Relative Clauses in Haya*

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1 Introduction

- Haya has two main morphological strategies for marking relative clauses: using a verbal relative marker (á-, é- and ó) - attached to -*(l)i* 'be' or the verb - (as in (1a)), or using a demonstrative (as in (1b)).

- The verbal relative marker appears with subject relatives, while the demonstrative strategy is used for objects and adjuncts.

- A third strategy, using *mbali* ('where there is'??) is restricted to locatives.

(1) a. A- ba- shaija **a**- ba- guz- ile e- bi- tabo …
    AUG- NC2- man RM- SM2- buy- PAST2 AUG- NC7- book

    'The men who bought books...'[1]   [Bugabo Haya]

   b. E- mótoka **éy'** ó- mu- sháíja y- a- gúla …
    AUG- 9car 7REL.DEM AUG- NC1- man SM1- P1- buy

    'The car that the man has bought...'   [Kihanja Haya, Duranti 1977:121]

   c. E- sehemu eyo n- a- m- tangaiwe- (**ho**) e- induk-
    AUG- 9place 9REL.DEM SM1S- PAST1- OM1- meet.PAST2- LOC16 SM9- become-
    ire ku- ba bulime.
    PAST2 INF- be 14farm

    'The place where I met him has been turned into farmland.'   [Kiziba Haya]

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[1]Abbreviations used in glosses: SM = subject marker; OM= object marker; numbers refer to noun classes; S = (person) singular (preceded by SM or OM 1/2); P = (person) plural; P = past (followed by 1-3, where 3 is the most remote past) RM = relative marker; NEG = negation; APPL = applicative; PRES = present tense; FUT = future; AUG = augment; NC = noun class prefix; STAT = stative, REL = relative; DEM = demonstrative

- There is subject marking in (1a). Subject marking the relativized suject is obligatory.

- There is no object marking in (1b). Object marking the relativized object is ungrammatical.

- There is a locative suffix[2] in (1c). This is optional.

1.1 Relative morphology

Table 1: Haya locative morphology (following Muzale 2006; Gregoire 1975)

Class	Augment	N Prefix	SM	prestem OM	verbal suffix	RM	Rel Dem
1	o-	mu-	a-	-mu-	⊘	á- (é-)	ówó
2	a-	ba-	ba-	-ba-	⊘	á-	ábó
3	o-	mu-	gu-	-gu-	⊘	ó-	ógwó
4	e-	mi-	e-	-gi-	⊘	é-	éyó
5	e-	ri-	ri-	-ri-	⊘	é-	éryó
6	a-	ma-	ga-	-ga-	⊘	á-	ágó
7	e-	ki-	ki-	-ki-	⊘	é-	ékyó
8	e-	bi-	bi-	-bi-	⊘	é-	ébyó
9	e-	⊘/N	e-	-gi-	⊘	é-	éyó
10	e-	⊘/N	zi-	-zi-	⊘	é-	ézó
11	o-	lu-	lu-	-lu-	⊘	ó-	órwó
12	a-	ka-	ka-	-ka-	⊘	á-	ákó
13	o-	tu-	tu-	-tu-	⊘	ó-	ótwó
14	o-	bu-	bu-	-bu-	⊘	ó-	óbwó
15	o-	ku-	ku-	(-ku-)	⊘	ó-	ókwó
16	a-	ha-	ha-	-ha-	-ho	á-	áhó
17	o-	ku-	ha-	-ha-	⊘	ó-	ókwó
18	o-	mu-	ha-	-ha-	-mu	ó-	ómwó
25	e-?	e-?	ha?	-ha?-	-yo	?	?

- the relative marker has a different tone pattern (HH, or LH in Nyamba (Rugemalira 2005:103)) from the regular demonstrative 3 (LL),

- the past 3 (-*ka*-) and the progressive marker *ni*- are not used in relative clauses (cf. also Duranti 1977:132, Muzale 1998)

- there IS tonal reduction for relative verbs when followed by an object, given the right morpho-phonological context (cf. Hyman 1999)

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[2]There are three locative suffixes in Haya, class 16, 18 and 25. Class 25 is not productive (unlike in many other J zone languages (Gregoire 1975:170)). It only appears in certain positional nouns, that take a genitival complement and the -*yo* suffix.

- *-li/i* 'be' is used in relative clauses (and locatives where a locative suffix follows it), while *-ba* 'be' is never used in RCs

- *ni* 'be' (copula) and *ti* 'not be' (negative copula)

In clefts, the copula can be zero (as in (2a))[3], in which case there is no augment on the noun, or have the relative demonstrative cliticized to it (as in (2b)):

(2) a. Ba- isiki **a**- ba- i ku- zanira a- ha- nyanja.
         NC2- girl RM- SM2- be INF- play.APPL AUG- LOC16- 9river
         'It's the girls who are playing by the river.'   [Kiziba Haya]

     b. A- ba- isiki ni- **bo** y- a- tweeke- ire e- bi- gemuro.
         AUG- NC2- girl COP- RM2 SM1- P1- send.APPL- P2 AUG- NC8- present
         'It's the girls who she sent presents to.'   [Kiziba Haya]

1.2 Overview of the talk:

- Discuss subject and object marking in relative clauses.

- Compare these markers to resumptive pronouns founds with PPs.

- Discuss locatives and locative relatives.

- Compare locative markers to object markers

2 Subject relative clauses

- Subject marking is obligatory in subject relatives (and in general).

The the verbal relative marker looks like the augment and has a similar distribution:

(3) a. e- ki- ntw' **é**- ki- tá- li ki- hângo
         AUG- NC7- thing RM- SM7- NEG- be NC7- big
         'the thing that is not big'   [Kihanja Haya, Duranti 1977:120]

     b. o- mu- sháíj' **á**- y- a- bon' ó- mu- kâzi
         AUG- NC1- man RM- SM1- P1- see AUG- NC1- woman
         'the man who saw the woman'   [Kihanja Haya, Duranti 1977:120]

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[3]In Muleba Haya, instead of a augment-less noun the overt copula *ni* is used:

(1) n' a- ba- isiki
     COP AUG- NC2- girl
     'it's the girls'

⇒ Duranti (1977) claims that the verbal relative marker agrees in noun class, and calls class 1 (which might be expected to take ó-) an exception. However, rather than agreeing it seems to match the vowel quality of the subject prefix, rather than of the headnoun. The demonstrative on the other hand, clearly agrees in noun class with the head of the relative clause.

With class 3, ó- is used, while class 16 uses á-.

(4)   a. O-   mu- hyo **o**- gw- a- hendek-   ile gu- kulu.
            AUG- NC3- knife RM- SM3- P2- break.STAT- P1 NC3- big
            'The knife which broke (is) big.'

        b. mba **a**-   ta- li a-   hango
            where RM.SM16- NEG- be NC16- big
            'the place that is not big'   [Bugabo Haya]

In Nyambo, the pattern appears to be phonologically conditioned:

- in Haya and Nyambo class 1 is *y*- when followed by a tense marker *-a(a)*- (There are several with this shape. The pattern would probably be found with any tense prefix without an initial consonant.)

- and *-a* in all other environments

- where the tense markers is *-a(a)*-, the *-e* marker is used

(5)   a. á-   rima
            RM.SM1.HAB- cultivate
            'one who cultivates'

        b. **e**- y- a- rim-   íre
            RM- SM1- P2- cultivate- P1
            'one who cultivated'   [Nyambo, Rugemalira 2005:101]

⇒ For some speakers (dialects?) of Haya this pattern also holds:

(6)   a. o-   mw- isiki **e**- y- a- boine e- ki-   tabo
            AUG- NC1- girl RM- SM1- P2- see.P1 AUG- NC7- book
            'The girl who saw the book'

        b. **e**- y- a- ruga- yo   kala
            RM- SM1- P2- leave- LOC25 early
            'one who left early'   [Bugabo Haya]

In Duranti (1977:120), first and second person plural forms are shown with á-. In my data, second person singular appears with o-:

(7)   o-   rug- ile- yo   kala
      RM.SM2S- leave- P2- LOC25 early
      'you who left early'   [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ The demonstrative (which has a form for each noun class as shown in 1) agrees while the verbal relative marker does not.

- Duranti (1977) and Rugemalira (2005) state that all subject relatives take the verbal prefix.

- In my fieldnotes this is the pattern seen consistently throughout.

- However, it might be marginally possible to use the demonstrative as in (9) or both as in (10).

- Using the verbal prefix in non-subject relatives seems to be entirely ungrammatical.

(8) o-   mu- isiki **owo**   a-   li ku- bona
     AUG- NC1- girl 1REL.DEM SM1- be INF- see
     * 'The girl who is seeing...'
     ✓ 'The girl who is being seen'   [Bugabo Haya]

(9) A-   ba- ntu   **abo**   ba- boine   e- ki- ntu ekyo …
     AUG- NC2- person 2REL.DEM SM2- see.PAST2 AUG- NC7- thing DEM7
     'The people who saw that thing...'   [Bugabo Haya]

(10) **abo**   **a**- ba- guzile
     2REL.DEM RM- SM2- buy.P1
     'the ones who bought'   [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ The subject marker is not affected by relativization. This is not unexpected if it is analysed as an agreement marker. No extra (resumptive) pronominal element appears in the subject position.

3   Object relative clauses

- Object marking a relativized object is ungrammatical in Haya.

- Duranti (1977) argues that this is because object marking is pronominal in Haya.

- In Riedel (2009), I argue against that view.

- More generally, Henderson (2006) argues that not allowing object marking in relativization is evidence for pronominal object marking.

- Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) do not use object marking as test for the agreement/pronoun distinction

- In non-relative clauses object marking is rather free.

⇒ The locative "object marker" will be discussed below.

Position of the subject in object relative clauses:

(11) O- mw- isiki owo Juma y- a- ha- ire e- ki- tabo mu- rungi.
AUG- NC1- girl 1REL.DEM 1Juma SM1- P1- give- P2 AUG- NC7- book NC1- nice
'The girl who Juma gave the book is nice.'   [Kiziba Haya]

⇒ The demonstrative strategy does not have subject-verb inversion, but the test case would be the verbal strategy (which is ruled out here).

Restrictive relative clause:

(12) O- mu- ntu **owo** n- a- (***mu**)- letela e- shokolate …
AUG- NC1- person 1REL.DEM SM1S- PAST1- OM1- bring.APPL AUG- 9chocolate
'The person who I gave chocolate …'   [Bugabo Haya]

Non-restrictive relative clause:

(13) Juliette **owo** n- a- (***mu**)- ha- ile eshokolate n- a- ba-
1Juliette 1REL.DEM SM1- PAST1- OM1- GIVE- PAST2 1chocolate CONT- SM1- OM2-
keisa.
greet
'Juliette, who I gave (the) chocolate, sends her greetings.'   [Bugabo Haya]

This only applies to the relativized object not to relative clauses in general:

(14) o- mu- nda **mbali** tw- a- **mu**- boine
AUG- LOC18- inside where SM1P- PAST1- OM1- see.PAST2
'inside where we saw him...'   [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ If the object is not the head of the relative clause it can be object-marked as normal.

• Object marking is also ungrammatical for wh-questioned objects.

(15) W- a- (***mu**)- bona owa?
SM2S- PAST1.CJ- OM1- see who
'Who did you see?'   [Haya]

⇒ Object marking is ungrammatical. But is object marking resumption? For sure, there is no overt element in the object position.

4 Prepositional Phrases

- Bantu languages generally have very few propositions, one element which functions like a preposition is the conjunction *na*

- in Bantu generally prepositions cannot be fronted or stranded either in relativization or elsewhere

- to relativize PPs (and retain the preposition) a resumptive pronoun is required

- This phenomenon is observed cross-linguistically.

- PPs are considered to be islands for movement (Ross 1967).

With instrumentals, resumption appears to be optional (if the preposition is left out):

(16) a. O- mu- hyo **ogwo** tw- a- sharira o- mu- kate **na-** **gwo** ti-
          AUG- NC3- knife 3REL.DEM SM1P- P2- cut.APPL AUG- NC3- bread CONJ- 3   NEG-
          gw- i ku- shara.
          SM3- be INF- cut
          'The knife with which we cut bread has become blunt.'   [Bugabo Haya]

      b. O- mu- hyo **ogwo** tw- a- sharira o- mu- kate ti- gw- i
          AUG- NC3- knife 3REL.DEM SM1P- P2- cut.APPL AUG- NC3- bread NEG- SM3- be
          ku- shara.
          INF- cut
          'The knife with which we cut bread has become blunt.'   [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ Note that these are applicative objects. The prepositional element is not required for the sentence to be grammatical.

Resumption is obligatory with commitatives/discontinuous reciprocals:

⇒ Here the prepositional phrase is required to get a grammatical sentence.

(17) a. O- mu- isiki **owo** a- rwaine **na-** **we** . . .
          AUG- NC1- girl 1REL.DEM SM1- fight.P2 CONJ- 1
          'The girl who he fought with...'   [Muleba Haya]

      b. A- ba- tayi bange boona **abo** n- a- shom- ire **na-** **bo** . . .
          AUG- NC2- friend 2POSS.1S 2ALL 2REL.DEM SM1S- P2- read- P1 CONJ- 2
          'The friends who I studied with...'   [Muleba Haya]

⇒ Resuming an object is grammatical apparently, and is required in (certain) island contexts. Object marking is not.

5 Locative relative clauses

- There are 4 locative noun classes, but only one object prefix: *-ha-*[4], one subject marker: *ha-*, and one adjectival prexix: *ha-*.

- Unlike in Bantu languages such as Sambaa, locative prefixes cannot always be used in (Bugabo) Haya.

- There are three locative suffixes *-yo, -ho* and *-mu* which can cliticize to verbs.

- Locative suffixes seem to be free in their distribution.

- Unlike other object markers co-referential with a relativized object, locatives can be "object marked", apart from being resumed by a suffix.

(18) a. N- ka- **ha-** gula.
    SM1S- PAST3- OM16- buy
    'I bought it (the place).'

  b. N- ka- **ha-** goba.
    SM1S- PAST3- OM16- arrive
    'I arrived there.'

  c. * N- ka- **ha-** ruga.
    SM1S- PAST3- OM16- leave
    Int: 'I left there.'

  d. ?? Nda- **ha-** gya
    SM1S.FUT- OM16- go
    'I will go there.'

  e. Nda- gya- **ho**.
    SM1S.FUT- go- LOC16
    'I will go there.'

  f. Nda- gya- **yo**.
    SM1S.FUT- go- LOC25
    'I will go there (the place).'

  g. ? N- ka- **ha-** nyiama.
    SM1S- PAST3- OM16- sleep
    Int: 'I slept there.'

  h. N- ka- nyiama- **ho**.
    SM1S- PAST3- sleep- LOC16
    'I slept there.'   [Bugabo Haya]

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[4]This applies to all of zone J (Gregoire 1975).

5.1 Co-occurrence

In Nyambo, prefixes and suffixes referring to the same entity can co-occur:
Note the surprising grammaticality difference between (19a) and (18c).

(19) a. Ecaaro a-   ka-   **cí**- goba.
         7village SM1- PAST3- OM7- arrive
         'The village, he arrived at it.'

      b. Ecaaro a-   ka-   **ci**- goba- **mu**.
         7village SM1- PAST3- OM7- arrive- LOC18
         'The village, he arrived in it.'   [Nyambo, Rugemalira 2005:96]

(20) a. A-   ka-   reebá   omu-   nyungu.
         SM1- PAST3- look.into LOC18- 9pot
         'He looked in the pot.'

      b. A-   ka-   reebá-   **mu**.
         SM1- PAST3- look.into- LOC18
         'He looked in there.'

      c. (Omu- nyungu) a-   ka-   **há**- reeba.
         LOC18- 9pot   SM1- PAST3- OM16- look.into
         '(The inside of the pot,) he looked at it.'

      d. (E-   nyungu) a-   ka-   ji-   reebá- **mu**.
         AUG- 9pot   SM1- PAST3- OM9- arrive- LOC18
         '(The pot,) he looked in there.'   [Nyambo, Rugemalira 2005:96]

⇒ In Nyambo, the object marker matches the noun class of the highest element of the topicalized noun. The locative suffix can also replace the locative argument as in (20b).

Similar data is also reported for the Ziba dialect of Haya in Rubanza (1988).
Bugabo Haya has a slightly different pattern:

(21) a. E-   nju   yange   n-   ka-   **gi**- bona.
         AUG- 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM9- see
         'My house, I have seen it.' (non-loc OM)

      b. * E-   nju   yange   n-   ka-   **gi**- bona- mu.
           AUG- 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM9- see- LOC18
         Int: 'My house, I have seen in it.' (OM and loc, cf. (20d))

      c. * O-   mu-   nju   yange   n-   ka-   **gi**- bona.
           AUG- LOC18 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM9- see
         'Inside my house, I have seen it.' (non-loc OM)

      d. O-   mu-   nju   yange   n-   ka-   **ha**- bona.
         AUG- LOC18 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM16- see
         'Inside my house, I have seen it.' (Loc OM)

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e. O- mu- nju yange n- ka- bona-**mu**.
   AUG- LOC18 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- see- LOC18
   'Inside my house, I have seen it.' (locative suffix)

f. * O- mu- nju yange n- ka- **gi**- bona-**mu**.
   AUG- LOC18 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM9- see- LOC18
   'Inside my house, I have seen it.' (non-loc OM and locative suffix)

g. O- mu- nju yange n- ka- **ha**- bona-**mu**.
   AUG- LOC18 9house 9POSS.1S SM1- PAST3- OM16 see- LOC18
   'Inside my house, I have seen it.' (two locative affixes) [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ In Bugabo Haya, the object marker must match the topicalized DP.

5.2 Locative relative clauses

- locative suffixes and prefixes can be used

- but no other object markers referring to a relativized object

Locative suffixes:

(22) Omwo o- mu- nda **mbali** tw- a- mu- boine- (**mu**) a- li-
     18DEM AUG- LOC18- inside where SM1P- PAST1- OM1- see.PAST2- LOC18 LOC16- be-
     mu o- mwilima.
     LOC18 AUG- darkness
     'In there, where we saw him it is dark (lit. there is darkness).' [Bugabo Haya]

⇒ The locative suffix is grammatical but not required. This is different from the resumptive pronouns as well as the subject markers and object markers.

Locative prefixes:

(23) a. O- mu- nju **omwo** n- ka- **ha**- bona ha- lungi.
        AUG- LOC18- 9house 18REL.DEM SM1S- PAST3- OM16- see NC16- nice
        'The house which I saw the inside of is nice.' (locative prefix)

   b. O- mu- nju **omwo** n- ka- **ha**- bona-**mu** ha- lungi
      AUG- LOC18- 9house 18REL.DEM SM1S- PAST3- OM16- see- LOC18 NC16- nice
      'The house which I saw the inside of is nice.' (locative prefix and locative suffix)

   c. * O- mu- nju **omwo** n- ka- **gi**- bona ha- lungi.
       AUG- LOC18- 9house 18REL.DEM SM1S- PAST3- OM9- see NC16- nice
       Int: 'The house which I saw the inside of is nice.' (non-locative prefix)

   d. * O- mu- nju **omwo** n- ka- **gi**- bona-**mu** ha- lungi
       AUG- LOC18- 9house 18REL.DEM SM1S- PAST3- OM9- see- LOC18 NC16- nice
       Int: 'The house which I saw the inside of is nice.' (non-locative prefix and locative
       suffix) [Bugabo Haya]

$\Rightarrow$ Locative prefixes are grammatical but not non-locative class prefixes, even when they refer to a locative noun.

A similar pattern to Haya relative clauses has also been reported for Bukusu:

- Bukusu object markers seem to be pronominal

- Object marking in ungrammatical in relative clauses

- But locative suffixes are grammatical.

- In Bukusu locative suffixes can also double an agreeing "subject", for example in locative inversion.

(24) a. Mu- nju   ni-   **mwo** Peter a-   la-   bona- (mo) ba-   baandu ...
          18- house COMP- 18   1Peter SM1- FUT- see- LOC18 AUG2- 2people
          'The house in which Peter will see the people...' (locative RC)

      b. Ka-   matunda ni-   **ko** ba-   bandu ba-   a-   (*ka)- kula likoloba ...
          AUG6- 6fruit COMP- 6   AUG2- 2people SM2- PAST- OM6- buy yesterday
          'The fruit that the people bought yesterday...' (object RC)   [Bukusu, Diercks 2009:2]

NB This relativization strategy resembles the Haya cleft construction in (2), but note the difference in the structure and meaning.

6 Summary

- Subject markers and object markers in Haya might not be resumptive-type elements.

- Verbal locative affixes seem to have both argument-like and non-argument like properties, as well as having a different noun class system.

- Locatives have special properties in relative clauses in languages which do not allow object marking in relative clauses.

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