or direct) wh-questions, especially for the three interrogatives ‘who’, ‘what’, and ‘where’.

(60) Wh-question in ‘who’ : *áani*

- a. plain interrogative after a CJ form

osáńzáya mwánáku oníńpíyela áani ? [wh-p16a]

osáńzáya mwánáku o-ni-ń-píy-el-a áani
osanzaya 1.chicken 1-PRES.CJ-1-cook-APPL-FV who

‘who is O. cooking the chicken for?’

- b. afer a copula in a cleft construction

b' aaní ompíyéluwa mwánáku na ósáńzáya ? [wh-p16c]

ba áaní o-m-píy-él-uw-a mwánáku na ósáńzáya
2.COP who 1-PRES-cook.REL-APPL-PASS-FV 1.chicken by osanzaya

‘who is the chicken cooked by O. for?’

(61) Wh-question in ‘where’ : *úuvi*

- a. plain interrogative after a CJ form

maríyá níívúru' uudhilená 'úuvi ? [wh-p36a]

maríyá níívúru o-dh-ile-ná úuvi
mary 5.book 1-come-PERF.CJ-ASSOC where

‘where did mary get this book?’

- b. afer a copula in a cleft construction

k' uuví odhílená Maríya níívúru ? [wh-p36b]

ku uuví o-dh-íle-ná maríya níívúru
17.COP where 17-come-PERF.REL-COM mary 5.book

‘where did mary get this book?’

(62) Wh-question in ‘what’: *eni*

a. plain interrogative after a CJ form

álédđo aagulelé ení ámúdh’ ááwa ? [wh-p10b]

álédđo a-a-gul-el-é ení ámúdhí áwa
2.visitors 2-2-buy-APPL-PERF.CJ what 2.parent 2.POSS.2
‘what did the visitors buy for their families ?’

b. after a copula in a cleft construction

cííní dhaagúlêle álédđo ámúdh’ ááwa ? [wh-p10a]

cííní dhaa-gúl-êle álédđo ámúdhí áwa
COP.what 10.2-give-PERF.REL 2.visitors 2.parent 2.POSS.2
‘what did the visitors buy for their families ?’

- More examples of the cleft and conjoint constructions of wh-questions in ‘who’, ‘where’, and ‘what’, extracted from stories.

(63) Cleft wh-question in ‘who’ > *b’ áani*

a. **míyó na Ddóólrínddo okoddéílé b’ áani ?** [ddoo 33.5’]

míyó na Ddóólrínddo o-koddéí-lé ba áani
1sg.PRO and Ddóólrínddo 1-be.beautiful-PERF.REL 2.COP who
‘who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo ?’

b. **okaanámwí’ yaawíílá anóne b’ áaní onjésáámw’ ísáv’ íjîle** [Fred 44.5’]

o-kaaná-mú yawíílá a-nón-é ba áaní o-ń-j-é-sáá-mo
1-have-18.LOC COMP 1-know-SUBJ 2.COP who 1-PRES-eat.REL-HAB-18.LOC
ésávi éjîle
9.caril 9.DEM.III
‘he wants to know who keeps eating that caril.’

(64) CJ wh-question in ‘who’ > *áani*

omooní aaní okápéla membees’ ábâno ? [wh-p28]

o-m-oon-í aaní o-kápéla membeesi ábâ-no
2SG-1-see-PERF.CJ 2.who 17-9a.church 4-morning 2.DEM.I-INT
‘who (cl.1) did you see at the church this morning ?’

(65) Cleft wh-question in ‘where’ > *k’ úuvi*

Kuuv’ úúttáwêle mbúz’ fiso ?

[cl.10-p1]

Kuuví o-ttáw-êl-e mbúzí éso
 17.COP.where 17-flee-APPL.REL 4.goat 4.DEM.II
 ‘where did these goats flee?’

(66) CJ wh-question in ‘where’ > *úuvi*

a. **muúzík’ oóbw’ óonzívá dhaáyi, ońdhá úuvi ?**

[ddingí 89’]

muúzíká óbó o-n-zívá dhaáyi o-ń-dhá úuvi
 3.music 3.DEM.II 3-PRES-be.nice.REL PRO.DEM.I 3-PRES.CJ-come where
 ‘that music, which is so beautiful, where does it come from?’

(67) Cleft wh-question in ‘what’ > *cíini*

a. **Yuubúwéle íyéene cíini ?**

[Maria 106’]

yuubúwél-e íyéene cíini
 9.think-PERF.REL 1.PRO what
 What is it she thought?

b. **cíin’ ímpáddûwa ?**

[Maria 523.7’]

cíini e-m-páddûwa
 what 9-PRES-happen.REL
 ‘what is happening?’

(68) CJ wh-question in ‘what’ > *eni*

a. **Orńfún’ áani ?** [Maria 262.5’]

// **nyúwó murńfúnáa ni ?**

[Maria 1197.5’]

o-ń-fúná-ni // nyúwó mu-ń-fúná eni
 2-PRES.CJ-want-what // 2PL.PRO 2PL-PRES.CJ-want what
 ‘What do you want?’ // ‘What do you want?’

b. **Múlóbwan’ oóíl’ uubuwel’ éeni ?**

[Maria 866’]

múlóbwana óíle wubuwel-é éeni
 1.man 1.DEM.III 1.think-PERF.CJ what
 ‘What did that man think about?’

- A focused object is grammatical preverbally only when inserted in a cleft wh-question.
- In situ wh-questions require the conjoint verb form.

Conclusion

Main characteristics of Cuwabo relatives:

- agreement with the antecedent, i.e. the head element. (> high tendency of Cuwabo in subject-verb inversion)
- in non-subject relatives, when the logical subject is pronominalized, it becomes encliticized to the verb.

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