

8

RELATIVE CLAUSES

ALESSANDRO DURANTI

*University of Southern California  
& Università di Roma*

0. INTRODUCTION\*

This paper provides a preliminary description of relative clause formation in Haya. It will be shown that this language exhibits a wider range of relativization patterns and possibilities than other closely related Bantu languages such as Luganda and Kinyarwanda.<sup>1</sup> Haya speakers can form relative clauses (RC's) not only on subjects and direct objects, but also on other kinds of prepositionless NP's, as well as on prepositional phrases. Different strategies are used according to the kind of NP which is relativized, and in one case (i.e. instrumental NP's) verb-coding and pronoun-retaining can be used interchangeably.

1. SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF HAYA RC's

Haya RC's are postnominal, as expected in a consistent SVO language, and the relative pronoun usually introduces the RC. However, if the subject of the RC is a full NP, a special rule can move the relative pronoun immediately before the verb of the RC. The relative pronouns follow the general rules of nominal concord in Haya and are distinguished into two series: (i) a bound form for relativized subjects; (ii) an unbound form in all other cases. (As seen in Appendix 1, these pronouns are similar to the demonstratives meaning 'that/that one/those'.) In some tenses the morphology and the tone contour of the verb in the RC are different from the corresponding forms in main clauses (for a comparative list of the forms of the verb -gend- 'go', see Appendix 2.) Haya does not overtly distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive RC's.

2. RELATIVIZATION ON SUBJECTS

The subject of an embedded clause is relativized by replacing it with a relative pronoun (REL) which is attached as a preprefix to the very beginning of the verbal complex. Given Haya basic word order (SVO), no movement

rule is needed. Examples (1) - (5) illustrate this construction with different noun classes and different verbal forms.

- (1) embw' á-y-a-ly' ébitooke Ø yange 'the dog that ate the bananas  
dog REL-it-P<sub>1</sub>-eat bananas COP mine is mine'
- (2) abáán' á-ba-a-gend' ómu-kyaa'lo 'the children who have gone to  
children REL-they-P<sub>1</sub>-go to-village the village'
- (3) ekintw' á-kl-tá-ll kihângo 'the thing that is not big'  
thing REL-it-NEG-be big
- (4) omushá'fj' á-y-a-bon' ómukâzi 'the man who saw the woman'  
man REL-he-P<sub>1</sub>-see woman
- (5) ébitook' á-by-a-gul-w-a káto 'the bananas that have been bought  
bananas REL-they-P<sub>1</sub>-buy-PASS Kato by Kato'

As seen in the above examples, the relative pronoun for subjects consists of a high tone preprefix which agrees in noun class with the head noun. The only case where this REL marker is not identical in form to the preprefixes found on nouns (see Chagas 1977) is class 1, which has á- instead of the expected ó-. The latter form does appear, however, in front of an adjectival modifier with no overt copula.<sup>2</sup> Compare (6a) and (6b).

- (6) a. omuntw' á-ll muhângo 'the person who is big'  
person REL-be big
- b. omuntw' ó-muhângo 'the big person'

2.1. *Personal pronouns as head nouns.* If the head noun is a (full) personal pronoun, both the verb and the relative pronoun agree with a non-expressed 3rd person referent. Therefore, for all human referents, whether 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person, the relative pronoun is identical to that used with class 1 head nouns in the singular and class 2 head nouns in the plural:

- (7) iñ' á-gend' áha-mujá'jalo bull lwamukéga tì-n-gulá bintu bigi  
I REL-go to-market each Saturday NEG-I-buy things many  
'I who go to the market every Saturday do not buy many things'

Other forms: iw' á-gend' ... 'you (sg.) who go...'  
wénén' á-gend' ... 'he/she who goes...'  
icw' á-ba-gend' ... 'we who go...'  
iñw' á-ba-gend' ... 'you (pl.) who go...'  
bónén' á-ba-gend' ... 'they who go...'

These forms then mean something like 'I/you/he/she..., (the one) who goes [class 1]' and 'we/you/they..., (the ones) who go' [class 2].

### 3. RELATIVIZATION OF PREPOSITIONLESS NP's

A non-subject prepositionless NP is relativized by replacing it with a V(C)V-o pronoun which usually appears at the beginning of the RC (see section

5 for the "attraction-to-the-verb rule"). Since prepositionless NP's can have different syntactic and/or semantic roles, I will illustrate this relativization pattern by going through the different types of prepositionless NP's that Haya sentences can have.

3.1. *Direct objects (DO's)*. This category has been defined by Duranti and Byarushengo (1977) by a certain number of properties that are shared by what they call "basic" DO's. Without going into too many details, intuitively and traditionally speaking, such NP's as *emótoka* 'car' in (8), *omwáana* 'child' in (9), and *ebitooke* 'bananas' in (10) can be considered "basic" DO's.

- (8) *omusháíja* *y-a-gul'* *émótoka* 'the mas has bought a/the car'  
man he-P<sub>1</sub>-buy car
- (9) *n-a-bon'* *ómwáana* 'I have seen a/the child'  
I-P<sub>1</sub>-see child
- (10) *embwá* *y-a-ly'* *ébitooke* 'the dog has eaten (the) bananas'  
dog it-P<sub>1</sub>-eat bananas

However, formally speaking, these nouns constitute a proper set, defined by the kinds of grammatical processes they can trigger, undergo, or control (see Duranti and Byarushengo 1977). Furthermore, their semantic role is implied by the verb in its "basic" form, that is, without any supplementary suffix (or "extension"). Examples (11) - (13) show relativization on the DO's of the above sentences.

- (11) *emótok'* *éy'* *ómusháíja* *y-a-gúl-a* 'the car that the man has bought'  
car REL man he-P<sub>1</sub>-buy
- (12) *omwáán'* *ówó* *n-a-bón-a* 'the child that I have seen'  
child REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-see
- (13) *ébitook'* *éby'* *embwá* *y-á-ly-a* 'the bananas that the dog has eaten'  
bananas REL dog it-P<sub>1</sub>-eat

There are, in Haya, certain verbs that can take *two* basic DO's. Verbs like *-ólek-* 'show', *-há-* 'give', *-jun-* 'help' belong to this class. Especially when there are three human referents involved, sentences with these verbs are potentially ambiguous. However, in addition to background information shared by the speaker and the hearer, word order usually provides a "preferred" reading. A sentence like (14), for instance, tends to be interpreted as 'I showed the child to the woman' rather than 'I showed the woman to the child'.

- (14) *n-a-yolek'* *ómukázy'* *ómwáana* 'I showed the woman the child'  
I-P<sub>1</sub>-show woman child

But if either one of the two DO's is relativized, complete ambiguity arises:

- (15) *omwáán'* *ówó* *n-a-yolek'* *ómukázi* 'the child that I showed to the woman'  
child REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-show woman 'the child to whom I showed the woman'

- (16) omukázy' ówó n-a-yolek' ómwána 'the woman that I showed to the child'  
 woman REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-show child 'the woman to whom I showed the child'

Another kind of prepositionless NP that behaves like a DO concerns NP's that have their semantic role marked on the verb by means of suffixes, e.g. ómwána 'child' in (17) and ékitambála 'handkerchief' in (18).

- (17) omukázi y-a-cumb-il'<sup>d</sup> ómwáán' ébltooke 'the woman has cooked (the)  
 woman she-P<sub>1</sub>-cook-APP child bananas bananas for a/the child'
- (18) n-a-siig-is' ómwáán' ékitambála' ómajúta 'I smeared the oil on the  
 I-P<sub>1</sub>-smear-INSTR child handkerchief oil child with a/the handkerchief'

The benefactive role of ómwána in (17) is marked by the so-called "applicative" suffix -il- (APP) on the verb, and the presence of an instrumental NP in (18) is revealed by the suffix -is- (sometimes -i-; cf. Trithart 1977). Notice that -siig- 'smear' is a two-DO verb like -há- 'give' and -ólek- 'show'.

With the above sentences more ambiguity may arise in RC's than in main clauses. Again, whereas in (19) there is a "preferred" reading, complete ambiguity arises if either one of the postnominal NP's is relativized:

- (19) kató y-a-it-il' ómukázy' ómuntu 'Kato killed the person for/because  
 Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-kill-APP woman person of the woman' [preferred reading]
- (20) omukázy' ówó kató y-a-it-il' ómuntu  
 woman REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-kill-APP person  
 'the woman that Kato has killed for/because of the person'  
 'the woman for/because of whom Kato has killed the person'
- (21) omuntw' ówó kató y-a-it-il' ómukázi  
 person REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-kill-APP woman  
 'the person that Kato has killed for/because of the woman'  
 'the person for/because of whom Kato has killed the woman'

This way of marking the semantic role of a certain NP on the verb has been called the *verb-coding strategy* (cf. Keenan 1972, Keenan and Comrie 1972). It has been argued that this strategy is used to recover "the semantic function of the deleted coreferent argument in relativization" (Givón 1976:58). What we have just seen in Haya does not seem to support such a claim. Furthermore, Haya is a counterexample to another claim that has been made with respect to verb-coding strategies in Bantu. Givón (1976) states: "There are two striking themes running through the Bantu data. First, the verb-coding or promotion strategy within one language is used only for cases for which an alternative coding strategy is not available." As we will see in a later section, there is at least one clear case in Haya in which both a verb-coding strategy and a pronoun-retaining strategy are available.

3.2. *Other types of prepositionless NP's.* There are other kinds of prepositionless NP's that can be relativized the same way as DO's. This is the case, for instance, with possessed parts in the "affected possessor"

construction. Consider example (22).

- (22) kató y-a-hend' ómusháíj' ómukôno 'Kato has broken the man's hand'  
 Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-break man arm (lit. Kato broke the man the hand)

In (22) there are two prepositionless NP's, but only omusháíja 'man' shares all of the properties of DO's (cf. Hyman 1977). Nevertheless, both omusháíja and omukôno can be relativized by means of the same rule as for DO's:

- (23) omusháíj' ówó kató y-a-hend' ómukôno 'the man whose hand Kato has  
 man REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-break arm broken'  
 (lit. the man that Kato has broken the hand)
- (24) omukôn' ógwó kató y-a-hend' ómusháíja 'the arm that Kato has broken  
 arm REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-break man (of/to) the man'

The accessibility of NP's such as omukôno in (22) to this type of RC formation prevents us from stating this relativization pattern as "restricted" to DO's. There are, however, prepositionless NP's that cannot be relativized (either with this rule or with any other rule). For this reason we cannot say that this rule applies to *all* kinds of prepositionless NP's. One clear case of a prepositionless NP that cannot be relativized is the agent NP in a passive construction. It turns out that Haya, as opposed to other Bantu languages that use such prepositions as na, ka or ku, does not have a marker on the demoted subject in a passive sentence. As seen in (25), the agent NP simply follows the verb, which takes the suffix -w- (-bw- after a vowel).

- (25) a. omusháíja y-a-ít' émbwa 'the man has  
 man he-P<sub>1</sub>-kill dog killed the dog' →
- b. émbwá y-a-ít-w' ómusháíja 'the dog has been killed  
 dog it-P<sub>1</sub>-kill-PASS man by the man'

In Haya there is no way a noun like omusháíja in (25b) can be relativized. RC's like (25c) are completely unacceptable.

- (25) c. \*omusháíj' ów' émbwá y-á-ít-w-a 'the man (by) whom the dog  
 man REL dog it-P<sub>1</sub>-kill-PASS has been killed'

The above is not the only case in which RC formation is blocked. As shown by Duranti and Byarushengo (1977), sometimes when the syntactic status of a DO is affected by some particular grammatical process, RC formation on such a DO might be blocked. For this reason, mainly, this kind of RC formation has been considered as one of the properties that define (together with others) a DO. Thus, even if we cannot say that this RC formation pattern is *restricted* to NP's having DO status, we might still say that it is *one of their properties* which may be lost when the DO is totally or partially demoted. The agent NP in a passive construction would then represent the most extreme case of a "downgraded" NP in a Haya clause.

3.3. *Objects of comparison.* Haya comparatives are constructed by means of the verb -sháág- 'surpass', as shown in the following examples:

- (26) a. n-df mula ku-sháág' ómwána 'I am taller than the child'  
I-be tall to-surpass child (lit. I am tall to surpass the child)
- b. η-kol-a munó ku-sháág' ómushá'j' ómugúfi (lit. I work so much  
I-work much to-surpass man short to surpass the short  
'I worked harder than the short man' man)

NP's like ómwána 'child' in (26a) and ómushá'j' ómugúfi 'short man' in (26b) are like DO's of the verb -sháág- 'surpass'. RC formation thus applies as on any other DO:

- (27) a. omwáán' ówó n-df mula ku-sháág-a 'the child that I am taller than'  
child REL I-be tall to-surpass (lit. the child that I am tall  
to surpass)
- b. omushá'j' ómugúfy' ówó η-kol-a munó ku-sháága  
man short REL I-work much to-surpass  
'the short man that I work harder than'  
(lit. the short man that I work so much to surpass)

3.4. *Personal pronouns as head nouns.* As in the case of subject relativization, in this kind of RC formation as well, personal pronouns are considered as having a third person referent. In fact, we find for human referents the relative pronoun ówó (class 1) in the singular and abo (class 2) in the plural. An example involving the first person singular is given in (28).

- (28) Iñ' ówó kat' á-boin-e nyéfgolo 'I whom Kato saw yesterday'  
I REL Kato he-see-P<sub>2</sub> yesterday

#### 4. RELATIVIZATION ON OBJECTS OF A PREPOSITION

4.1. *"Simple" prepositions.* There are very few "simple" prepositions in Maya. They behave differently with respect to RC formation as well as to other grammatical processes. As I will show below, the preposition na 'with' has a different status from locative "prepositions" such as omu- 'in' and aha- 'at, on'. This difference is revealed by the different kinds of RC formation strategies that they require.

The preposition na can be used with different NP arguments. Example (29) illustrates the use of na as a marker of an instrumental NP, and example (30) illustrates the use of na as a marker of a comitative NP.

- (29) n-a-it' éηkóko n'éηkoní 'I have killed the chicken with a  
I-P<sub>1</sub>-kill chicken with stick stick'
- (30) omushá'jja γ-a-gend-a n'ómwána 'the man has gone with the child'  
man he-P<sub>1</sub>-go with child

In order to relativize on an object of a preposition such as éηkoní 'stick' in (29) or ómwána 'child' in (30), in addition to the V(C)V-o relative pronoun at the beginning of the RC, the preposition na must be retained in its "original" position plus a copy pronoun that agrees in noun class with the relativized NP. Examples (31) and (32) show this RC pattern.

- (31) éηkony' éyó n-a-it' éηkóko ná-γo 'the stick with which I have  
stick REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-kill chicken with-it killed the chicken'

- (32) omwáán' ów' ómushá'fja y-a-gend-a ná-we 'the child with whom the  
child REL man he-P<sub>1</sub>-go with-him man has gone'

There are two ways of relativizing on an instrumental NP in Haya: one involves verb-coding, as we have seen in 3.1; the other involves the so-called *proun-retaining* strategy seen in (31). The two strategies are interchangeable, but they cannot be used together. Thus, (33) is acceptable only without ná-yo 'with it' (class 9).

- (33) enkony' éyó n-a-is'<sup>6</sup> énkóko (\*ná-yo) 'the stick with which I  
stick REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-kill/INSTR chicken with-it have killed the chicken'

The same pronoun-retaining strategy is used with genitival constructions. Normally the connective element between the two NP's in a genitival construction is the so-called "associative" marker -a, preceded by a concord prefix that agrees with the possessed NP, as shown in (34) and (35).

- (34) omwáána y-a-yogy' émotoka y'ómushá'fja cf. ya káto 'of Kato'  
child he-P<sub>1</sub>-wash car of man  
'the child has washed the car of the man'
- (35) omwáána y-a-yogy' émotoka y'ábashá'fja 'the child has washed the  
child he-P<sub>1</sub>-wash car of men car of the men'

When the possessor NP is relativized, the connective element becomes a kind of pronominal form which agrees with the relativized element, as seen in (36) and (37).

- (36) omushá'fj' ów' ómwáána y-a-yogy' émotoká ya 'the man whose car the  
man REL child he-P<sub>1</sub>-wash car his child has washed'  
(lit. the man that the child washed his car)
- (37) abashá'fj' áb' ómwáána y-a-yogy' émotoka yábo 'the men whose car the  
men REL child he-P<sub>1</sub>-wash car their child has washed'  
(lit. the men that the child washed their car)

Notice that in (34) and (35) the connective element ya (y') stays the same even if the possessor NP changes. In (36) and (37), the class 9 connective element has taken a pro-form that agrees also with the possessor NP.

Locative prepositions behave differently. For example, whereas the preposition ná cannot be fronted in RC's,

- (38) \*enkonl n'éyó n-a-lt' énkóko 'the stick with which I have  
stick-with-REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-kill chicken killed the chicken'

there are cases in which we find fronted locative prepositions in RC's, as in the following two examples:

- (39) omu-kyaa! ómwó n-túú!-a 'in the village in which I live'  
in-village in-REL I-live
- (40) aha-méész' áhó kat' á-shuntám-a 'on the table where Kato sits'  
on-table on-REL Kato he-sit

This fact can be explained if we consider the particular nature of locative prepositions in Haya (and in Bantu in general), which behave in many respects more as nominal prefixes than as prepositions. In fact, they have the same VCV structure as an augmented noun prefix and may trigger agreement on noun modifiers, as in (41).

- (41) omu-njú mwange 'in the house (is) mine'  
in-house in-my

This might suggest that ómwó in (39) and áhó (áha-ó/) in (40) are produced by a simple rule of concord with the head noun. This is confirmed by the fact that locative relative pronouns are not well-accepted if the head noun is not "locativized". Sentences like (42) are only marginally acceptable.

- (42) ??kat' á-ka-bón' ékyaa! 'ómwó n-túú!-a 'Kato saw the village in which  
Kato he-P<sub>3</sub>-see village in-REL I-live I live'

If we have more NP arguments, as in (43), the sentence might be completely unacceptable:

- (43) \*ni-m-many' ékyaa! 'ómwó y-a-gend-el' ómukâzi  
PR-I-know village in-REL he-P<sub>1</sub>-go-APP woman  
'I know the village in which he has gone for the woman'

To express this properly, we must use the verb-coding strategy, as seen in (44).

- (44) ni-m-many' ékyaa! 'ékyó y-a-gend-el-a mw' ómukâzi  
PR-I-know village REL he-P<sub>1</sub>-go-APP LOC woman  
'I know the village which he has gone in for the woman'

In (44) the verb has been marked for the locative semantic role by means of the suffix mu, which conveys the same meaning as the preposition omu-. To mark the verb for the meaning of the preposition áha-, the suffix ho is used, as seen in (45).

- (45) emeez' éyó kató y-a-shuntam-á ho 'the chair on which Kato sat'  
table REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-sit LOC (lit. the chair that Kato sat on)

In sentences like (44) and (45) RC formation works as for the other prepositionless NP's (cf. 3.1). Notice that in these cases the pronoun-retaining strategy is not available:

- (46) \*kat' á-ka-bón' ékyaa! 'ékyó n-tuu! 'ómwó 'Kato saw the village that  
Kato he-P<sub>3</sub>-see village REL I-live in-it I live in it'

4.2. *Complex prepositional phrases.* RC formation on the object of a complex prepositional phrase (that is, a prepositional phrase which is in fact a compound formed by a prepositional phrase + genitive, like the English *on the top of*, *at the bottom of*, etc.) is only marginally acceptable and is usually avoided by Haya speakers. The interesting thing, however, is that when the object of the prepositional phrase is relativized, the connective particle formed by the suffix -a and a preceding concord prefix can be



dropped, and in fact, in some cases the sentence sounds even better without it. In (46) the locative prepositional phrase *omu-máisho*, which literally means 'in-eyes' is followed by the connective *ga*, which agrees with *amáisho* 'eyes' (class 6).

- (46) *kat' á-kol' ómu-maisho g'énju* 'Kato works in front of the house'  
Kato he-work in-eyes of house

If we want to form RC on *énju* 'house', we can either drop the connective *ga*, or expand it with a pronominal form, i.e. *gá-yo*, as shown in (47).

- (47) *enju' éy' kat' á-kol' ómu-maisho (Ø or gá-yo)*  
house REL Kato he-work in-eyes of-it  
'the house in front of which Kato works'

In this case, then, the pronoun-retaining strategy is optional.

#### 5. RELATIVE PRONOUN ATTRACTION TO THE VERB

When the subject of the RC is a full NP the non-subject relative pronoun can be moved over the subject and placed adjacent to the verb, as in the (b) examples below:

- (48) a. *emótok' éy' ómwáána y-a-yogy-á Ø yange* 'the car that the child  
car REL child he-P<sub>1</sub>-wash COP mine has washed is mine'  
= b. *emótok' ómwáán' éy' y-a-yogy-á Ø yange*
- (49) a. *omuhy' ógw' ómusháfja y-a-shaz' ényama gu-ly' áha-mééza*  
knife REL man he-P<sub>1</sub>-cut/INSTR meat it-be on-table  
'the knife with which the man has cut the meat is on the table'  
= b. *omuhy' ómusháfj' ógw' y-a-shaz' ényama gu-ly' áha-mééza*

However, in sentences like (50) and (51), this rule cannot apply.

- (50) a. *omwáán' ów' ómukázi y-a-cumb-ii' éblitook' a-lwáii-e*  
child REL woman she-P<sub>1</sub>-cook-APP bananas he-sick  
'the child for whom the woman has cooked the bananas is sick'  
b. *\*omwáán' ómukázy' ów' y-a-cumb-ii' éblitook' a-lwáii-e*
- (51) a. *n-a-bon' énjangw' éy' émbwá y-a-lúm-a* 'I have seen the cat that  
I-P<sub>1</sub>-see cat REL dog it-P<sub>1</sub>-bite the dog bit'  
b. *\*n-a-bon' énjangw' émbw' éy' y-a-lúm-a*

Both in (50) and in (51) the subject NP of the RC and the head noun belong to the same noun class (class 1 in (50), class 9 in (51)). Given the fairly "free" word order of Haya, it seems that sentences like (50b) and (51b) would create severe problems in assigning the right bracketing and coreferentiality. The subject-verb agreement in (50b), for instance, could either refer to *omwána* or *omukázi*, and *omukázi* itself could be the head noun of a RC with the subject-verb agreement referring to another person. (52) illustrates the different possible interpretations.

- (52) omwáán'í ómukázy'j ówó<sub>i/j</sub> y<sub>i/j</sub>-a-cumb-ll' ébitook' a<sub>i/j</sub>-íwáll-e

The same rule of relative pronoun attraction to the verb seems to be obligatory in Luganda, as described by Walusimbi (1976), who argues against the "principle of pronoun attraction" proposed by Givón (1972). Such a principle would predict a tendency to *keep the relative pronoun as close to the head noun as possible*. Instead, in Luganda, a full subject NP intervenes always between the head noun and the relative pronoun. This seems consistent with the general tendency in Bantu to mark on (or next to) the verb as much grammatical information as possible.

## 6. PSEUDO-CLEFT SENTENCES AND EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

In this section I will briefly show that pseudo-cleft sentences are formed by using the same kind of strategies and patterns used for RC formation, and that *embedded questions are morphosyntactically the same as RC's*.

6.1. *Pseudo-clefts*. Haya can form pseudo-clefts on the same types of NP's on which it can form RC's. (53) shows a pseudo-cleft on a subject, (54) on a basic DO, (55) on a verb-marked DO (instrumental), and (56) on a comitative NP.

- (53) a-y-a-leet' ébitooke ní káto ' (the one) who brought the bananas  
REL-he-P<sub>1</sub>-bring bananas COP Kato is Kato'
- (54) { eyó } kató y-a-shal-á Ø nyama 'what Kato has cut is meat'  
REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-cut COP meat
- (55) { ogwó } kató y-a-shaz-á Ø múhyo 'what Kato has cut-with is  
REL Kato he-P<sub>1</sub>-cut/INSTR COP knife the knife'
- (56) owó n-a-gend-a na-wé ní káto ' (the one) who I went with is  
REL I-P<sub>1</sub>-go with-him COP Kato Kato'

In this kind of construction the copula can either be expressed by the morpheme ní, as in (53) and (56), when the pseudo-clefted NP is a proper name with no preprefix, or by the absence of the preprefix, as in (54) and (55).

In (53), where the subject relativization pattern has been used, the relative pronoun a- (class 1) has a low tone instead of high because of a general tone rule that lowers the high tone of a vowel immediately following a pause (cf. Byarushengo, Hyman, and Tenenbaum 1976). In (54) and (55), either one of the two relative pronouns can be used. The first form in each case agrees in noun class with the pseudo-clefted NP; the other (ekyó) is a general alternate form available for all inanimates, agreeing with the class 7 noun ekintu 'thing' (cf. Bennett 1977).

6.2. *Embedded questions*. In Haya embedded questions are superficially the same as RC's.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, there is no distinction between such pairs as the English 'I know the man that the woman saw' vs. 'I know which man the woman saw'. These are both expressed by the following structure:

- (57) ni-m-many' ómushájj' ów' ómukázi y-a-bóin-e  
PR-I-know man REL woman she-P<sub>1</sub>-see

(58) provides an example with a locative role marked on the verb:

- (58) nI-m-many' ékyaal' éky' á-tuul-á mu 'I know the village in which he  
PR-I-know village REL he-live LOC lives/I know in which village he  
lives'

#### NOTES

\*I would like to thank Ernest Byarushengo for his time, patience, and help in working with me as a linguistic consultant. Special thanks are also due to Larry Hyman, who read an earlier draft of this paper and gave me several helpful comments. I am, of course, the only one responsible for any possible errors.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ashton et al (1954), Walusimbi (1976), and Keenan (1972) for Luganda; Kimenyi (1976) and Gary and Keenan (1976) for Kinyarwanda.

<sup>2</sup>See also Chagas (1977).

<sup>3</sup>Underlyingly this would be /á-a-gend-a/, the first a- being the relative pronoun (preprefix) and the second one the subject-verb agreement.

<sup>4</sup>The suffix -!- (or -e!-) most frequently marks what might be generally called the "dative" case (in the sense of early Case Grammar). APP refers to "applicative", which is the term used by Bantuists.

<sup>5</sup>This is in fact a RC out of an embedded sentence, even if it is much better (i.e. more "acceptable") than a RC on the DO of a "full" embedded clause like (i):

- (i) kató n-a-tekeléz' aty' ómwána y-a-bon' ábasháíja  
Kato PR-he-think that child he-P<sub>1</sub>-see men  
'Kato thinks that the child has seen the men'
- (ii) ?\*abasháíj' ábó kat' á-!f-ku-tékelez' aty' ómwána y-á-bôn-a  
men REL Kato he-be to-think that child he-P<sub>1</sub>-see  
'the men that Kato thinks that the child has seen'

In these cases, in order to relativize on a DO, it is better to promote the DO to subject (via passivization), as in (iii):

- (iii) abasháíj' ábó kat' á-!f-ku-tékelez' atí ba-a-bon-w' ómwána  
men REL Kato he-be-to-think that they-P<sub>1</sub>-see-PASS child  
'the men that Kato thinks that (they) have been seen by the child'

Notice that in (iii) the relative pronoun is the one usually found for non-subject NP's, whereas abasháíja 'men' is the subject of the embedded clause, as shown by the subject-verb agreement ba- in ba-a-bon-w-a 'they have been seen'. This might be due to the fact that the relative pronoun for subject NP's is a bound form that cannot be taken away from the verb of the RC, whereas in this case we need a marker of the RC far away from the RC. It is of course also possible that 'men' is simultaneously considered as a DO of kutékeleza 'to think' or a prepositionless oblique, something which may require further study.

<sup>6</sup>The form -!s- 'kill with' is derived from /!t+i/, with the instrumental suffix causing spirantization (see Trithart 1977).

<sup>7</sup>For a cross-linguistic survey and some semantically-based arguments

for such a phenomenon, see Keenan and Hull (1973).

## REFERENCES

- Ashton, E. O., E. M. K. Mulira, E. G. M. Ndawula, A. N. Tucker. 1954. *A Luganda Grammar*. Longmans, Green and Co.
- Bennett, Tina L. 1977. Interrogatives (in this volume).
- Byarushengo, Ernest Rugwa. 1975. *An examination of the segmental phonology of Haya*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam.
- Byarushengo, Ernest Rugwa, Larry M. Hyman, and Sarah Tenenbaum. 1976. Tone, accent, and assertion in Haya. In Larry M. Hyman (ed.), *Studies in Bantu Tonology*, 183-205. *Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics No. 3*.
- Chagas, Jeremy. 1977. The preprefix (in this volume).
- Duranti, Alessandro and Ernest Rugwa Byarushengo. 1977. On the notion of \* "direct object" (in this volume).
- Givón, Talmy. 1972. Pronominal attraction and subject postposing in Bantu. In P. M. Peranteau, J. N. Levi, G. C. Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt: Papers from the Relative Clause Festival*, Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Givón, Talmy. 1976. Promotion, accessibility and case marking: towards understanding grammars. In *Working Papers in Language Universals* 19, Stanford University.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1977. The syntax of body parts (in this volume).
- Keenan, Edward L. 1972. Relative clause formation in Malagasy. In P. M. Peranteau, J. N. Levi, G. C. Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt: Papers from the Relative Clause Festival*, 169-189. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie. 1972. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. Unpublished manuscript, Cambridge University.
- Keenan, Edward L. and R. D. Hull. 1973. The logical syntax of direct and indirect questions. In C. Corum, T. C. Smith-Start, A. Weiser (eds.), *You Take the High Node and I'll Take the Low Node*, 348-371. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Kimenyi, Alexandre. 1976. *A Relational Grammar of Kinyarwanda*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Trithart, Lee. 1977. Causatives and instrumentals (in this volume).
- Walusimbi, Livingstone. 1976. *Relative Clauses in Luganda*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- \*Gary, Judith Olmsted and Edward Louis Keenan. 1976. On collapsing grammatical relations in universal grammar. In Peter Cole and Jerrold M. Sadock (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics* 8.83-120. New York: Academic Press.

## APPENDIX 1

Noun Class	Demonstrative ('that/those')	Nonsubject REL	'with which/whom'
1	ógwó <sup>1</sup> /ó-gu-ó/	ówó <sup>1,2</sup> /ó-u-ó/	náwé <sup>4,5</sup> /na-u-é/
2	ábo /á-ba-o/	ábó /á-ba-ó/	nábo /na-ba-ó/
3	ógwo /ó-gu-o/	ógwó /ó-gu-ó/	nágwo /na-gu-ó/
4	égyo /é-gi-o/	éyó <sup>2</sup> /é-i-ó/	náyo /na-i-ó/
5	élyo /é-li-o/	élyó /é-li-ó/	nályo /na-li-ó/
6	ágo /á-ga-o/	ágó /á-ga-ó/	nágo /na-ga-ó/
7	ékwo /é-ki-o/	ékýó /é-ki-ó/	nákwo /na-ki-ó/
8	ébyo /é-bi-o/	ébyó /é-bi-ó/	nábwo /na-bi-ó/
9	égyo /é-gi-o/	éyó <sup>2</sup> /é-i-ó/	náyo /na-i-ó/
10	ézo /é-zi-o/	ézó /é-zi-ó/	názo /na-zi-ó/
11	ólwo /ó-lu-o/	ólwó /ó-lu-ó/	nálwo /na-lu-ó/
12	áko /á-ka-o/	ákó /á-ka-ó/	náko /na-ka-ó/
13	ótwo /ó-tu-o/	ótwó /ó-tu-ó/	nátwo /na-tu-ó/
14	óbwo /ó-bu-o/	óbwó /ó-bu-ó/	nábwo /na-bu-ó/
15	ókwo /ó-ku-o/	ókwo /ó-ku-ó/	nákwo /na-ku-ó/
16	áho /á-ha-o/	áhó /ó-ha-ó/	
17	ókwo /ó-ku-o/	---- <sup>3</sup>	
18	ómwo /ó-mu-o/	ómwó /ó-mu-ó/	

<sup>1</sup>The demonstrative and nonsubject REL forms are transcribed with the surface tones they would have if both preceded and followed by some segment rather than being at the beginning or end of an utterance. <sup>2</sup>Classes 1, 4, and 9 do not have an intervocalic /g/ in the REL forms. <sup>3</sup>Class 17 is not very productive in Haya. The REL form is missing and the demonstrative ókwo is one of the few forms attested in the language. <sup>4</sup>'with REL' forms are transcribed as they would appear tonally at the end of an utterance. <sup>5</sup>Class 1 has the alternate náge.

## APPENDIX 2

TENSE	MAIN CLAUSE ("the man goes/ went, etc.")	RELATIVE CLAUSE ("the man who goes/ went, etc.")	MAIN CLAUSE ("the men go/ went, etc.")	RELATIVE CLAUSE ("the men who go/ went, etc.")
<i>Pres. Hab.</i>	... a-génd-a he-go	á-á-génd-a REL-he-go	ba-génd-a they-go	á-bá-génd-a REL-they-go
<i>Pres. Pr.*</i>	... n-aa-génd-a PR-he-go	á-í-í-ku-génd-a REL/he-be-to-go	ni-ba-génd-a PR-they-go	á-ba-í-í-ku-génd-a REL-they-be-to-go
<i>Past. Hab.</i>	... y-aa-génd-ág-a he-P <sub>1</sub> -go-HAB	á-y-a-génd-ág-a REL-he-P <sub>1</sub> -go-HAB	ba-a-génd-ág-a they-P <sub>1</sub> -go-HAB	á-ba-a-génd-ág-a REL-they-P <sub>1</sub> -go-HAB
<i>Past<sub>1</sub></i>	... y-áá-génd-a he-P <sub>1</sub> -go	á-y-á-génd-a REL-he-P <sub>1</sub> -go	bá-á-génd-a they-P <sub>1</sub> -go	á-bá-á-génd-a REL-they-P <sub>1</sub> -go
<i>Past<sub>2</sub></i>	... a-genz-í-í-e he-go-P <sub>2</sub>	á-á-genz-í-í-e REL-he-go-P <sub>2</sub>	ba-genz-í-í-e they-go-P <sub>2</sub>	á-bá-genz-í-í-e REL-they-go-P <sub>2</sub>
<i>Past<sub>3</sub>*</i>	... a-ka-génd-a he-P <sub>3</sub> -go	á-y-a-genz-í-í-e REL-he-P <sub>1</sub> -go-P <sub>2</sub>	bá-ka-génd-a they-P <sub>3</sub> -go	á-ba-a-genz-í-í-e REL-they-P <sub>1</sub> -go-P <sub>2</sub>
<i>Future<sub>1</sub></i>	... a-laa-génd-a he-F <sub>1</sub> -go	á-á-laa-génd-a REL-he-F <sub>1</sub> -go	ba-laa-génd-a they-F <sub>1</sub> -go	á-ba-laa-génd-a REL-they-F <sub>1</sub> -go
<i>Future<sub>2</sub></i>	... a-í-í-génd-a he-F <sub>2</sub> -go	á-á-í-í-génd-a REL-he-F <sub>2</sub> -gá	ba-í-í-génd-a they-F <sub>2</sub> -go	á-ba-í-í-génd-a REL-they-F <sub>2</sub> -go
<i>Condit.</i>	... y-a-ku-genz-í-í-e he-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go-P <sub>2</sub>	á-y-a-kú-genz-í-í-e REL-he-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go-P <sub>2</sub>	ba-a-ku-genz-í-í-e they-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go-P <sub>2</sub>	á-ba-á-kú-genz-í-í-e REL-they-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go-P <sub>2</sub>
<i>Mod.<sub>1</sub></i>	... y-a-ku-génd-a he-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go	á-y-a-kú-génd-a REL-he-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go	ba-a-ku-génd-a they-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go	á-ba-a-kú-génd-a REL-they-P <sub>1</sub> -MOD-go
<i>Mod.<sub>2</sub>*</i>	... n-a-bá-sa-ku-génd-a PR-he-be-MOD-MOD-go	á-í-í-ku-ba-sa-ku-génd-a REL/he-be-to-be-MOD-MOD-go	ni-ba-bá-sa-ku-génd-a PR-they-be-MOD-MOD-go	á-ba-í-í-ku-ba-sa- REL-they-be-to-be-MOD ku-génd-a MOD-go

\*marks tenses with morphological differences in RC's; tones are given as they would appear when preceded by something other than pause