Integrated Appositive Relative Clauses in Shupamem

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1. INTRODUCTION

This talk investigates the structural and interpretative properties of relative clauses (RCs) in Shupamem, focusing on those RCs that we characterize as appositive by virtue of the fact that they modify proper nouns and pronouns.

We show that these non-restrictive RCs have the same properties as restrictive RCs in the language, leading to the conclusion that appositives are clausally "integrated" in the sense of Cinque 2008, just as in Mandarin Chinese (Zhang 2001; Del Gobbo 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005) and Italian (Cinque 2008).


TALK OUTLINE

§2: OVERVIEW OF SHUPAMEM RCS
§3: EVIDENCE THAT SHUPAMEM APPOSITIVES ARE INTEGRATED
§4: OTHER CONSIDERATIONS
§5: CONCLUSION

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2. OVERVIEW OF SHUPAMEM RCS

Shupamem[1] (ISO 639-3: bax) (also known as "Bamun") is an Eastern Grassfields Bantu language spoken by about 420,000 people (Eberhard et al. 2019) in the Western Province of central Cameroon.

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[1] The data and judgments presented in this talk come exclusively from fieldwork with the second author, a native speaker of Shupamem. Data are presented in IPA. Abbreviations for Shupamem follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules with minor deviations, and include: COMP = complementizer; EVID = evidential; EXPL = expletive; INF = infinitive; IMPERF = imperfective; LOC = locative; NEG = negative; PL = plural; PRS = present; PSTn = past, level n (there are 4 past tense time depths in Shupamem (Nchare 2012)); REAL = realis; RECIP – reciprocal; REL = relative marker; SG = singular; TOP = topic. The following diacritics are used to mark surface tone: $\acute{V}$ = high, $\grave{V}$ = low, $\check{V}$ = rising, $\hat{V}$ = falling.
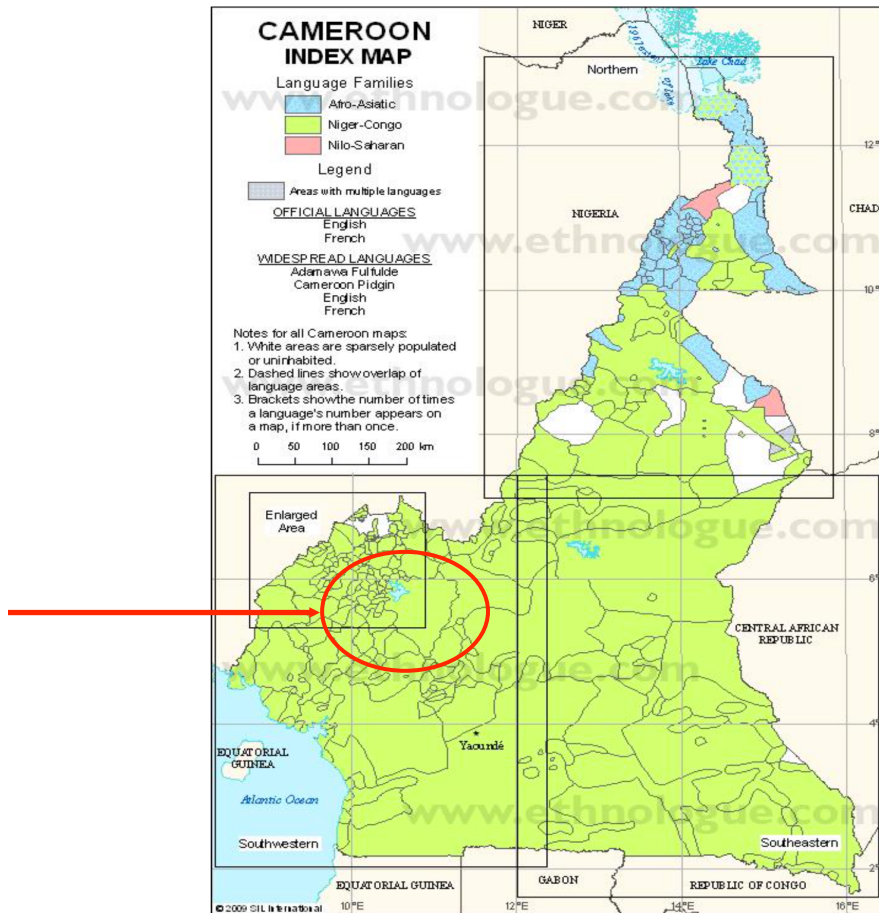
Two Shupamem RCs are shown in (1).

(1) a. mə̌   jì   mìn   [juə́   í-jíɣə̀n   Râjè   nə́]
        1ST.SG know.PRS person.SG REL.SG 3RD.SG-see.PST1 Raye   REL.COMP
        'I know the person that saw Raye.'

     b. mə̌   jì   pìn   [puə́   Râjè   jíɣə̀n   nə́]
        1ST.SG know.PRS person.PL REL.PL Raye   see.PST1 REL.COMP
        'I know the people that Raye saw.'

- Shupamem RCs are post-nominal, externally headed structures.

- For subject (and non-direct object) RCs, the relativized nominal is represented inside the RC via a resumptive pronoun (1a).

- The nominal antecedent selects the RC, as evidenced by number agreement on the relative pronoun (*juə́* (1a) vs. *puə́* (1b)).

- RCs are bounded on their right edges by an invariable relative complementizer.

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Regardless of whether the RC head is nominal (1), a proper name (2a), or a pronoun (2b), Shupamem RCs are formally indistinguishable. All three resemble one another morphosyntactically and prosodically.

(2) a. mǎ   jì   Mímʃɔ́ [juɘ́   í-jíɣɘ̀n   Râjè   nɘ́]
        1ST.SG know.PRS Mimshe REL.SG 3RD.SG-see.PST1 Raye REL.COMP
        'I know Mimshe, who saw Raye.'

     b. mǎ   jì   ŋú   [juɘ́   ú-jíɣɘ̀n   Râjè   nɘ́]
        1ST.SG know.PRS 2ND.SG REL.SG 2ND.SG-see.PST1 Raye REL.COMP
        'I know you, who saw Raye.'

RCs in the language also look the same regardless of whether the antecedent is a quantified expression that licenses a discourse referent (3a) or not (3b).

(3) a. mǒʔ   mìn   [juɘ́   í-jíɣɘ̀n   Râjè   nɘ́]   ɣɨ̀ɘ̀
        some person.SG REL.SG 3RD.SG-see.PST1 Raye REL.COMP laugh.PST1
        'Some person that saw Raye laughed.'

     b. ŋgù   pìn   [puɘ́   pɘ́-jíɣɘ̀n   Râjè   nɘ́]   ɣɨ̀ɘ̀
        every person.PL REL.PL 3RD.PL-see.PST1 Raye REL.COMP laugh.PST1
        'Every person that saw Raye laughed.'

Despite their formal similarity to the restrictive RCs in (1), the RCs in (2), in virtue of taking proper name and pronominal antecedents, are appositive (Jackendoff 1977).

In what follows, we will argue that this formal similarity across RCs reveals a deeper unity – Shupamem appositive RCs, like restrictive RCs, are syntactically integrated in the sense of Cinque 2008.

- **INTEGRATED RCS** are clauses that are internal to the nominal projection containing the RC head and belong to the domain of sentence grammar.

- **NON-INTEGRATED RCS** are clauses that are generated independently of the sentence/nominal projection containing the RC head and belong to the domain of discourse grammar.

The argument runs as follows:

- All diagnostics fail to differentiate restrictive RCs from appositive RCs in Shupamem – we observe no asymmetries between the two RC types.

- The interpretative and syntactic properties of Shupamem appositives are consistent with a clause-internal nominally-integrated syntactic analysis.

3. EVIDENCE THAT SHUPAMEM APPOSITIVES ARE INTEGRATED

3.1. *Illocutionary Independence*

In languages like English where appositives are non-integrated, non-restrictive RCs and matrix clauses can have independent illocutionary forces.

(4)   a. Is even Clarence, who is wearing mauve socks, a swinger? (Ross 1967)
         b. Get Bill, who is in charge of this operation! (Andrews 1975)

In Shupamem, neither restrictive RCs nor appositives may be illocutionarily independent from the matrix clause.

(5)   a. súsú-nù   ɣɛ́tɘ́   í
         please-2ND.SG   embrace.PRS   3RD.SG
         'Please embrace her/him!'

         b. *mǎ   ʃàʔʃã   mìn   [juɘ́ súsú-nù   ɣɛ́tɘ́   í   nɘ́]
           1ST.SG greet.PST person REL   please-2ND.SG embrace.PRS 3RD.SG REL.COMP
           Intended: 'I greeted the person that you should please embrace (him/her).'

         c. *mǎ   ʃàʔʃã   Râjè   [juɘ́ súsú-nù   ɣɛ́tɘ́   í   nɘ́]
           1ST.SG greet.PST Raye REL   please-2ND.SG embrace.PRS 3RD.SG REL.COMP
           Intended: 'I greeted Raye, who you should please embrace (her).'

These facts follow if appositives (like restrictives) are clausally integrated. As such, they fall under the scope of a single Force head and thus may not bear an illocutionary force distinct from that of the matrix clause.

3.2. Matrix Negation

In many languages, nominals modified by restrictive RCs can appear under the scope of matrix negation, while nominals modified by appositive RCs cannot (Demirdache 1991).

(6)   a. I haven't met a used car salesman that practices meditation.
        b. *I haven't met a used car salesmen, who practices meditation.

In Shupamem, RCs anteceded by nominal heads (7a), proper names, and pronouns (7b) may all appear under the scope of matrix negation.

(7)   a. mə̌   pí mâ   n-ʒí-à   mìn [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n   Râjè nə́]
           1ST.SG PST3 NEG.PST REAL-know.INF-1ST.SG person REL 3RD.SG-see.PST1 R REL.COMP
           'I didn't know the person that saw Raye.'

        b. mə̌   pí mâ   n-ʒí-à   ŋú [juə́ ú-jíɣə̀n   Râjè nə́]
           1ST.SG PST3 NEG.PST REAL-know.INF-1ST.SG 2ND.SG REL 2ND.SG-see.PST1 R REL.COMP
           'I didn't know you, who saw Raye.'

Evidence that the RCs in (7) are truly under the scope of matrix negation comes from the fact that Negative Polarity Items in these contexts are licensed.

(8)   a. *Râjè jíɣə̀n   **nʃèmìn**
            Raye see.PST1 anybody

        b. Râjè **mâ**   n-ʒíɣə̀n-ì   **nʃèmìn**
           Raye NEG.PST REAL-see.INF-3RD.SG anybody
           'Raye didn't see anybody.'

        c. mə̌   pí mâ   n-ʒí-à   mìn [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n   **nʃèmìn** nə́]
           1ST.SG PST3 NEG.PST REAL-know.INF-1ST.SG person REL 3RD.SG-see.PST1 anybody REL.COMP
           'I didn't know the person that saw anybody.'

        d. mə̌   pí mâ   n-ʒí-à   ŋú [juə́ ú-jíɣə̀n   **nʃèmìn** nə́]
           1ST.SG PST3 NEG.PST REAL-know.INF-1ST.SG 2ND.SG REL 2ND.SG-see.PST1 anybody REL.COMP
           'I didn't know you, who saw anybody.'

Once again, a diagnostic fails to differentiate restrictive RCs from appositive RCs in Shupamem. The fact that appositives fall under the scope of matrix negation supports the analysis that they are clausally integrated in the language.

3.3. Intentional Verbs

An appositive's ability to appear in the scope of an intentional verb can be taken as a diagnostic of integration. In a number of languages, restrictive RCs can appear in the scope of intentional verbs, but appositive RCs cannot (Srivastav 1991, Zhang 2001).

(9)   a. John thinks that Mary loves the professor that is a genius.
       b. John thinks that Mary loves Bill, who is a genius.

(9a) implies that John thinks the professor is a genius, while (9b) does not.

In Shupamem, RCs headed by nominals (10a), proper names (10b), and pronouns (10c) may all appear in the scope of intentional verbs, as revealed by their interpretations.

(10)   a. Mímʃə́ ná ŋ-gúpmə̀ mí mə̌ jì mìn [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n Râjè nə́]
       M   EVID IMPERF-think COMP 1ST.SG know person REL 3RD.SG see.PST R   REL.COMP
       'Mimshe thinks that I know the person that saw Raye.'
     ⇒ Implies that Mimshe thinks that the person (in question) saw Raye.

      b. Mímʃə́ ná ŋ-gúpmə̀ mí mə̌ jì Músá [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n Râjè nə́]
       M   EVID IMPERF-think COMP 1ST.SG know Musa REL 3RD.SG see.PST R   REL.COMP
       'Mimshe thinks that I know Musa, who saw Raye.'
     ⇒ Implies that Mimshe thinks that Musa saw Raye.

      c. Mímʃə́ ná ŋ-gúpmə̀ mí mə̌ jì ŋú [juə́ ú-jíɣə̀n Râjè nə́]
       M   EVID IMPERF-think COMP 1ST.SG know 2ND.SG REL 2ND.SG see.PST R   REL.COMP
       'Mimshe thinks that I know you, who saw Raye.'
     ⇒ Implies that Mimshe thinks that you saw Raye.

The facts in (10) hold for other intentional verbs such as *buə̌* 'fear' and *ʃǎʔ* 'wish'.

Once again, restrictive RCs and appositive RCs pattern together – both are syntactically integrated into the clause.

3.4. VP Ellipsis

A well-known asymmetry distinguishing restrictive RCs from appositives concerns the fact that the antecedent of VP ellipsis may include a restrictive RC (11a), but not an appositive (11b) (McCawley 1988).

(11)   a. My sister liked the pizza that I baked, but my brother did not [e].
          [e] = 'like the pizza that I baked'

       b. My sister likes pizza, which (by the way) I bake well, but my brother does not [e].
          [e] = 'like pizza'; [e] ≠ 'like pizza, which, by the way, I bake well'

The ability of an RC to be included in the antecedent of VP ellipsis, therefore, directly tests whether that RC is clausally integrated or not.

Shupamem has VP ellipsis (via a ø conjunction marker and the inflected particle *nkà*).

(12)   a. mə̌   jì   Mímʃə́ wù   nkà-ú   jì   Mímʃə́
          1ST.SG know.PRS Mimshe you.SG too-2ND.SG know.PRS Mimshe
          'I know Mimshe and you too know Mimshe.'

       b. mə̌   jì   Mímʃə́ wù   nkà-ú
          1ST.SG know.PRS Mimshe you.SG too-2ND.SG
          'I know Mimshe and so do you.'

Regardless of whether an RC is headed by a nominal (13a), a proper name (13b), or a pronoun (13c), an elided VP is interpreted as anteceded by a VP containing the entire RC.

That is, the antecedent of VP ellipsis systematically behaves as though it includes the RC, irrespective of whether the RC is restrictive or appositive.

(13)   a. mə̌   jì   mɨn [juə́ Músá jɨ́ɣə̀n nə́]   wù   nkà-ú
          1ST.SG know.PRS person REL M   see.PST1 REL.COMP 2ND.SG too-2ND.SG
          'I know the person that Musa saw and so do you [e].'
          [e] = 'know the person that Musa saw'
          [e] ≠ 'know the person'

       b. mə̌   jì   Râjè [juə́ Músá jɨ́ɣə̀n nə́]   wù   nkà-ú
          1ST.SG know.PRS R   REL M   see.PST1 REL.COMP 2ND.SG too-2ND.SG
          'I know Raye, who Musa saw and so do you [e].'
          [e] = 'know Raye, who Musa saw'
          [e] ≠ 'know Raye'

       c. mə̌   jì   ŋú   [juə́ Músá jɨ́ɣə̀n nə́]   wì   nkà-í
          1ST.SG know.PRS 2ND.SG REL M   see.PST1 REL.COMP 3RD.SG too-3RD.SG
          'I know you, who Musa saw and so does s/he [e].'
          [e] = 'know you, who Musa saw'
          [e] ≠ 'know you'

Evidence that RCs headed by R-expressions (13b) and pronouns (13c) are indeed included in the antecedent of VP ellipsis comes from the fact that both strict and sloppy identity readings are possible in the elided VP:

(14) a. mə̌   jì   môn Músá [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n   ná]   wù   nkà-ú
        1ST.SG know.PRS child Musa   REL 3RD.SG-see.PST1 REL.COMP 2ND.SG too-2ND.SG
        'I know Musaᵢ's child, who heᵢ saw and so do you [e].'
        [e] = 'know Musaᵢ's child, who heᵢ saw'   (✓STRICT IDENTITY)
        [e] = 'know Musaᵢ's child, who s/heⱼ saw' (✓SLOPPY IDENTITY)

      b. mə̌   jì   ŋú   [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n   ná]   puə́   nkà-puə́
        1ST.SG know.PRS 2ND.SG REL 3RD.SG-see.PST1 REL.COMP 3RD.PL too-3RD.PL
        'I know you, who s/heᵢ saw and so do they [e].'
        [e] = 'know you, who s/heᵢ saw' (✓STRICT IDENTITY)
        [e] = 'know you, who s/heⱼ saw' (✓SLOPPY IDENTITY)

VP ellipsis thus furnishes another argument that restrictive and appositive RCs pattern together in Shupamem and that both RCs are of the integrated variety.

3.5. *Pronominalization*

In languages like English (McCawley 1981), proforms can resume nominal heads plus restrictive RCs, but not heads plus appositive RCs. This suggests that appositives in English, unlike restrictives, are not clausally integrated.

(15) a. John has an apartment that overlooks Central Park and now he wants **another** (= 'apartment that overlooks Central Park').

      b. John has an apartment, which (by the way) overlooks Central Park, and now he wants **another** (= 'apartment'; ≠ 'apartment which overlooks Central Park').

In Shupamem, the situation is different. Pronouns may resume heads plus appositive RCs, which is consistent with the integrated status of appositives in the language.

Evidence that the proform is resuming the head + appositive RC in Shupamem comes from the fact that pronominalization can yield sloppy identity readings in these cases.

(16) Mímʃə̌ ʃàʔʃã   Râjè [juə́ í-ŋgɨ́ʔ   ná]   Músá ʃàʔʃã í   nkà-í
      M   greet.PST R   REL 3RD.SG-love.PRS REL.COMP M   greet.PST 3RD.SG too-3RD.SG
      'Mimsheᵢ greeted Rayeⱼ, who heᵢ loves, and Musaₖ greeted herⱼ too.'
      ⇒ Can imply that Musa also loves Raye. (✓SLOPPY IDENTITY)

3.6. Binding

It has been claimed that a fundamental difference between restrictives and appositives concerns variable binding. Safir (1986) showed that matrix quantifiers can bind pronouns inside restrictive RCs, but they cannot bind pronouns inside appositive RCs.

(17) a. [Every Christian]$_i$ forgives a man who harms him$_i$.   (Safir 1986)
      b. *[Every Christian]$_i$ forgives John, who harms him$_i$.   (Safir 1986)

In Shupamem, there is no comparable asymmetry. Quantifiers outside RCs can bind RC-internal variables, regardless of whether the RC head is a nominal (18a), a proper name (18b), or a pronoun (18c).

(18) a. **ŋgù   pìn**   jɨ́ɣə̀n   mɔ́n [juə́ í-ŋăm   í   nə́]
          every person.PL see.PST child REL 3RD.SG-bother.PST 3RD.SG REL.COMP
          'Every person$_i$ saw the child that bothered him/her$_i$.'

      b. **ŋgù   pìn**   jɨ́ɣə̀n   Mímʃə́ [juə́ í-ŋăm   í   nə́]
          every person.PL see.PST Mimshe REL 3RD.SG-bother.PST 3RD.SG REL.COMP
          'Every person$_i$ saw Mimshe, who bothered him/her$_i$.'

      c. **ŋgù   pìn**   jɨ́ɣə̀n   ŋú [juə́ ú-ŋăm   í   nə́]
          every person.PL see.PST 2ND.SG REL 2ND.SG-bother.PST 3RD.SG REL.COMP
          'Every person$_i$ saw you, who bothered him/her$_i$.'

Another attested binding asymmetry concerns anaphor binding. Unlike restrictive RCs, anaphors within appositives cannot be bound in some languages (Giorgi 1984).

Once again, there is no such asymmetry in Shupamem. Long-distance anaphors inside RCs can be bound by elements outside the RC, regardless of whether the RC head is a nominal (19a) or a proper name (19b).

(19) a. Mímʃə́   jɨ́ɣə̀n   mə̀mbà: [juə́ í-sŭ   **tû   ŋwàr-ì**   nə́]
          Mimshe see.PST man   REL 3RD.SG-wash.PST head body-3RD.SG REL.COMP
          'Mimshe$_i$ saw the man$_j$ that washed himself$_{i/j}$.'

      b. Mímʃə́   jɨ́ɣə̀n   Râjè [juə́ í-sŭ   **tû   ŋwàr-ì**   nə́]
          Mimshe see.PST Raye REL 3RD.SG-wash.PST head body-3RD.SG REL.COMP
          'Mimshe$_i$ saw Raye$_j$, who washed himself$_i$/herself$_j$.'

These facts argue that both restrictive and appositive RCs in Shupamem are integrated.

3.7. *Weak Crossover Effects*

Another way to diagnose RC integration is through weak crossover effects.

In a number of languages, there is an asymmetry between restrictive and appositive RCs – restrictive RCs give rise to weak crossover effects, while (non-integrated) appositives are immune to them (Safir 1986, Cinque 2008).

In Shupamem, there is no analogous asymmetry. Regardless of whether the RC head is a nominal (20a), a proper name (20b), or a pronoun (20c), weak crossover effects can be observed inside the RC.

(20)   a. Râyè   ʃà?ʃã   mə̀mbà: [juə́ mɔ́n-ì   jɨ́ɣə̀n   nə́]
           Raye   greet.PST man   REL child-3RD.SG see.PST REL.COMP
           'Raye greeted the man$_i$ that his$_{j/*i}$ child saw.'

       b. Râyè   ʃà?ʃã   Músá [juə́ mɔ́n-ì   jɨ́ɣə̀n   nə́]
            Raye   greet.PST Musa REL child-3RD.SG see.PST REL.COMP
            'Raye greeted Musa$_i$, who his$_{j/*i}$ child saw.'

       c. Râyè   ʃà?ʃã   í   [juə́ mɔ́n-ì   jɨ́ɣə̀n   nə́]
            Raye   greet.PST 3RD.SG REL child-3RD.SG see.PST REL.COMP
            'Raye greeted him/her$_i$, who his/her$_{j/*i}$ child saw.'

These facts once again place restrictive and appositive RCs on equal footing in the language and strongly suggest that like restrictives, appositives are clausally integrated.

3.8. *Parasitic Gaps*

The presence of parasitic gaps also diagnoses RC integration.

In English, parasitic gaps can appear within restrictive RCs, but not within appositives (Safir 1986). Cinque (2008) observes a similar asymmetry in Italian (at least with respect to one type of non-restrictive RC in the language).

(21)   a. John is a man who everyone who knows __ admires __.   (Safir 1986)
       b. *John is a man who Bill, who knows __ , admires __.   (Safir 1986)

Once again, we find no comparable asymmetry in Shupamem.

Parasitic gaps are found in all RCs, regardless of whether the RC is headed by a nominal (22b), a proper name (22c), or a pronoun (22d). In other words, parasitic gaps are licensed inside both restrictive and appositive RCs in the language.

(22)   a. *Músá ʃàʔʃǎ   mìn   mà nʒàm kà   í-jíɣə̀n   __
           Musa greet.PST person LOC back before 3RD.SG-see.PST
           'Intended: Musa greeted the person after seeing (him/her).'

       b. mìn   [juə́ Músá ʃàʔʃǎ   mà nʒàm kà   í-jíɣə̀n   __   nə́]   kɛ̀:nə̀
          person REL Musa greet.PST LOC back before 3RD.SG-see.PST REL.COMP be.tired
          'The person that Musa greeted after seeing is tired.'

       c. Râjè [juə́ Músá ʃàʔʃǎ   mà nʒàm kà   í-jíɣə̀n   __   nə́]   kɛ̀:nə̀
          Raye REL Musa greet.PST LOC back   before 3RD.SG-see.PST REL.COMP be.tired
          'Raye, who Musa greeted after seeing, is tired.'

       d. Wú [juə́ Músá ʃàʔʃǎ   mà nʒàm kà   í-jíɣə̀n   __   nə́]   kɛ̀:nə̀
          2ND.SG REL Musa greet.PST LOC back   before 3RD.SG-see.PST REL.COMP be.tired
          'You, who Musa greeted after seeing, are tired.'

The connectivity between appositive RC heads and the parasitic gaps they license once again supports the conclusion that Shupamem appositives are clausally integrated.

3.9. Split Antecedents

In Italian, only non-integrated RCs can have split antecedents (Cinque 2008). Appositive RCs in English, which are non-integrated according to Cinque (2008), also allow for split antecedents (Perlmutter & Ross 1970).

(23)   Kim likes muffins$_i$, but Sandy prefers scones$_j$, which$_{i+j}$/*that they eat with jam.
                                                                    (Arnold 2007)

If Shupamem appositives are integrated, as we have argued, we predict the impossibility of split antecedents in RCs headed by proper names and pronouns. This prediction is borne out.

In restrictive RCs (24a), the impossibility of split antecedents is demonstrated by the unavailability of RC-internal reciprocals, which require plural antecedents. The same is true for appositives headed by proper names (24b) and pronouns (24c).

(24) a. *Râjè ʃãʔʃã   mìn   [juə́ pə́   ŋgɨ́ʔ   ŋwàt-t-àp   nə́]
        Raye greet-PST person REL 3RD.PL love.PRS body-RECIP-3RD.PL REL.COMP
        Intended: 'Raye$_i$ greeted the person$_j$ who$_{i+j}$ love each other$_{i+j}$.'

     b. *Râjè ʃãʔʃã   Músá [juə́ pə́   ŋgɨ́ʔ   ŋwàt-t-àp   nə́]
        Raye greet-PST Musa REL 3RD.PL love.PRS body-RECIP-3RD.PL REL.COMP
        Intended: 'Raye$_i$ greeted Musa$_j$, who$_{i+j}$ love each other$_{i+j}$.'

     c. *Râjè ʃãʔʃã   ŋú   [juə́ pə́   ŋgɨ́ʔ   ŋwàt-t-àp   nə́]
        Raye greet-PST 2ND.SG REL 3RD.PL love.PRS body-RECIP-3RD.PL REL.COMP
        Intended: 'Raye$_i$ greeted you$_j$, who$_{i+j}$ love each other$_{i+j}$.'

Once again, restrictive and appositive RCs pattern together in their integrated status.

4. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In this section, we bring other (less decisive) considerations to bear on the integrated status of appositive RCs in Shupamem.

While these considerations do not argue directly for the integrated status of appositives, they a) serve to further highlight the ways in which restrictives and appositives pattern together syntactically in the language and b) are consistent with the analysis.

4.1. Stacking

A well-known asymmetry between restrictive and appositive RCs, at least for languages like English, is that unlike appositive RCs, restrictive RCs can stack (Jackendoff 1977, McCawley 1988).

(25) a. The tiger that I saw that I wanted to buy was expensive.
      b. #The tiger, which was 5 weeks old, which was fed twice a day, ate only fish.
                                                        (Branchini & Donati 2009)

By "stacking", we mean cases where RC$_1$ modifies a nominal, while RC$_2$ modifies the unit [nominal + RC$_1$]. In others words, stacking involves an RC modifying another [head + RC], not two conjoined RCs modifying the same antecedent and not nesting, both of which are possible with non-restrictive RCs.

Shupamem RCs headed by nominal heads (26a), proper names (26b), and pronouns (26c) all permit stacking.

(26) a. mǎ   jì   mìn   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]   [juə́ Mímʃə́ ɣɨ́ʔ nə́]
          1ST.SG know person REL Raye see.PST1 REL.COMP REL Mimshe like REL.COMP
          'I know the person that Raye saw that Mimshe likes.'

      b. mǎ   jì   Músá [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]   [juə́ Mímʃə́ ɣɨ́ʔ nə́]
          1ST.SG know Musa   REL Raye see.PST1 REL.COMP REL Mimshe like REL.COMP
          'I know Musa, who Raye saw, who Mimshe likes.'

      c. mǎ   jì   ŋú   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]   [juə́ Mímʃə́ ɣɨ́ʔ nə́]
          1ST.SG know 2ND.SG REL Raye see.PST1 REL.COMP REL Mimshe like REL.COMP
          'I know you, who Raye saw, who Mimshe likes.'

These facts are reminiscent of Dutch, where appositive RCs can also stack (Vries 2000).

If the ability to stack RCs diagnoses the clausal integration of those RCs and not just restrictive vs. non-restrictive status, then Shupamem appositives once again manifest properties of clausally integrated syntactic objects.

4.2. Extraposition

Another asymmetry between restrictive and appositive RCs, at least for languages like English, is that restrictive RCs can extrapose, but appositives cannot (McCawley 1988).

No such asymmetry exists in Shupamem. Both restrictive RCs (27c) & RCs with proper name (28)/pronominal (29) antecedents can extrapose to the right edge of the clause.

(27) a. mìn   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]   kɨp   rɨ̀: ŋkù:rə̀
          person REL Raye see.PST REL.COMP break.PST chair yesterday
          'The person that Raye saw broke the chair yesterday.'

      b. mìn   kɨp   rɨ̀:   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]   ŋkù:rə̀
          person break.PST chair REL Raye see.PST REL.COMP yesterday
          'The person broke the chair that Raye saw yesterday.'

      c. mìn   kɨp   rɨ̀:   ŋkù:rə̀   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣən nə́]
          person break.PST chair yesterday REL Raye see.PST REL.COMP
          ✓'The person__broke the chair yesterday [that Raye saw].' (Raye saw the person.)
          ✓'The person broke the chair__ yesterday [that Raye saw].' (Raye saw the chair.)

In (27c), an RC is extraposed around the adverb 'yesterday' and the resulting output is ambiguous between a reading where the subject or the object is the antecedent.

If the structure in (27c) is modified so that the matrix subject is replaced with a proper name, extraposition once again results in ambiguity, revealing that the extraposed RC can be interpreted either appositively or restrictively.

(28)   Mímʃɔ́   kɨp   rɨ: ŋkù:rə̀   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣə̀n   nə́]
        Mimshe break.PST chair yesterday REL Raye see.PST REL.COMP
      ✓'Mimshe __ broke the chair yesterday [who Raye saw].' (Raye saw Mimshe.)
      ✓'Mimshe broke the chair __ yesterday [that Raye saw].' (Raye saw the chair.)

And if the structure in (27c) is modified so that the matrix subject is replaced with a pronoun, extraposition also results in ambiguity, again revealing that the extraposed RC can indeed be interpreted appositively.

(29)   Wú   kɨp   rɨ: ŋkù:rə̀   [juə́ Râjè jɨ́ɣə̀n   nə́]
        2ND.SG break.PST chair yesterday REL Raye see.PST REL.COMP
      ✓'You __ broke the chair yesterday [who Raye saw].' (Raye saw you.)
      ✓'You broke the chair __ yesterday [that Raye saw].' (Raye saw the chair.)

If the ability to extrapose diagnoses the clausal integration of an RC and not just restrictive vs. non-restrictive status, then Shupamem appositives once again behave as though they are clausally integrated syntactic structures.

4.3. Extraction

In some languages, extraction from restrictive RCs is possible, but extraction from appositive RCs is impossible. Swedish is one such language (Engdahl 1997).

(30)   Swedish (Platzack 2000: 275)
        a. [Den här   teorin]$_i$ känner jag mannen som uppfann t$_i$.
            this here theory know   I   man.the REL invented
           'I know the man who invented this theory.'

        b. *[Den här   teorin]$_i$ känner jag Kalle som uppfann t$_i$.
            this here theory know   I   Kalle REL invented
           Intended: 'I know Kalle, who invented this theory.'

Extraction out of RCs is possible in Shupamem (Kandybowicz et. al 2021), regardless of whether the RC is restrictive (i.e headed by a nominal (31a)) or appositive (i.e. headed by a proper name (31b) or a pronoun (31c)).

(31) a. á   pò: **ɲí**   mə̌ jì   mìn   [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n __ nə́]
          EXPL TOP machete 1ST.SG know person REL 3RD.SG-see.PST REL.COMP
          'As for the machete, I know the person that saw (it).'

      b. á   pò: **ɲí**   mə̌ jì   Músá [juə́ í-jíɣə̀n __ nə́]
          EXPL TOP machete 1ST.SG know Musa   REL 3RD.SG-see.PST REL.COMP
          'As for the machete, I know Musa, who saw (it).'

      c. á   pò: **ɲí**   mə̌ jì   ŋú   [juə́ ú-jíɣə̀n __ nə́]
          EXPL TOP machete 1ST.SG know 2ND.SG REL 2ND.SG-see.PST REL.COMP
          'As for the machete, I know you, who saw (it).'

Here we have another case where, if the ability to undergo extraction diagnoses the clausal integration of an RC and not just restrictive vs. non-restrictive status, then Shupamem appositives behave as though they are clausally integrated.

5. CONCLUSION

Appositive RCs in Shupamem are clausally integrated syntactic objects.

The evidence:

- Shupamem appositive RCs lack illocutionary independence from the matrix clause.
- Shupamem appositive RCs may appear under the scope of matrix negation.
- Shupamem appositive RCs may appear under the scope of matrix intentional verbs.
- Shupamem appositive RCs are included in the antecedent of VP ellipsis.
- Shupamem appositive RCs and their heads may be resumed by proforms.
- Pronominal variables & anaphors inside appositive RCs in Shupamem may be bound by material outside the RC.
- Shupamem appositive RC formation is sensitive to weak crossover effects.
- Shupamem appositive RCs can host parasitic gaps.
- Shupamem appositive RCs cannot have split antecedents.

The following considerations also support the integrated analysis of Shupamem appositive RCs, assuming that they diagnose clausal integration and not just restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification:

- Shupamem appositive RCs can be stacked.
- Shupamem appositive RCs can extrapose.
- Shupamem appositive RCs permit A-bar extraction.

These findings support Cinque's (2008) discovery that appositive RCs admit of two varieties: integrated and non-integrated.

Along with the appositives of Mandarin Chinese and certain non-restrictive RCs in Italian, Shupamem joins the typology of languages that manifest the (currently rare) integrated appositive RC variety.

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