

Phrasing and Relative Clauses in Chimwiini

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0. Introduction.

In this paper we initiate an exploration into the phonological phrasing of relative clauses in Chimwiini, a Bantu language closely related to Kiswahili but differing from it in significant ways, particularly in regards to prosody.

1. Essentials of Chimwiini prosody.

This paper assumes broad familiarity with the prosody of Chimwiini. We will restrict ourselves to a summary of the most critical points in this introductory section.

At the (prosodic) word level, each word bears an accent (H tone). In the default case, accent is on the penult (if there is a penult, otherwise on the only syllable). Under specific morphosyntactic conditions, accent (H tone) is final. Two cases of final accent are illustrated in (1a).

- (1a) **person-marking final accent: first/second person, present or past tenses**
[n-jiilé] 'I ate' [jiilé] 'you (sg.) ate' [jiiile] '(s)he ate'
[n-someelé] 'I read' [someelé] 'you read' [someele] '(s)he read'

[n-na-x-pakuilá] 'I am dishing out with' [na-x-pakuilá] 'you are dishing out with'
vs. [wa-na-x-pakuila] 'they are dishing out with'

relative-clauses marked by final accent

[jiiló] 'the one who ate'
[mw-ana nth-a-k-aandiká] 'the boy who did not write'
[chi-buku ch-uziizá/ n-chha Núuru] 'the book that was sold/ belongs to Nuuru'

At the sentence level, some prosodic words are accented and some are not. It turns out, that the generalization that explains this is the following: sentences are exhaustively parsed into a series of phrases, and the last prosodic word in the phrase bears an accent and no other word does. Again, the default accent is penult, but under specific morphoaynctic conditions, the accent is final.

- (1b) **the verb does not bear accent but its complement does**
[n-jilee námá] 'I ate meat', [jilee námá] 'you ate meat'
vs.
[jilee náma] '(s)he ate meat', [wa-jilee náma] 'they ate meat'

a noun does not bear accent but its modifier/complement does

[chi-mera n-dilaa n-khúlu/ y-a múu-yi] 'he looked for the main street/ of the town'
[kodi muxtasári] 'a short speech'

a VP consisting of just a V bears accent, an NP consisting of just a N bears accent

[hóosi/ i-chi-gúura] 'if the shade/ moves'
[hokómu/ i-tindishile] 'a verdict/ has been given'

Chimwiini contrasts short and long vowels. Long vowels may be underlying or derived by morphophonemic principles:

- (1c) **underlying long vowels**
[x-kúla] 'to grow' [x-kúula] 'to extract'

[sómo] ‘namesake’

[sóomu] ‘fasting’

derived long vowels

/ku+ala/: [k-áala] ‘to plant’

/ku+iwa/: [k-íwa] ‘to know’

/ku+uluka/: [k-uulúka] ‘to fly’

/ku-eleza/: [k-eeléza] ‘to explain’

Long vowels are restricted in the environments in which they may occur. They may appear in either the penult or the antepenult syllable, but not both at the same time (except in a restricted set of borrowed words).

(1d) **penult long:**

[x-shíinda] ‘to defeat’, [x-sóoa] ‘to read’, [ku-bóola] ‘to steal’, [máashe] ‘blind’

antepenult long:

[ku-miimína] ‘to pour’, [x-taambúla] ‘to understand’, [ku-liingána] ‘to be equal’

both penult and antepenult long:

absent in native words, absent under morpheme concatenation,

found only in loanwords: [taawúusi] ‘peacock’, [faanúusi] ‘lamp’, [faalúuta] ‘a kind of gruel’

An underlying or derived long vowel will shorten if it is in a pre-antepenult syllable or if it is in an antepenult syllable followed by a long penult. Selkirk (1986) accounts for these shortening phenomena by postulating that there is abstract stress that is assigned by the Latin Stress Rule (stress the penult if long, otherwise stress the antepenult). Unstressed vowels must be short. Thus pre-antepenult as well as antepenult syllables followed by a long penult are all unstressed syllables and thus must be short.

Abstract stress is not a word-level matter, but a phrasal matter. The stressed syllable is calculated from the right edge of the phrase. Furthermore, stress is not calculated by looking just at the last prosodic word in the phrase, but rather at the entire phrase. The phrases that are relevant for abstract stress assignment are the same phrases as are relevant for the assignment of accent.

- (1e) [sultani w-aa nóka/ chi-m-uzá Hasíibu/ xabarí=z-e] ‘the king of the snakes/ asked Hasiibu/ his news’
[ni-wa-wene wa-nthu w-iingí/ wa-na-kuu-yá] ‘I saw many people/ coming’
[n-filatíile kuwa Nuurú/ ta-kuu-yá] ‘I expected that Nuuru/ would come’

Orthography: All example sentences in this paper will be written with slant marks separating phrases. The beginning of a sentence is the beginning of a phrase and the end of a sentence is the end of a phrase. The last prosodic word in the phrase bears the accent. In most cases, the prosodic word is the same as the grammatical word. **We do not mark the case where the accent is on a penult syllable (this default accent can be inferred from the presence of the slash mark etc.).** If the accent is on the final syllable (or the only) syllable, we do write an acute mark above that syllable.

- (1f) *l-koombe/ mu-ke/ m-pakulíle mw-aana/ zi-jo* ‘the spoon/ the woman/ dished out for the child/ zijo (with it)’
w-aana/ mu-ke/ wa-fulílee n-guwo/ ka saabuni ‘the children/ the woman/ washed clothes for them/ with soap’
mu-nthu m-pelo Jaamá/ chi-buukú/ ni Nuuru ‘the man who gave Jaama/ a book/ is Nuuru’

2. Factors determining phrasal formation.

To a large extent, the basic phrasing of a Chimwiini sentence is determined by the *Align-XP Right* principle first articulated in Selkirk (1986). This principle says that the right edge of a lexical maximal projection must stand at the right edge of a phonological phrase. The most obvious effects of this principle are that

- the subject of a sentence is phrased separately from a following verb;
- a verb is grouped with the first complement, but other complements are phrasally separated;
- pre-verbal XP’s are phrasally separated from one another

- (2a) *subject phrased separately from verb*
sultani uyu/ sulile m-loza mw-aanawe/ mu-ke 'this sultan/ wanted to marry his son/ to a woman'
chi-zeele/ chi-m-paa dawa 'the old woman/ gave him medicine'

verb and first complement are grouped together
m-phete chi-buku ch-a Muusá 'I got Muusa's book'
w-ote/ wa-sh-pokezanya ku-vula m-aayi 'all/ took turns boiling water'

successive complements are phrasally separated
wa-m-pokeze m-geeni/ mi-zigo=y-e 'they gave to the guest/ his luggage'
Hamadi/ mw-andikilile mw-aana/ xati/ ka Nuuru 'Hamadi wrote a letter for the child to Nuuru'

successive preverbal XP's are phrasally separated
teena/ sku mooyi/ ma-sku/ mkula=z-e/ wa-chi-weka majlisi 'then/ one day/ at night/ his elder brothers/ held a meeting'
Abu/ sh-koopa/ chi-m-gafiile 'Abu/ alcoholic drink/ missed (getting)'

However, focus and emphasis on a word leads to that word being at the end of a phrase even if it is not at the end of an XP.

- (2b) **m-taana/ sh-faanya/ zaa ye/ amuriila** 'the servant/ did/ what she/ was told'
chi-lawa/ karka muu-yi/ oyo 'he left/ from town/ that'
(n)-na-x-suula/ we/ k-enda naa mi/ ku-ja uki 'I want/ you/ to go with me/ to eat honey'

Negative verbs seem to have inherent focus and to typically be at the end of a phrase.

- (2c) **marti w-itu/ nth-aa-ku-ya/ numbaa=ni** 'our guest/ did not go/ home'
mu-kee=w-e/ nth-a-x-shiika/ miimba 'his wife/ did not become/ pregnant'

Certain words are either phrasal isolates or stand always at the beginning or the end of a phrase.

- (2d) **m-uunda=w-a/ ni m-kulu/ laakini/ ma-vuno=y-e/ ha-ya-yezi/ l-kusi**
 'my farm/ is large/ but/ its harvest/ does not fill/ a hand(ful)'
ma-xaadimu/ wa-tezezee n-goma/ hatá/ ma-skuu kati 'the servants/ drummed/ until/ midnight'

3. Final-accent and the Accentual Law of Focus.

The principal topic of this paper requires that we look closely at final accent. As mentioned earlier, final accent is triggered by certain morphosyntactic factors. As we will soon see in more detail, relative clause structure is one of these factors. But in this section we will discuss just person-marking final accent.

In a verb phrase where there is no focus on a VP-medial element, first and second person subject forms in the present and past tenses exhibit final accent at the end of each phrase in the VP.

- (3a) **ni-wa-pele w-aaná/ maandá** 'I gave the children/ bread'
ni-m-bozele m-aaná/ chi-buukú 'I stole a book from the child'

In these examples, the logical indirect object occupies the post-verbal position in the default word order and governs the agreement on the verb.

A very important principle determines the scope of final accent in the VP, however. We refer to this principle as the Accentual Law of Focus. What this principle says is that the final accented triggered by first or second person present or past tense verb forms has no effect beyond a focused element in the verb phrase.

It is possible, in examples such as those in (3a), to emphasize the indirect object, in which case the final accent appears on it and not on the second complement (i.e. the logical object). In the following examples, we place the symbol " in front of the focused word.

- (3b) *ni-wa-pele* 'w-aaná/ maanda 'I gave the children/ bread'
ni-m-bozele 'm-aaná/ chi-buuku 'I stole from the child/ a book'

If focus is on the logical object, that word must occur in post-verbal position, where it will exhibit final accent and the following phrase will not.

- (3c) *ni-wa-pele* 'maandá/ w-aana 'I gave bread/ to the children'
ni-m-bozele 'chi-buukú/ m-aana 'I stole a book/ from the child'

There is more that can be said about the pitch pattern here -- specifically, the pitch lowering on the second complement appears to be more radical than in the normal default downstep intonation observed in sentences where there is no internal focus. It should be noted that in the absence of a final-accent trigger, the symbol " is more critical in indicating the internal focus: e.g. *Muusa/ wa-pele* 'maanda/ w-aana 'I gave bread/ to the children .'
 It is not possible for the final accent to be on both the focused post-verbal NP and the following XP:

- (3d) **ni-m-bozele* " chi-buukú/ m-aaná 'I stole a book/ from the child'

and it is not possible for *chi-buuku* to lack focus:

- (3e) **ni-m-bozele* chi-buukú/ m-aaná 'I stole a book/ from the child'

If the verb is focused, then it will display the final accent, and the following phrases will have default accent.

- (3f) 'ni-wa-peelé/w-aana/ maanda 'I gave/ the children/ bread'
 'ni-wa-peelé/ maanda/ w-aana 'I gave/ bread/ to the children'

The data in (3g) provide more data illustrating these points about focus and the Accentual Law of Focus.

- (3g) 'ni-m-boozelé/ m-aana/ chi-buuku 'I stole/ from the child/ a book'
 'ni-m-boozelé/ chi-buuku/ m-aana 'I stole/ a book/ from the child'
 *'ni-m-boozelé/ m-aanaá/ chi-buukú 'I stole/ from the child/ a book'
 *'ni-m-boozelé/ m-aaná/ chi-buuku 'I stole/ from the child/ a book'

m-phete chi-buku cha Muusá 'I found Muusa's book'
 'm-pheeté/ chi-buku cha Muusa 'I found/ Muusa's book'
 'm-pheeté/ Muusa/ chi-buuku=ch=e 'I found/ Muusa's book'
 'm-phete chi-buukú/ ch-a Muusa 'I found the book/ belonging to Muusa'
 'm-phete Muusá/ chi-buuku=ch-e 'I found Muusa's/ book'
 'm-pheeté/ chi-buku=ch-e Muusa 'I found/ Muusa's book'
 'm-phete chi-buuku=ch-é/ Muusa 'I found his book/ Muusa's'

m-phete chi-buku ch-a chi-hundu ch-a Muusá 'I found Muusa's red book'
 'm-pheeté/ chi-buku chi-hundu ch-a Muusa 'I found/ Muusa's red book'
 'm-pheeté/ chi-buku chi-huundu/ ch-a Muusa 'I found/ the red book/ of Muusa's'
m-phete 'chi-buukú/ chi-huundu/ ch-a Muusa 'I found/ a book/ red/ of Muusa's'
m-phete chi-buku 'chi-huundú/ ch-a Muusa 'I found the book red/ of Muusa's'

na-x-safisha chi-su ch-a Hasaní 'I am cleaning Hasani's knife' (answers the question: what are you doing/
 'na-x-saafishá/ chi-su ch-a Hasani 'I am cleaning/ Hasani's knife' (answers the question: what are you
 doing to Hasani's knife?)
na-x-safishaa 'chi-sú/ ch-a Hasani 'I am cleaning the knife/ of Hasani's (answers question: what thing of
 Hasani's are you cleaning?'

n-anzizee ku-lá 'I began to cry'
n-anzizee ku-lá/ ka n-khelé 'I began to cry/ loudly'

"*n-anziizé/ ku-la* 'I began/ to cry'
n-anziizee "ku-lá/ ka n-khele 'I began to cry/ loudly.'
"n-anziizé/ ku-la/ ka n-khele. 'I began/ to cry/ loudly.'
"n-anziizé/ ku-la ka n-khele. 'I began/ to cry loudly.'

4. The scope of final accent: time adverbials.

Final accent also reveals an aspect of the prosody of time adverbials that is not always revealed by phrasing alone. The data in (4a) reveal that time adverbials are outside the scope of final accent in the default case.

- (4a) *wé/ pishilé/ yuuzi* 'you/ cooked/ day before yesterday'
ni-m-pele m-aaná/ chi-buukú/ yúuzi 'I gave the child a book the day before yesterday'
mí/ na-ku-jaa namá/ isa 'I/ am eating meat/ now'
n-na-x-saafiri / leelo 'I am leaving on a trip/ today'
m-phanzilee mu-tí/ yuuzi 'I climbed a tree/ the day before yesterday'
n-andishilee xatí/ yana 'I wrote a letter/ yesterday'
n-tha-x-sooma/ keesho 'I will study/ tomorrow'
waawé/ mí/ m-bene n-dootó/ yana ma-sku 'my father/ I/ saw dreams/ last night'

From these data, one would perhaps conclude that the time adverbials are outside the verb phrase. However, if one focuses on the time adverbial, then the time adverbial is brought within the scope of final accent (and furthermore, if it is after the verb, within the same phonological phrase as the verb):

- (4b) *n-na-x-safira "leeló* 'it is today that I am leaving on a trip'
m-phanzilee mu-tí/ "yuuzi 'it is the day before yesterday that I climbed a tree'
n-andishilee xatí/ "yaná 'it was yesterday that I wrote a letter'
nth-a-x-soma "keesho 'it's tomorrow that I will study'

When a verb exhibits default accent, only in post-verbal position does the phrasing reveal the special status of the time adverbial (though it is likely that pitch level differences, if taken into consideration, would reveal the special status of the time adverbial):

- (4c) *Haliima/ pishile/ yuuzi* 'Haliima/ cooked/ day before yesterday'
Muusa/ na-ku-jaa nama/ isa 'Muusa/ is eating meat/ now'
ma-poliisi/ wa-m-shishile m-iizi/ yana 'police/ caught thief/ yesterday'
m-aana/ bashize chi-buuku/ yuuzi 'the child/ lost book/ day before yesterday'

5. Relative clause formation: subject relativization.

When the head of a relative clause refers to the subject of the relative verb, it immediately precedes the relative verb. The verb in many tenses ends in the final vowel *-o*, but in passive perfects and in negative forms the final vowel is not altered to *-o*. However, all relative verb forms display final accent. (This final accent appears at the end of each phonological phrase in the relative verb phrase).

It is not always the case that the head is phrased with the relative verb, but it certainly *may* be. It is this possibility that differentiates the head in subject relativization from the subject of a non-relative verb. The subject of a non-relative verb can never be grouped together with that verb if it precedes the verb (this, of course, is a consequence of the *Align-XP R* principle).

The following are a few examples where we recorded the head grouped together with the relative verb.

- (5a) *Halima liziló* 'the Haliima who cried' (cf. *Haliima/ lizile* 'Haliima/ cried')
mu-nthu na-ku-meroowá/ ni uyu 'the person who is being looked for/ is this one'
 (cf. *muu-nthu/ na-ku-meroowa* 'the person/ is being looked for')
mu-nthu ofeto x-fakatá/ na-x-pumula. 'the man who is tired from running/ is resting now'
 (cf. *muu-nthu/ ofeto x-fakata* 'the man/ is tired from running')
haye/ mpelekele/ laakini/ iwá/ kuwa ka wanthu ni wakulú/ karka mujtama'í/ yiko xatari.
 'alright/ take it to him (e.g. the sultan)/ but/ know/ that from people who are important in society/ there is danger.'

Although the head of the subject relative clause may be grouped phrasally with the relative verb, it is not uncommon to find it being phrasally separated.

- (5b) *ni-m-ene m-aajimú/ bozelo chi-buku ch-a m-aaná.* 'I saw the teacher who stole the child's book.'
muu-nthu/ na-x-suloowá/ ni uyu 'the person/ who is wanted/ is this one', as well as *mu-nthu na-x-suloowá/ ni uyu* 'the person who is wanted/ is this one')
basi/ muke/ chilawa/ masku/ chenda wowiini/ kumtalaa noka / ubleelá. 'so/ the woman/ went out/ at night/ (and) went to the river/ to pick up the snake/ that was killed'
mafta/ yalazilo ka namaani/ shtaala/ chiyatila/ karka zibalaasi/ saba. 'the oil/ that she took from the meat [e.g. of the snake]/ she took/ and put it/ in clay jars/ seven'
suxuuni/ baaba/ chimpanataa muke/ xiriḷo xkala na mwaanawé. 'at the market/ father/ found a woman/ who agreed to stay with his child'
ni-m-tambülé/ muu-nthu/ xambilo jawabu izi/ nii dafa. 'I recognize that/ the one/ who told you these answers/ is the crow'
n-thale/ i-laziló/ ha-y-ruudi/ chi-nume 'an arrow/ that has left/ does not return/ back'
chi-buuku/ ch-uüzíz/ n-chha Nuuru 'the book/ that was sold/ belongs to Nuuru'
m-aana/ m-bozelo Nuurú/ chi-buukú 'the child/ who stole from Nuuru/ the book'

6. Relativization: object relativization.

When the head of a relative clause is co-indexed with an object of the relative verb, and the verb has an overt pre-verbal subject, there is an *AGR-a* element linking the head to the relative verb's subject. The *AGR-a* element agrees with the noun class of the head noun. The overt subject of the relative verb is of course always phrasally separated from the verb, but the head may be separated from the *AGR-a NP* or phrased with it

- (6a) *head phrased separately*
Nuuru/ inenzeze/ gaari/ y-a Haaji/ uziló 'Nuuru drove the truck that Haaji bought'
ni-m-ene m-aaná/ w-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo chi-buukú 'I saw the child/ who I/ stole a book from'
ni-m-ene m-aaná/ w-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo chi-buukú 'ibid.'
ni-m-eeené/ m-aana/ w-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo chi-buukú 'ibid.'
n-uzize chi-buukú/ ch-a Nuuru/ m-bozelo m-aaná 'I sold the book that I stole from the child'
n-uüzízé/ chi-buuku/ ch-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo m-aaná 'ibid.'
laakini/ mw-aana/ iize/ ku-m-loola/ mw-anaamke/ w-a waawa=y-e/ m-sulililó 'but/ the boy/ refused/ to marry/ the girl/ that his father/ wanted for him'
ye/ sulile kumloola/ mwanaamke/ lazilo ka ahli 'he/ wanted to marry/ a girl/ who came from his clan'
- (6b) *head phrased with AGR-a NP*
chi-su ch-aa mí/ n-uuziló 'the knife that I bought'
chi-su ch-aa mí/ ni-ch-uuziló 'the knife that I bought (it)' (notice that an object prefix referring to the head may appear on the relative verb)
n-uzize chi-buku ch-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo m-aaná 'I sold the book that I stole from the child'
n-uüzízé/ chi-buku ch-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo m-aaná 'I sold the book that I stole from the child'
n-uzize chi-buku ch-a Nuurú/ m-bozelo m-aaná
n-uüzízé/ chi-buku ch-aa Nuuru/ m-bozelo m-aaná
pesa z-aa mí/ n-xirile ki-zi-ruudá 'the money that I/ agreed to return [it]'
ni-m-ene m-ana w-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo chi-buukú 'I saw the child/ who I/ stole a book from'
ni-m-eeené/ m-ana w-aa mí/ ni-m-bozelo chi-buukú 'I saw the child/ who I/ stole a book from'
Nuuru/ inenzeze gari ya Haaji/ uziló 'Nuuru/ drove the truck that Haaji bought'

(Note: the final accent on *Haaji* in this example has been noted only in recent work and further research is required to determine its use as opposed to *inenzeze gari ya Haaji*, which is the sort of pronunciation we generally recorded in our earlier work with MI.).

7. Adverbial relative clauses.

In addition to the above cases where the relative clause modifies an argument or prepositional phrase, there are also an assortment of adverbial relative clauses. We provide a few examples but will not pursue these structures in detail here.

- (7a) *Haaji/jiilo=pó* '(when) Haaji/ ate'
 also: *jiilo=po Haaji* 'when (or once) Haaji came'
wa-'ingilopo n̄hi iyí/ kumeraa kujá/ Yusuufu/ chi-wa-taambula. 'when they entered this land/ to
 look for food/, Yusuufu/ recognized them.'
karkaa yé/ oloshelo kumrasha nkhaangá/ mundaani/ wa'ilee nyunyi/ wajile ntheende/ yote.
 'while he was chasing the guinea fowl, in the garden, birds came, and they ate all the
 dates'
chizeele/ choondoka/ chuuluka/ chooloka/ ilu/ nthó/ naa chó/ chintukilo mwaaná/ mongooní.
 'the old woman/ got up/ and flew/ and went/ very high/ carrying the boy/ on her back'

8. Contrasts between relative clause phrasing/accents and main-clause phrasing/accents: Postposed subjects.

Postposing of subjects in main clauses is usually possible, but postposed subjects do not phrase with a preceding verb in many cases.

- (8a) *fiile/ Muusa* 'died/ Muusa' (**file Muusa*)
tulushile/ mu-nthu oyo 'fell/ that man' (**tulushile mu-nthu oyo*)
tezeze/ Muusa 'played, danced/ Muusa' (**tezeze Muusa*) *Haliima/ nthaxfuli/ maana/ nguwo* 'Haliima
 did not wash clothes for the child'

But it would be incorrect to say that a postposed subject never phrases with the verb:

- (8b) *lizile Haliima/ mpaka/ maato/ yamfuriile* 'Haliima cried until (her) eyes swelled'
file Muusa/ Nuuru/ oloshela '(as soon as) Musa died/ Nuuru/ left'
tulushile mu-nthu oyo/ ta-ku-yaawata '(the way) that man fell/ will shock you'
n-jiile/ mí 'ate/ I' (note that subject pronoun cannot be phrased with the verb: **njilee mí.*)

When we turn to relative clauses, postposed subjects do occur, but when they occur in post-verbal position, they are typically phrased with the verb. Moreover, they always occur within the scope of the final accent shown by relative verbs. When the subject is postposed, the head of the object relative clause is located directly in front of the relative verb and there is no *AGR-a* link since there is no subject for the *AGR-a* to join together with.

- (8c) *fatuura/ y-a Jelaani/ takuuló* 'the car that Jelaani will buy'
fatuura y-a Jelaani/ takuuló 'ibid.'
fatuura/ takulo Jelaani 'the car that Jelaani will buy'
fatuura takulo Jelaani 'ibid.'

gaari/ pakizo Nuuru/ ma-jiwé 'the truck/ that was loaded (i.e. by) Nuuru/ with stones'
gaari/ uzilo Haaji/ s-paandi 'the truck that Haaji bought, I will not ride (in it)'
Nuuru/ inenzeze gaari/ uzilo Haaji 'Nuuru drove the truck that Haaji bought'

zi-buuku/ bozelo m-iizi/ nzaaká 'the books that the thief stole are mine'
zi-buku bozelo m-iizi/ nzaaká 'ibid.'

fatuura/ inenzezo Nuuru/ kilaa muunthi/ ndaaká 'the car that Nuuru drove each day is mine'
fatuura inenzezo Nuuru/ kilaa muunthi/ ndaaká 'the car that Nuuru drove each day is mine'
fatuura/ inenzezo kilaa muunthi/ Nuuru/ ndaaká 'the car that Nuuru drove each day is mine'
fatuura/ inenzezo kilaa muunthi/ Nuuru/ ndaaká 'the car that Nuuru drove each day is mine'
fatuura/ inenzezo/ Nuuru/ kilaa muunthi/ ndaaká 'the car/ that Nuuru drove each day is mine'
fatuura/ inenzezo/ kilaa muunthi/ Nuuru/ ndaaká 'the car/ that Nuuru drove each day is mine' (not
 preferred in comparison with the above sentence) (NB the *kilaa* form with a long vowel needs to
 be checked again.)

(cf. *fatuura/ inenzezo/ (ni) Nuuru* 'it is Nuuru who drove the car' (**fatuura/ inenzezo/ (ni) Nuuru*)--
 see discussion below of so-called "pseudo-relative" clauses)

zi-jo/ pishilo Faatima/ mí/ spendi 'the food cooked by Faatima/ I/ do not like it'

pesa bozelo miizi/ s-taali 'the money that the thief stole, I won't take it'
n-guwo/ fuzilo Faatima/ si-vaali 'the clothes/ that Faatima washed/, I won't put on'
m-naango/ vunzilo m-iizi 'the door that the thief broke down'

nguwo za Faatima/ fuzilo/ nzaaka 'the clothes that Faatima washed are mine'
nguwo fuzilo Faatima/ nzaaka (same meaning)
nguwo fuzilo/ Faatima/ nzaaka (same meaning)
 **nguwo fuzilo/ Faatima/ nzaaka* (same meaning)
 (cf. *nguwo/ fuzilo/ Faatima* (this is a complete sentence: 'clothes/ Faatima washed', see below for discussion of "pseudo-relatives"))

9. Negative verbs and their phrasing in relative clauses.

In main clauses, in the default case, a negative verb is separated phrasally from any following complement in the verb phrase.

- (9a) *marti w-iitu/ ile numbaa=ni* 'our guest/ went home' vs.
marti w-iitu/ nth-aa-ku-ya/ numbaa=ni 'our guest/ did not go/ home'

mu-kee=w-e/ shishile miimba 'his wife/ became pregnant' vs.
mu-kee=w-e/ nth-a-x-shiika/ miimba 'his wife/ did not become/ pregnant'

uyu/ ta-k-infa kaazi 'this one is suitable for the job' vs.
uyu/ h-a-ta-k-iinfa/ kaazi 'this one is not suitable for the job'

In relative clauses, however, the negative verb does not typically stand at the end of a phrase.

- (9b) *ha-fundowi na maama=y-e/ hu-m-fundo l-mweengu* 'the one who is not taught by his mother/ is the one whom the world teaches'

ha-ta-x-faanya/ kaazi 'he won't work'
 versus
mu-nthu ha-ta-x-fanya kaazi 'the man who won't work'

Haliima/ nthamfulila/ maana/ nguwo 'Haliima did not wash clothes for the child'
muke (/) nthamfulila maana/ nguwo/ ni Haliima 'the woman who did not wash clothes for the child is Haliima'
muke (/) nthamfulila/ maana/ nguwo/ ni Haliima 'the woman who did not wash clothes for the child is Haliima' (This sentence is not preferred, but acceptable, unlike:
 **muke nthamfulila/ maana/ nguwo/ ni Haliima* 'the woman who did not wash clothes for the child is Haliima')

In the following data set, we combine the issue of negative phrasing in relative clauses with subject postposing:

- (9c) *nguwo za Haliima/ nthaxfula/ nzaaka* 'the clothes that Haliima did not wash are mine'
nguwo nthaxfula Haliima/ nzaaka 'the clothes that Haliima did not wash are mine'
nguwo nthaxfula/ Haliima/ nzaaka 'the clothes that Haliima did not wash are mine' (This sentence is not as preferred as the preceding one, but is possible., unlike the bad sentence:
 **nguwo nthaxfula/ Haliima/ nzaaka* 'the clothes that Faatima did not wash are mine' (where the Accentual Law of Focus incorrectly prevails)

10. Time adverbials and relative clauses.

In relative clauses, time adverbials always fall within the scope of the final accent.

- (10a) *m-aana/ bashizo chi-buukú/ yuuzí* 'the child who lost the book yesterday'
m-ana oyo/ bashiüzó/ chi-buukú/ yuuzí 'that child who lost the book the day before yesterday'
Musa ntha-na-ku-ja isá 'the Muusa who is eating now'
m-iizi/ oyo/ shishiḷaa yaná 'thief/ that one/ who was caught yesterday'
m-iizi/ shishiḷa na mapolīisi/ yaná 'the thief/ who was caught by the police/ yesterday'
mu-nthu na-x-safira leeló/ ni Nuuru 'the person who is leaving on a trip today/ is Nuuru'
- mwanaamke/ pishilee 'nama/ yana* 'the girl cooked meat yesterday'
mwanaamke/ pishiloo namá/ yaná/ ni Haliima 'the girl who cooked meat yesterday is Haliima'

11. The Accentual Law of Focus and relative clauses

Relative clauses do not obey the Accentual Law of Focus in terms of the scope of final accent.

- (11a) *m-aana/ bashizo chi-buukú* 'the child/ who lost the book'
 or: *m-ana bashizo chi-buukú*
m-ana oyo/ bashiüzó/ chi-buukú 'that child/ who lost/ the book'
- m-aana/ uziüzó/ chi-buukú* 'the child/ who sold / book'
muu-nthu/ m-eeńó/ m-iizi 'the man/ who saw/ thief'
m-aana/ naa=ch-ó/ chi-buukú 'the child/ who has/ the book'
- sku mooyi/ mw-anaamke/ naa yé/ kaleenthó/ n-thí/ na-x-suko m-salá/ chi-m-potelela/ chi-noka/ ilu=k-e*
 'one day/ the girl/ while she/ was sitting on/ the floor/ knitting a mat/ fell/ a small snake/ on her'
sanduuxu/ ipanziizapó/ markabuuní/ mwaana/ chamura inatiloowa/ kaake/ mtanaani.
 'when the box was loaded on the ship, the boy ordered it to be put in his room.'

What these data show is that even when there is focus internal to the relative clause, the final accent extends to the end of the relative VP.

12. Cleft sentences and pseudo-relative clauses.

A relative form of the verb is used in cleft sentences in Chimwiini with the form *ni XP (YP) relative verb*. To distinguish these relative forms from "true" relatives, we refer to the verbs as having a *pseudo-relative* form.

- (12a) *ni Muusa/ kodeeló* 'it is Muusa who spoke'
ni Muusa/ nthaxkooḏá 'it is Muusa who did not speak'
ni Muusa/ kodelo ka lkelé 'it is Muusa who spoke loudly'
ni Muusa/ nthaxkooḏa ka lkelé 'it is Muusa who did not speak loudly'
ni Muusa/ hu-pendo n-tholokó 'it is Muusa/ who likes beans'
ni chi-buuku/ ch-uziizá 'it is book that was sold'
ni Muusa/ na=y-o chi-buukú 'it is Muusa/ who has a book'
ni Muusa/ lumila naa noká 'it is Muusa/ who was bitten by a snake'
ni Nuuru/ bozelo chi-buukú 'it is Nuuru/ who stole book'
ni waawa=y-e/ m-loweezó 'it is his father/ who financed his wedding'
- ni Muusa/ wa-pelo w-aaná/ maandá* 'it is Muusa/ who gave the children bread'
ni w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pelo maandá 'it is the children/ whom Muusa/ gave bread'
 **ni w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pele maanda* (with no pseudo-relativization)
- ni ch-olokoo=ni/ Suufi/ latilo i-jiwé* 'it is at window/ Suufi/ threw stone'

In our data, the *ni* precedes the first phrase in the sentence, but not a subsequent phrase:

- (12b) *(ni) zi-buku z-iingi/ m-aalimu/ someeló* '(it is) many books that the teacher has read'
(ni) ziingi/ zibuuku/ maalimu someeló
 **ziingi/ ni zi-buuku/ maalimu/ someeló*

13. *Ni-less clefting.*

In the preceding section we looked at overt cleft structures. There are, however, various types of sentences which are like cleft sentences in that the verb is converted into relative form, but the *ni* is absent. There seem to be three classes of examples. In one class, the *ni* may be omitted but this omission does not lead to a clearly preferred form. In the second case, the *ni* is possible, but actually the form most likely to be provided is the one where *ni* is absent. The third class of cases is one where the *ni* simply cannot be used, but the verb is still in pseudo-relative form.

We are not in a position to distinguish the first two classes with any certainty. In sections **14** and **15** we illustrate various cases where there is a *ni*-less variant available. In **16** we will illustrate some cases where a *ni* form is not possible. It should be noted, however, that all cases involve the same observation: a pseudo-relative form is associated with a pre-verbal triggering element.

14. *Questions.*

When question words precede the verb, the verb is put into pseudo-relative form. For our present purposes, we will illustrate just *who?* questions constructed with the question word *naani*.

- (14a) *naani/ koḏeeló* 'who spoke?'
naani/ koḏelo ka lkele 'who spoke loudly?'
naani/ ka lkele/ koḏeeló (same general meaning)
naani/ nthaxkoodá 'who did not speak loudly?'
chi-buku ch-a naani/ peetó 'whose book did you find?'

naani/ pishiló 'who cooked?'
naani/ uzilo chi-buukú 'who bought the book?'
naani/ pishiloo zi-jó 'who cooked *zi-jo*?'
naani/ fanyizo kaazí 'who did work?'
naani/ vunzilo m-naangó 'who broke down the door?'
naani/ fuziloo n-guwó 'who washed clothes?'
naani/ bozelo peesá 'who stole money?'

Questions may also have an overt cleft structure, but these were not the forms first offered by our consultants.

- (14b) *ni naani/ koḏeeló* 'it is who that spoke?'

(There are actually two variants of this sentence type depending on relative pitch levels. In the simple question, *naani* is at the pitch peak and the next phrase is downstepped. If the last phrase is raised in pitch and not downstepped, then the sentence is one where the person asking the question knows who spoke and is asking confirmation.)

15. *ni-less clefting triggered by other pre-verbal elements.*

Question words trigger pseudo-relativization when they precede the verb, not (generally) when they are in post-verbal position. There are, however, many elements when located in pre-verbal position trigger pseudo-relativization. A few are illustrated here.

- (15a) *Muusa/ koḏeeló* '(it is) Muusa/ who spoke'
Muusa/ chi-buuku=ch-e/ m-pheetó 'I found Muusa's book'
chi-buku ch-a Muusa/ m-pheetó 'Muusa's book/ I found (it)'

Muusa/ lesele maayi 'Muusa/ brought water'
Muusa/ leesele/ maayi 'Muusa/ brought/ water'
maayi/ Muusa/ leesele 'water/ Muusa/ brought'
maayi/ Muusa/ leeseló '(it is) water/ Muusa/ brought'
ni maayi/ Muusa/ leeseló 'it is water/ that Muusa/ brought'
**ni maayi/ Muusa/ leesele* (not possible due to non-relative form of the verb)

Haliima/ uzile chi-buuku 'Haliima/ bought the book'
Haliima/ uzilo chi-buukú '(it is) Haliima/ (who) bought the book'
Haliima/ tú/ uzilo chi-buukú 'only Haliima/ bought a book'
 **Haliima/ tú/ uzile chi-buuku* (same as above, but without pseudo-relativization)
 cf.
Haliima/ uzile zi-buuku/ tú 'Haliima/ bought books/ only'

zi-buuku/ tú/ Haliima/ uziló (*uzile) 'only books/ Haliima/ bought'
Haliima/ zi-buuku/ tú/ uziló '(it is) only books that Haliima bought'
Haliima/ tú/ zibuuku/ uziló '(it is) only Haliima who bought books'

Haliima/ wa-'ulile w-aana/ zi-buuku 'Haliima bought books for the children'
Haliima/ wa-'ulile w-aana/ tú/ zi-buuku 'Haliima bought books for only the children'
Haliima/ wa-'ulile w-aana/ zi-buuku/ tú 'Haliima bought only books for the children'
Haliima tú// wa-'ulilo w-aaná/ zi-buukú 'Haliima/ only/bought for the children/ books'
w-aana/ tú/ Haliima/ wa-'ulilo zi-buukú 'children/ only/ Haliima/ bought for them books'
zi-buuku/ tú/ Haliima/ wa-'ulilo w-aaná 'books/ only/ Haliima/ bought for the children'

chi-buuku/ ch-uziiza 'the book/ was sold'
 (ni) *chi-buuku/ ch-uziizá* '(it is) the book/ that was sold' (cf. *chi-buuku/ ch-uziize* 'the book/ was sold')

Nuuru/ filó '(it is) Nuuru (who) died' (cf. *Nuuru/ fiile* 'Nuuru/died')
Nuuru/ bozelo chi-buukú '(it is) Nuuru/ who stole a|the book'

mu-ke oyo/ pishiló '(it is) that woman/ who cooked' (cf. *mu-ke oyo/ pishile* 'that woman/ cooked')
mu-ke oyo/ pishiloo zi-jó 'it is that woman/ who cooked zi-jo'
Nuuru/ fanyizo kaazí '(it is) Nuuru/ who did work'

Muusa/ wa-pele w-aana/ maanda 'Muusa/ gave the children bread'
 (ni) *Muusa/ wa-pelo w-aaná/ maandá* 'it is Muusa/ who gave the children/ bread'
 **ni Muusa/ wa-pele w-aana/ maanda* (non-relative form of verb not acceptable)
Muusa/ w-aana/ wa-pele maanda
 (ni) *Muusa/ w-aana/ wa-pelo maandá*
 **ni Muusa/ w-aana/ wa-pele maandá* (not possible for no pseudo-relativization when *ni* present)
w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pelo maandá
 but without pseudo-relativization:
w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pele maanda or *w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-peele/ maanda*
ni w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pelo maandá
 * *ni w-aana/ Muusa/ wa-pele maandá* (not correct with no pseudo-relativization)
 **w-aana/ ni Muusa/ wa-pelo maandá* (*ni* must mark the first XP in the sentence)

Muusa/ someloo ch-iwó 'Muusa/ (is the one) who read a|the book'
m-aana/ uzizo chi-buukú 'a|the child/ (is the one) who sold a|the book'

Muusa/ tú/ kođelo ka lkelé 'Muusa/ only/ spoke loudly'
 also: *ni Muusa/ tú/ kođelo ka lkelé*

Muusa/ tú/ nthaxkođa ka lkelé 'Muusa/ only/ did speak loudly'
 also: *ni Muusa/ tú/ nthaxkođa ka lkelé*

Muusa/ na-x-sulaa ku-ja 'Muusa/ wants to eat'
Muusa/ tú/ na-x-suloo ku-já 'Muusa/ only/ wants to eat'

Muusa/ na-x-sula m-aana/ ku-ja 'Muusa/ wants the child/ to eat'
Muusa/ tú/ na-x-suloo m-aaná/ ku-já 'Muusa/ only/ wants the child/ to eat'

Muusa/ na-x-sulá m-aana/ tú/ ku-ja (**ku-já*) 'Muusa/ wants the child/ only/ to eat' (notice that *tú* modifies *m-aana* 'child' but does not trigger pseudo-relativization in the infinitival complement; this raises the issue of whether the infinitive is not subject to pseudo-relativization-- cf. section 16 below for discussion of other verbal forms that surprisingly do permit pseudo-relativization)

16. Pseudo-relativization triggered by fronting which is not a variant of a cleft structure.

We have seen that XP complements to the verb may be preposed and trigger pseudo-relativization. The issue here is whether in such cases we are *always* dealing with reduction of a cleft construction where the *ni* has been omitted. Some insight into this question may be gotten from considering verb tenses not compatible with the cleft structure. Consider the imperative verb.

- (16a) *fanya gaari=y-a* 'fix my truck!'
faanya/ gaari=y-a 'fix/ my truck!'
gaari=y-a/ faanyá 'my truck/ fix (it)!'

Notice that it is clear that we are not dealing here with a cleft structure, since it is ungrammatical to preface *ni* to the preposed NP: **ni gaari=y-a/ faanyá*.

- (16b) *fanya gaari=y-a/ ka hima* 'fix my truck/ quickly!'
faanya/ gaari=y-a/ ka hima 'fix/ my truck/ quickly!'
ka hima/ fanya gaari=y-á quickly/ fix my truck!'

fanya gaari=y-a/ tú 'fix my truck/ only!'
gaari=y-a/ tú/ faanyá 'my car/ only/ fix!'

Next let us look at the subjunctive.

- (16c) *Muusa/ na-'oloke* 'let Muusa/ go'
Muusa/ na-'oloké 'it is Muusa/ that should go'
 **ni Muusa/ na-'oloké* (no overt *ni* is possible in this example)

Muusa/ tú/ na-'oloké 'Muusa/ only/ should go'
 **Muusa/ tú/ na-'oloke* (with the preverbal *tú*, a form without pseudo-relativization is rejected)

Nuuru/ na-'ule gari iyi 'Nuuru/ should buy this car'
Nuuru/ na-'ule/ gari iyi 'Nuuru/ should buy/ this car'
Nuuru/ na-'ule gari iyí 'it is Nuuru/ that should buy this car'
gari iyi/ Muusa/ na-'ulé 'this car/ Muusa/ should buy it'
 **ni gari iyi/ Muusa/ na-'ulé* (*ni* is not permitted in this case)
gari iyi/ Muusa/ na-'ule 'this car/ Muusa/ should buy' (pseudo-relativization is not obligatory in this case)

There is another class of cases that we have noted where the *ni*-variant is unacceptable. Look at the following data:

- (xxx) *ka l-kele/ Muusa/ kodeeló* 'loudly/ Muusa/ spoke'
ni ka l-kele/ Muusa/ kodeeló 'it is loudly/ that Muusa/ spoke'
 but:
ka l-kele/ Muusa/ nthaxkoodá 'loudly/ Muusa/ did not speak';
 **ni ka l-kele/ Muusa/ nthaxkoodá* 'it is loudly/ that Muusa/ did not speak'

17. The Accentual Law of Focus and pseudo-relativization.

The Accentual Law of Focus is generally obeyed in our data on pseudo-relativization, in contrast to true relativization. There is however considerable room for further investigation to make sure that all cases of pseudo-

relativization behave the same. There is also some reason (see below) to study whether arguments and adverbials need to be distinguished.

The case of preverbal question words and the Accentual Law of Focus is illustrated in (17a).

- (17a) *naani/ fuziloo nguwo* 'who/ washed/ clothes?'
naani/ fuziló/ nguwo (same meaning)
 **naani/ fuziló/ nguwo* (same meaning)

naani/ bozelo chi-buukú 'who stole the book?'
naani/ bozeló/ chi-buuku 'ibid.'

naani/ takulo fatuurá 'who will buy a car?'
naani/ takuuló/ fatuura 'ibid.'
naani/ takuuló/ fatuura 'ibid.'

cf. the behavior of true relatives:

muu-nthu/ takulo fatuurá/ ni Hamadi 'the man who will buy a car is Hamadi'
muu-nthu/ takuuló/ fatuurá/ ni Hamadi 'ibid.'
muu-nthu/ takuuló/ fatuura/ ni Hamadi 'ibid.'

Other cases of pseudo-relativization of a subject seem to obey the Accentual Law of Focus.

- (17b) *Jelaani/ takulo fatuurá* '(it is) Jelaani who will buy a car'
Jelaani/ takuuló/ fatuura 'ibid.'
 **Jelaani/ takuuló/ fatuurá*

(*ni*) *Nuuru/ bozeló/ chi-buuku* '(it is) Nuuru/ who stole a/the book'
 (*ni*) *Nuuru/ bozelo chi-buukú*

ni Muusa/ naa=y-ó/ chi-buuku 'it is Muusa/ who has/ a book

Faatima/ tú/ fuziloo nguwo 'only Faatima washed clothes'
Faatima/ tú/ fuziló/ nguwo (same meaning)
 **Faatima/ tú/ fuziló/ nguwo* (same meaning)

muu-nthu/ m-eene m-iizi 'the man/ saw the thief' (canonical phrasing)
muu-nthu/ m-eene/ m-iizi 'the man/ saw/ the thief' (focus on verb)
muu-nthu/ m-eno m-iizi 'the man saw the thief' (canonical; phrasing, pseudo-relative)
muu-nthu/ m-eeenó/ müizi 'the man/ saw/ thief' (focus on verb, Accentual Law of Focus obeyed)
 **muu-nthu/ m-eeenó/ m-iizi* 'the man/ saw/ the thief' (focus on verb, Accentual Law of Focus violated)

mu-ke/ t̥inzilee nama 'the woman/ cut meat'
mu-ke/ t̥inzile/ nama 'the woman/ cut/ meat'
mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ nama 'the woman/ cut/ meat' (Accentual Law of Focus obeyed)
 **mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ namá* 'the woman/ cut/ meat' (Accentual Law of Focus violated)
 (cf. *mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ namá/ ni m-buja* 'the woman/ who cut/ the meat/ is my sister')

mu-ke/ t̥inzilee nama/ kaa chi-su 'the woman/ cut the meat/ with a knife'
mu-ke/ t̥inzile/ nama/ kaa chi-su 'the woman/ cut/ meat/ with a knife'
mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ nama/ kaa chi-sú 'the woman/ cut/ meat/ with a knife' (there is some likelihood that the final accent observed on the second out-of-focus complements may represent the assignment of final accent unconnected to the scope of the pseudo-relative, but much more study of this example type is needed)
mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ nama/ kaa chi-su (not particularly favored)
 **mu-ke/ t̥inziló/ namá/ kaa chi-sú* (final accent having scope over both out-of-focus objects rejected)

ka hima/ faanyá/, gaari=y-a 'quickly/ fix/ my truck!' (or without pseudo-relativization: or *ka hima/ faanya/, gaari=ya*)

nthó/ kazá 'push it in hard!'

nthó/ kaza musmaarí 'drive the nail in hard!'

nthó/ kazá/ musmaari 'drive the nail in hard!'

nthó/ kaza musmaarí/ n-thunduu=ní 'drive the nail into the hole hard!'

nthó/ kazá/ musmaari/ n-thunduu=ni 'drive the nail into the hole hard!'

But we have contradictory data with regard to the scope of the final accent, though these data involve adverbials. More research is clearly required.

- (17c) *ni naani/ kodelo ka lkelé* 'it is who that spoke loudly?'
ni naani/ kodeeló/ ka lkelé 'it is who that spoke loudly?'

Muusa/ kodele ka l-kele. 'Muusa spoke loudly.'

Muusa/ tú/ kodeeló/ ka lkelé. 'It is only Muusa who spoke loudly.'

ka l-kele/ Muusa/ kodeeló 'loudly Muusa spoke'

ni Muusa/ kodeeló/ ka lkelé 'it is Muusa who spoke loudly'

ni Muusa/ nthaxkoodá/ka lkelé 'it is Muusa who did not speak loudly'

18. Pseudo-relativization and time adverbials.

We have recorded the time adverbial included in the scope of final accent in the pseudo-relative construction.

- (18a) *naani/ m-shishilo m-iizí/ yaná* 'who/ caught the thief/ yesterday?'
Muusa/ m-shishilo m-iizí/ yaná 'Muusa/ caught the thief/ yesterday'

gari iyi/ n-uzilo leeló 'this truck/ I bought today'

But we have also recorded variation:

- (18b) *mwanaamke/ pishiló/ nama/ yana* 'the girl cooked meat yesterday'
ni mwanaamke/ pishiloo namá/ yana 'it is the girl who cooked meat yesterday'
ni mwanaamke/ pishiloo namá/ yaná (same meaning)

mwanaamke/ tú/ pishiloo namá/ yana 'only the girl cooked food yesterday'

mwanaamke/ tú/ pishiloo namá/ yaná (same meaning)

naani/ pishiloo namá/ yana 'who cooked meat yesterday?'

naani/ pishiloo namá/ yaná (same meaning)

Much more research on this matter is required, however, since there are intonational uses of shift to final accent that could conceivably be at work in the language and operate separately from the principles controlling the scope of final accent in pseudo-relatives.

19. Negative phrasing and pseudo-relative clauses.

Recall that in the case of negative verbs, the default phrasing is for the negative verb to be at the end of a phonological phrase. We assume that there is an inherent focus on the negative verb. *Muusa/ haapiki/ maanda* 'Muusa does not cook bread'. However, it is possible to include the complement in the phrase with the negative verb when the complement is being focused: *Muusa/ hapiki maanda* 'Muusa does not cook bread'. However, this clearly represents a phrasing that is out of the ordinary. In true relative clauses, the negative verb typically is not separated from its complement and certainly is within the scope of the final accent of the negative verb. In the case of pseudo-relativization, the negative verb may or may not be at the end of the phonological phrase. However, the Accentual Law of Focus is obeyed (at least with respect to arguments):

- (19a) *(ni) Muusa/ hapiki maandá* '(it is) Muusa (who) did not cook bread'
(ni) Muusa/ haapiki/ maandá. '(it is) Muusa (who) did not cook bread'
 *(*ni) Muusa/ haapiki/ maandá* (Accentual Law of Focus violated)

Muusa/ haa-ji/ m-boga 'Muusa/ does not eat/ greens'
Muusa/ tú/ ha-ji m-bogá 'Muusa/ only/ does not eat greens'
Muusa/ tú/ haa-ji/ m-boga 'Muusa/ only/ does not eat/ greens'

Muusa/ tú/ ha-ni Fantá 'Muusa/ only/ does not drink Fanta'
Muusa/ tú/ haa-ní/ Fantá 'Muusa/ only/ does not drink/ Fanta' (Accentual Law of Focus obeyed)

However, the data with a double object seems to show violation of the Accentual Law of Focus when the negative verb is focused.

- (19b) *Haliima/ tú/ nthamfulíla maaná/ nguwo* 'only Haliima did not wash clothes for the child'
Haliima/ tú/ nthamfulílá/ maaná/ nguwo 'only Haliima did not wash clothes for the child' (This sentence is not preferred, but the following sentence was rejected:
 **Haliima/ tú/ nthamfulílá/ maana/ nguwo* 'only Haliima did not wash clothes for the child')

naani/ nthamfulíla maaná/ nguwo 'who did not wash clothes for the child?'
naani nthamfulílá/ maaná/ nguwo 'who did not wash clothes for the child?' (This sentence is not preferred, but acceptable, unlike: **naani nthamfulílá/ maana/ nguwo.*)

20. Postposed subjects and pseudo-relativization.

Our consultant rejected including a postposed subject in the same phrase as a pseudo-relative verb and also rejected including the postposed subject in the scope of the final accent of the pseudo-relative verb.

- (20a) *fatuura/ takuuló/ Jelaani* '(it is) a car that Jelaani bought'
 **fatuura/ takulo Jelaaní*
 **fatuura/ takuuló/ Jelaaní*

zi-jo/ pishile/ Faatima 'the food/ cooked/ Faatima' (main clause postposing)

**zi-jo/ pishile Faatima*

zi-jo/ pishiló/ Faatima '(it is) the *zi-jo/* cooked/ Faatima'

**zi-jo/ pishilo Faatimá*

**zi-jo/ pishiló/ Faatimá*

peesa/ boozele/ maskiini 'money/ stole/ the poor man' (main clause postposing)

**peesa/ bozele maskiini*

peesa/ boozeló/ maskiini '(it is) the money/ that the poor man cooked'

**peesa/ bozelo maskiini*

**peesa/ boozeló/ maskiini*

n-guwo/ fuziló/ Faatima '(it is) the clothes/ that Faatima washed'

**n-guwo/ fuzilo Faatimá*

**n-guwo/ fuziló/ Faatimá*

m-naango/ vuunzile/ miizi 'the door/ broke down/ the thief' (main clause postposing)

**m-naango/ vunzile miizi*

m-naango/ vuunziló/ miizi '(it is) the door/ broke/ the thief'

**m-naango/ vunzilo m-iizi*

**m-naango/ vuunziló/ m-iizi*

zibuuku/ tú/ uziló/ Haliima 'books/ only/ bought/ Haliima'

**zibuuku/ tú/ uziló/ Haliimá* (shows that final accent does not have scope over postposed subject)

**zibuuku/ tú/ uzilo Haliimá* 'books/ only/ bought Haliima' (shows that the postposed subject not included in the same phrase as the verb)

kaa n-khele/ anziizó/ Muusa/ ku-la 'loudly Muusa began to cry'

kaa n-khele/ anziizo ku-lá/ Muusa 'ibid.'

**kaa n-khele/ anziizo Muusá/ ku-lá*

These examples contrast with the case of a true relative clause, where the postposed subject may be phrased with the relative verb and in any case falls within the scope of the final accent.

21. Conclusion.

In this paper we have demonstrated that true relative verb clauses display striking differences with respect to phrasing and the scope of final accent in comparison with verb phrases in main clauses. We also noted that there is variation with respect to the phrasing of the heads of true relative clauses.

There is an extensive use of pseudo-relative clauses in Chimwiini. Pseudo-relative clauses show the same morphological use of the final vowel *-o* and the final accent as in true relative clauses. However, there are significant differences. There is no 'head' of the pseudo-relative verb and thus no variation in the phrasing of this non-existent head. Furthermore, the phrasing and scope of final accent in the pseudo-relative verb phrase is more similar to main clause verb phrases than to true relative clause verb phrases.

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