In Duala (a Bantu language, Cameroon), ng is an invariant, dedicated marker of movement with the following properties:

- Must appear when an XP is extracted from below the scopal clause verb in a focus construction, relative clause, or wh-question

1. ngele *ng* nu moto — kile
   ‘It’s a book that Kuo gave that man yesterday.’
   (Epée 1976b: 194 (1d))

2. ngele *ng* na — e-bo *(ng) kena*
   ‘the lion 1SG.SM-kill.PST NO 9.monkey
   ‘the lion I thought killed the monkey...’
   (Epée 1976a: 328 (67b))

3. ngele *ng* na-onge *ng* — mën?
   1.who 1.GKU 1.SMP-send-APPL.PFV NO 3.money
   ‘Who did Kuo send (the) money to?’
   (Epée 1976a: 208 (50b))

- Cannot appear when the XP is the scopal clause subject

4. ngele *ng* nu moto kalati
   1.GKU 1.SMP-give-pst NO 1.that 1.man 9.book yesterday
   ‘It’s Kuo who gave that man a book yesterday.’
   (Epée 1976a: 194 (1b))

- Must appear immediately following the highest verb in the scopal clause

5. ngele *ng* bom-e
   1.letter 1.SMP-put-pst NO 2GK
   ‘the letter I will send you’
   (Epée 1976a: 257)

- Cannot appear in clauses other than the scopal clause

6. ngele *ng* na-onge *ng* na o-kwa-di
   1.man 1.REL-be that 1SG.STR-PFT-think NO that 2SG.STR-SAY-PST
   *(ng) na o-wen *(ng) *mën?
   ‘the man who I think that you said that you saw’
   (Biloa 1993: 70 (6))

- Cannot appear when the XP does not move (cf. (3) and (7))

7. ngele *ng* na mën?
   1.GKU 1.SMP-send-APPL.PFV NO 1.who 3.money
   ‘Who did Kuo send (the) money to?’
   (Epée 1976a: 208 (50a))

- Does not improve extraction from islands

8. ngele *ng* na na-neim-bi *(ng) mbō *(ŋe b-bi)
   1.man 1.REL-be that 1SG.STR-recognize-PST-NO 9.dog 9.REL-be that
   9-bite-PST *
   ‘the man who I recognized the dog that bit him’
   (Biloa 1993: 71 (8))