NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN KINYARWANDA

BY

CLENE NYIRAMAHORO

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Approved :

Supervisor *Mary Huttar*
Mary Huttar

Second Reader *Regina Blass*
Regina Blass

External Reader *E. Nicolle*
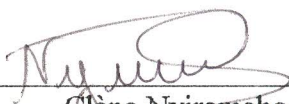Steve Nicolle

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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN KINYARWANDA

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) _____

Clène Nyiramahoro

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LIST ABBREVIATIONS

Agr:	agreement
App:	applicative
Asp:	aspect
Ass:	associative
Ben:	benefactive
Clit:	clitic
Cont:	continuative
Def:	definite particle
DO:	Direct object
Fut:	future
F:	falling
L:	low
H:	high
HH:	high high
Inf:	infinite
Inst:	instrument
IO:	indirect object
LL:	low low
Loc:	locative
Neg:	negation
NP:	noun phrase
Npref:	noun prefix
Nprel:	relativised noun phrase
Obi:	object
Part:	particle

Pass: passive

Past: past tense

Per: perceptive

PL: plural

Press: present tense

Reel: relative

Sag: singular

Sub: subject

Sufi: suffix

SVO: subject verb object

Vi: initial vowel

VO: verb object

1:      first person

2:      second person

3:      third person

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

Table

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Genetic Affiliation and Demography

Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language in the Niger-Kordofanian language family. According to UBS (1998) in its '*World Annual Report* ' Rwanda's population was 7,000,000 in 1997. We will assume that Kinyarwanda is spoken by seven million while Grimes (1996) claims the number of speakers of Kinyarwanda to be 9,306,800 in all countries (Rwanda,Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and Republic Democratic of Congo) .

Dialects

Grimes (1996, 370) has listed a number of dialects: Oruhema and Igikiga (Urukiga) spoken in northeastern of Rwanda; Urulera, Uruhera, Ndara spoken in northern part; Rutwa and Shobyo spoken in the central part . She did not put on the list Ikirashi spoken in Eastern part of Rwanda and Amashi spoken in western part. Kirundi is intelligible to Kinyarwanda though spoken in two different countries they seem to be dialects rather than separate languages.

Morphological and Phonological Information

Morphology

Kinyarwanda is an agglutinative language, i.e, a single word has more than one morpheme. In this section I will describe briefly the Kinyarwanda verb, noun,

pronoun (agreement) object pronoun (clitics), case markers (benefactive , instrumental, locative, applicative...), voice (passive) and aspect are morphemes affixed. This is illustrated in (1):

(1)   Tu-   ara-   bi-   tek-   er-   w-   aga

         1p-   pres-   DO-   cook-   ben-   pass-   asp

         'They used to cook it for us'

Subject agreement, tense and aspect markers are obligatory morphemes which appear on the finite verb. The morpheme *ni-* begins a clause expressing a command or granting permission. The negative markers, *na-* '*also' particle* and all kinds of extensions (suff) which can occur after the verb stem are optional morphemes as shown by the formula below:

     neg -sub.-(neg.)-tense-(na)-(obj)-verb-(suff.)-asp.-(loc) (Kimenyi 1978).
     ni   agr   clit

Noun

     A noun in its simplest form can be analysed as consisting of a stem and a prefix. Different sets of nouns are distinguished by affixes, and grammatical agreement is found between nouns and their modifiers and other morphemes referring to them. As in some other Bantu languages, noun prefixes function as members of singular-plural pairs. Typical singular plural pairs are classes 1/2 (*mu-/ba-*), 3/4 (*mu-/mi-*), 5/6 (*ri-/ma-*), 7/8 (*ki-/bi-*), 9-10 (*n-/n-*), 11/10 (*ru-/n-*), 12/13 (*ka-/tu-*). The plural of 15 can be found in 6. 1/2 include most personal nouns. 3-4-5-6-7-8 are miscellaneous. 9-10 include most animal nouns. 16 is locative. In the Kinyarwanda language the nouns have two prefixes: the initial vowel (Vi) or augment and the noun class number. The 'augment' is what Kimenyi (1976) calls 'preprefix' preceding the class marker. The selection of that vowel is generally phonologically conditioned by the vowel of the following prefix. This allows us to define a rule of N as follow:

     N--------→Npref.Nst

Kinyarwanda is said to have sixteen noun classes:

Class number	class marker	example	
1	*mu-*	*u-mu-ntu*	'man'
2	*ba-*	*a-ba-ntu*	'men'
3	*mu-*	*u-mu-rima*	'field'
4	*mi-*	*I-mi-rima*	'fields'
5	*(ri-)*	*I-ri-inyo*	'tooth'
		i- -shaka	'millet'
6	*ma-*	*a-ma-saka*	'millet' (plural)
7	*ki-*	*I-ki-gori*	'maize'
8	*bi-*	*I-bi-gori*	'maize' (plural)
9	*(n-)*	*I- -fi*	'fish'
10	*(n-)*	*I-n-tama*	'shep'
11	*ru-*	*u-ru-yuki*	'bee'
12	*tu-*	*u-tu-beba*	'small rats'
13	*ka-*	*a-ka-beba*	'small rat'
14	*bu-*	*u-bu-twari*	'courage'
15	*ku-*	*u-ku-guru*	'leg'
16	*ha-*	*a-ha-ntu*	'place'

Pronouns

Pronominal markers and the ' free' personal pronouns in Kinyarwanda are as follow:

Pronominal markers and the "free" personal pronouns in Kinyarwanda language

Person	Subject				Object	
	Free		Bound			
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1	(n)jye (n)jyewe	(twe)bwe	n-	Tu-	n-	tu-
2	Wowe	(mwe)bwe	u-	Mu-	Ku-	ba-
3	w-e	Ba-o	a-	Ba-	Mu-	ba-
	w-o	i-o	u-	I-	Wu-	yi-
	ri-o	i-o	ri-	a-	Ri-	ya-
	ki-o	bi-o	ki-	bi-	ki-	bi-
	i-0	za-o	I-	zi-	yi-	zi-
	ru-o	za-o	ru-	i-	ru-	zi-
	ka-o	tu-o	ka-	tu-	ka-	tu-
	bu-o	-	bu-	-	bu-	bu-
	ku-o	i-o	ku-	a-	ku-	ya-
	ha-o	-	ha-	ha-	ha-	ha-

Adjectives

Since adjectives are modifying nouns they will always be in agreement in noun class and number with the noun they qualify. The following are some adjectival phrase in Kinyarwanda:

(2) U-   mu-   ana   mu-   nini

Vi-   Ncl-   Child   Ncl-   big

'big child'

(3) i-   n-   tama   n-   gufi

Vi-   Ncl-   sheep   Ncl-   short

'short sheep'

The noun class agreement is realized by the morpheme *mu-* in (2) and by *n-* in (3). The adjective always comes after the noun it modifies.

Phonology

Kinyarwanda a is written language. The current orthography uses five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) and nineteen consonants (b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, z). These are the symbols I will be using in this paper. All the vowels can be found in sequence (VV). Consonants are found in sequences of two or three. Kinyarwanda, being an agglutinative language normally has long words like in (1) above. The number of syllables varies from one to more than nine syllable (4).

(4) a-ba- ta- ra- há- kubit-ir- w- aga (a-ba-ta-ra-ha-ku-bi-ti-rwa-ga)

Vi-3pl-neg-pres-loc- beat-ben-pass-asp

'those who were not used to being beaten while they were there'

In parentheses I have shown how the word is divided in syllables.

Kinyarwanda is a tonal language. There are two phonological tones in Kinyarwanda, high (H) and low (L). Low tone will not be marked and high tone never appears word final when the word is taken in isolation. According to Kimenyi (1976, 170) ' monosyllables are realized as L or F, dissyllables carry either H or L on the penultimate syllable; ...in three syllable nouns the H tone is either found on the initial vowel or the penultimate syllable'. Kimenyi (1976) has found also evidence that noun prefixes usually carry L tone and high tone is not found in the penultimate syllable of infinitival verb forms. But these conclusions are not agreed on by number of researchers who have investigated Kinyarwanda tonology . Certainly more research needs to be done. What we can be sure of is that tone in Kinyarwanda can make both lexical (5a, b) and grammatical (5a,b) differences.

(5a) *iyo*   *hene*

       dem.   goat

       'that goat'

(5b) *íyó*   *y-*   *a-*   *zán-*   *ye*

       rel   3sg-   past-   bring-   asp

       'The one he brought'

In (a) we have a demostrative with low tone while in (b) we have a relative pronoun with HH tone. There is a lexical difference due to the tone. The examples in (6a and b) show how tone can make grammatical differences

(6 a) y-   a-   rii-   ye   mu   kanya

       3sg   past   eat   asp   in   short time

       'He just ate'

(6b) y-   á-   ríí-   ye   ejo

       3sg   asp   eat   asp   yesterday

       'He ate yesterday'

The tone on tense marker in (b) brings differences of two phonetically similar words. Kimenyi (1978) makes two claims: first that the tone can be a feature on the syllable, second that tone can be a syntactic morpheme. (4b) is a good example where tone is a syntactic morpheme.

Previous Research

Certainly they are many works written on Kinyarwanda. Kimenyi has produced a number of articles and books on Kinyarwanda, listed in the bibliography at the end of the work. Unfortunately we have been able to access only two articles (Kimenyi 1979a) and Sibomana's work '*Descriptive tonologie des Kinyarwanda* (1974) was helpful.

Data Collection

Being a native speaker of the language, has been a great advantage for me. In addition, the works on some of the related languages to Kinyarwanda (Kiga and Luganda) were great resources for this paper. Inaddition to that, I was able to collect some other information through interactions with and asking questions to some of the speakers of the language and reading some articles and folktales in Kinyarwanda written by native speakers. The text that I have used in this paper was taken from a journal written in Kinyarwanda by the 'Peace and Reconciliation Department' operating in MAP International (appendix 2).

Purpose of the Study

The aim of the paper is not only to present a morpho-syntactic description of relative clauses but also to demonstrate what pragmatic function the process of relativisation plays in

Kinyarwanda. I hope to produce work which is going to serve as a point of departure for those who intend to investigate more in the study of Kinyarwanda and any other related language. It is to bring a contribution to the linguistic work, which is to be done not only on Kinyarwanda but also other Bantu languages behaving like Kinyarwanda.

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL LITERATURE ON RELATIVE CLAUSE

The concept of relative clause is not new in the linguistic field. Numbers of authors have written on relativisation in various languages around the world (Comrie 1981, Givon 1995, Keenan and Comrie 1977, Payne 1997, Keenan 1985) . Relative clauses are said to be adjectives because they function as nominal modifiers in the clause. This description fits the definition given by Trask (1993, 238) for relative clause. But Trask adds the idea that a relative clause is often a subordinate clause . There are four parts in a relative clause as identified by Payne (1997, 325-326): **the head** or the noun (NP) modified by the clause; the **restricting clause** which corresponds to the relative clause itself or the modifier; the **relativised noun phrase (NPrel)** which is the NP within the relative clause that is coreferrential with the head noun; and **relativiser** or the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting relative clause. In many cases it corresponds to the relative pronoun.

There are different types of relative clauses. Payne (1997,326) explains how the position of the relative clause with the respect to the head (word order) and the way in which the Nprel is expressed play a great role in establishing typology of the relative clauses. **Prenominal relative clauses** are clauses which occur before the head; **postnominal relative clauses** occur after the head; **the internally headed** with the head occuring within the relative clause ,and **headless** when there is no head noun appearing in the clause. Keenan (1985) does not make a distinction between the internal relative and headless relative clauses. Also he calls postnominal (found in verb- initial languages) and prenominal (found in verb-final languages) relative clauses **external** or **headed** relative clauses.

Comrie (1981) and Payne (1997) talk of some the strategies used in relativisation. The **gap strategy** is used in languages that have a fixed word-order. In this case the gap will appear when there is one particular grammatical element missing at its required grammatical position. The gap will appear in the subject position if the Nprel is a subject and in object

position if the Nprel is an object. The second strategy is **pronoun retention,** i.e, the head noun

is retained in the relative clause (Payne 1997, 331) or the embedded sentence

(Comrie 1981) in the pronominal form. The third strategy is the **relative pronoun type** where

the pronoun is clause-initial indicating the head. It can be easy to confuse pronoun retention

and relative pronoun strategies. (7) and (8) can help us to understand the difference between

these two strategies described above:

(7)   The man who [I do not like *his* voice]. (pronoun retention type)

(8)   The house *that I bought.* (relative pronoun type)

Comrie (1981) describes a fourth type of strategy that he calls **non-reduction**

where 'the head noun appears in full, unreduced form in the embedded sentence in the normal

and/or with the normal case marking for a noun phrase expressing that particular function in the

clause' (Comrie 1981, 140).

This chapter gives us a general overview of relative clauses and prepares the reader

of this paper to understand what is going on in Kinyarwanda relativisation.

CHAPTER THREE

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN KINYARWANDA

General Features of Kinyarwanda Relativisation.

Kinyarwanda being a VO in the main clause constituent order, the Relative clause will come after the head noun (post-nominal relative clause). There are two strategies of relativisation:

- subject relativisation requires the pronominal agreement on the verb

- zero anaphora or gap strategy is used for object relativisation.

Relative clauses can be marked by relative prefixes or relative particles.In relative clauses the head can be present (headed relative clause) or absent (headless relative clause). Relative clauses cannot be separated from the notion of definiteness/indefiniteness . Consider the examples (9a) and (9b) below:

(9a) Umurima   u-   ri-   mo   ibigori.

        field   3sg-   be-   in   maize

        "There is maize in the field"

(9b) Umurima   *u-*   *rí-*   *mo*   *ibigori* ni   u-   wá-njye

        field   rel-   be-   in   maize   is   Vi   poss-1sg

        'The field where there is maize is mine'

The example (9.a) doesn't tell us which field it is. But (9.b) which contains relative clause makes specific the head noun(the field). The relative clause is marked by the relative pronoun *u-* and the tone on the verb.

11

Structure of the Relative Clause in Kinyarwanda

I have already said that Kinyarwanda is a SVO language. Therefore, it uses postnominal relative clauses i.e. the head noun which is the referent or the antecedent precedes the relative clause (headed relative clause). The head is not necessarily a noun. It can be also a pronoun head bound or free standing according to the grammatical role which is relativised (headless relative).

Headed Relative Clause

The headed relative clauses are the clauses in which the 'non-reduction type' strategy as defined by Comrie (1981) is used. See (10a) and (10b):

(10a) N-   a-   som-   ye   igitabo   cyiza

1sg-   past-   read-   asp   book   good

'I read a good book.'

(10b) Igitabo *cyo*   *n-*   *a-*   *sóm-*   *yê*   ni

Book   Rel   1sg-   past-   read   asp   is

kiza

good

"The book that I read is good"

(10a) it is a simple transitive clause functioning as a relative clause in (10b). *Igitabo* "book" is the head noun of the relative clause. *cyo* "that" is the relativiser. In every day language this relativiser is often omitted (11).

(11)   igitabo   *n-*   *a-*   *sóm-*   *yê*   ni   cyiza

         book   1sg-   past-   read-   asp   is   good

         "The book I read is good "

The omission of the relativizer does not affect the general sense of the clause. The relativiser is always in agreement with the head noun. For example you cannot say:

(*12)   Igitabo *wó*   *n-*   *a-*   *sóm-*   *yê.*

         book   Rel.   1sg-   past-   read-   asp

         "The book I kissed"

(13)   Umwaana   *wó*   *n-*   *a-*   *sóm-*   *ye*

         child   Rel   1sg-   asp-   kiss-   asp

         "The child I kissed"

The noun *igi-tabo* 'book' belongs to class 7 (see page 3) and it is already said that the relativiser is in agreement in number and noun class with the head noun or the antecedent. *Wó* or *u-o or u-wó* are used when the head noun is in first or third class. The Table no. 3 displays all the relativisers along with the noun class number they are in agreement with.

Formula: NP-----→Head + Srel

Headless Relative Clauses

"The headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify' (Payne 1997, 328). All the clauses in 14 a-d are headless relative clauses because the heads are not specified. They are subject relative clauses referring to the subjects of the clauses. Headless object relative clauses (see 14) contain relative pronouns

referring to the referent objects.

(14a) a-   ba-   rí   mu   gihugu ba-   fite   ubwoba

      rel-   3pl-   be   in   country 3pl-   have   fear

      'those who are into the country have fear'

(14b) a-   ba-   bá   mu   nkambi   ba-   hor-   an-   a

      rel-   3pl-   be   in   camp   3pl-   stay - with   asp

      mutima u-   hágar-   ze

      heart   rel-   stand-   asp

      'those who are in the camp are never calm'

(14c) a-   ha-   rí   agahinda   tu-   ha-   shyír- e

      rel-   3sg-   be   sadness   1pl-   there- put-   asp

      ibyishimo

      happiness

      'where there is sadness let put happiness'

(14d) a-   ha-   rí   amacakubiri   tu-   ha-   shyír- e

      rel-   3sg-   be   dissension   1pl-   there- put-   asp

      ubumwe

      unity

      'where there is   dissension let put unity'

Headless object relative clauses contain the relative pronoun referring to the referent object.

(15)   ngo   ha-   ta-   gira   *uwo*   *tu-*   *emer-* *er-*   *a*

           hat   there neg   be   rel   1pl-   allow- ben-   asp

           kwinjira   mu   byacu

           enter   in   ours

           ' That there may be anybody whom we allow to know our affairs/problems'

uwo 'anybody' is relative pronoun referring to the object of this clause. The particle *ngo* ' that' is the particle which introduces a dependent clause in a subordinate clause. The whole context then to (15) can be found in the text in appendix (sentence 9).

    When it comes to headless relative clause one can talk of nominalisation because of noun properties (noun prefixes) added to the verb (16) or adjectives (17) as shown below:

(16)   ngo   ha-   ta-   gira   a-   ba-   *byîi-*   vanga- *mo*

          that   there neg   be   rel   3pl   DO-   mix   in

          'so that there may not be (people) who can be mplicated in it'

(17)   a-   ba-   énshi   bi-   bagir- we   amahoro   y'   umutima

          Vi-   Ncl   many 3pl- forget-asp   peace   of   heart

          'Many have forgotten about peace of heart.'

          Or: 'Those who are many have forgotten about peace'

In (17) the adjective *enshi* "many" has been inflected becoming *aba-enshi* ' those who are many' a relative adjective which is qualifying and modifying the head subject of the clause .

When the head noun modified by the relative adjective appears as object of the clause the use of a copula is obligatory coming immediately after the relative clause.

(see 18) below:

(18) Abantu *n-*   *shák-* *â*   ni   a-   ba-   éenshi

people rel-   want   asp   is   Vi   Ncl-   many

"People that I want are those who are many"

In the clause (17) the modifier is an adjective *-enshi* ' many' which has been nominalised by prefixing to it the Vi or a- and the noun class marker *ba-* which functions also as pronoun in (16). There is in fact a semantically implied copula which has been assimilated to the adjective. It (the copula) could be inserted and the form of the sentence would still be correct grammatically but not accepted by the Standard Kinyarwanda . (see 19 below).

(19) A-   ba-   *rí*   benshi bi-   ibagir-   we   amahoro y'   umutima

rel   3pl-   be   many they-   forget-   asp   peace   of   heart

'Those who are many have forgotten peace of heart.'

The relativisation on the verb (auxiliary or semantically main verb) and adjectives attribute them the characteristics of a noun i.e. the noun prefixes are prefixed to the verb or adjective. In this case relativisation can be easily confused with nominalisation. The general formula of headless relative clause is :

NP——→Srel

Srel: Npref + $\begin{cases} \text{VP} \\ \text{Adj.} \end{cases}$

Elements of the Main Clause that Can Be Relativised

It seems to be universally approved that subjects and objects (positions higher to the left in the hierarchy) are the most accessible to relativisation. In Kinyarwanda, subjects and objects are the easy positions to relativise but there are strategies which allow to relativise some other positions lower to the right in the hierarchy as it will be demonstrated later in this paper.

Subject vs Object Relativization

Subject relative

The subject relative is a complete clause nominalised by adding the noun prefixes to the phrase to be affected by the process of relativisation. Subject relativisation requires the pronominal agreement on the verb and takes the place of finite verb subjects.

(20)   Umugore   y-   a-   gur-   ze   ibirayi

Woman 3sg-   past   buy   asp   potatoes

'The woman bought potatoes'.

(21) umugore [u- a-   gúr-   ze   ibirayi]   ari   hano

woman   rel- past-   buy-   asp   potatoes   is   here'

'The woman that bought potatoes is here'

(22) u-   wa-   gúr-   ze   ibirayi   ari   hano

rel-   past-   buy-   asp.   Potatoes   is   here

'The one who bought potatoes is here'

In (20) there is no relativisation going on. In (21) the subject *umugore* 'woman' has been

relativised by using the relative pronoun strategy *u-* and the H tone on the verb changing it from the absolute tense form to the relative form. In (22) the relative pronoun strategy is also used but with deletion of the head noun. This a type of headless relative clause as defined above. In a headless relative clause the subject relative is formed by adding an initial vowel to the usual personal pronoun as illustrated by the Table no.1 below. There are three columns (A, B and C). The clauses in A are not relative clause compared to the headed and headless relative clauses respectively in B and C. Except for the sets of nouns in the first class, we see in Table 1 that subject relative pronouns are in agreement in number with the head noun, i.e., there is 'coreference between the relative pronoun and the antecedent NP' (Hutchison 1981, 59).This is what Hutchison calls ' anaphoric pronominalisation.' The relative pronoun strategy is used in (21) where the anaphoric pronoun is prefixed to the verb.

It is also important to mention the phonological changes happening when the personal pronoun is a vowel as it is the case for the nouns belonging to the third and fourth noun classes. The glides /j/ and /w/ are introduced in between the vowels (depending on the choice of the speaker). For instance (3C) and (4 A,C) may become:

(23)   *l-i-kórâ / l-yi-kórâ* ' the ones which work

(24)   u-u-kóra / u-wu-kórâ ' the one who/which works'

the meaning staying the same.

Table no 1. Subjects relative pronouns

A	B	C
1. U-mu-gabo a- ra- kora Vi-Ncl-man 3sg-pres-work 'The man works'	U-mu-gabo u-kórâ Vi-Ncl-man rel-woks 'A man who works'	U-wu-kórâ Vi-rel-work 'The one who works'
2. a-ba-gabo ba-ra-kora Vi- Ncl-man 3pl-ra-kora 'Men work'	a-ba-gabo ba-kórâ Vi-Ncl-man rel-work 'Men who work'	a-ba-kórâ Vi-rel-work 'The ones who work'
3. u-mu- ti u- ra- kora Vi-Ncl-drug 3sg- pres- work 'The drug works'	u-mu- ti u-kórâ Vi-Ncl-drug rel-work 'The drug which works'	u-wu-kórâ Vi-rel-work 'The one which works'
4. I-mi-ti I- ra- kora Vi-Ncl-drug 3sg-pres-work 'Drugs work'	i- mi- ti i-kórâ Vi-Ncl-drug rel-works 'The drugs which work'	i -yi-kórâ Vi-rel-work 'The ones which work'

The clauses in B are headed relative clauses and the ones in C are headless. The numbers 1,2,3 and 4 correspond to the noun class number.

Object relative

The object relative is the relative clause in which the relativised NP is the object of the clause. Let us consider the examples (25) and (26).

(25)	ibirayi	[*byo*	*umugore*	*a-*	*a-*	*gú-*	*zê* ø]	bi- ri	hano
	potatoes	rel	woman	rel-	past-	buy-	asp	3pl-be	here

'The potatoes that the woman bought are here'.

(26)	ibirayi	[*umugore*	*a-*	*ə-*	*gú-*	*zê* ø]	biri hano
	potatoes	woman	rel-	past-	buy-	asp	are here

'The potatoes the woman bought are here'

In (25) the 'gap strategy' is illustrated by the deletion of the object of the verb *yagúze* 'buy'. This is what Payne (1997, 333) represents as Rel + gap or relativiser plus gap strategy. Relativisation in (26) marked by no relativiser plus gap strategy (No Rel + gap.) . The table no.2 illustrates how the object relative pronoun behaves in Kinyarwanda. The clauses in A are not relativised. The B clauses are headed relative clauses where the relativiser and the gap strategy accomplish the relativisation process. The deletion of the initial vowel on the relativiser is also to be noticed. In addition the NP relativised is brought to the front (fronting). The C clauses are headless relative clauses in which the head noun object is replaced by the relative pronoun. The harmonizing vowel (initial vowel) is retained since the pronoun appears at the beginning of the clause.

When we look only at the form we can easily be tempted to say that Kinyarwanda allows pronoun retention strategy as defined by Comrie (1981). But it is not the case because though the relative pronoun resembles in many cases the personal pronoun they semantically function differently in the clause.

Table no.2. Object relative pronouns

A	B	C
1. a- a- gu- ze ibirayi 3sg-past-buy-asp potatoes 'He bought potatoes'	Ibirayi byó a- a- gú-zê Potatoes rel. 3sg- past-buy-asp 'The potatoes that he bought'	Ibyó a- a- gúr- zê Rel 3sg-past-buy-asp 'Those that he bought'
2. ba-a- gu- ze ibirayi 3pl-past-buy-asp potatoes 'They bought potatoes'	ibirayi byó ba-gú-zê potatoes rel 3pl-buy-asp 'The potatoes that they bought'	ibyó ba-a-gúr-zê rel 3pl-past-buy-asp 'Those that they bought'
3. u- a- vur- ye umwana 3sg-past-heal-asp child 'It healed the child'	umwana wó u- a- vúr- yê child that rel 3sg-past-heal-asp 'The child that it healed'	uwó u- a- vúr- yê that that 3sg-past-heal-asp 'That it healed'
4. I- a- vúr- ye umwana 3pl-past-heal-asp child 'It healed the child'	Umwana wó a- a- vúr- yê Child rel 3pl-past-heal-asp 'The child that it healed'	uwó a- a- vúr- yê rel 3pl- past-heal-asp 'That that it healed'

The relative pronouns are only different from the demonstrative pronouns by the high tone on the first and final vowels. The table below shows the contrast of tone on demonstrative and relative pronouns (1-16 are noun class numbers (Ncl)).

Table no.3. Demonstrative vs relative pronouns

Dem. pronouns	Rel. pronouns (clause initially)	Rel. pronouns (clause medially)
1. *uwo* 'that one'	*úwó* 'that'	*wó* 'that'
2. *abo* 'those'	*ábó*	*bó*
3. *uwo*	*úwó*	*wó*
4. *iyo*	*íyó*	*yó*
5. *iyo*	*íyó*	*yó*
6. *ayo*	*áyó*	*yó*
7. *ikyo*	*íkyó*	*kyó*
8. *ibyo*	*íbyó*	*byó*
9. *iyo*	*íyó*	*yó*
10. *izo*	*ízó*	*zó*
11. *urwo*	*úrwó*	*rwó*
12. *ako*	*ákó*	*kó*
13. *utwo*	*útwó*	*twó*
14. *ubwo*	*úbwó*	*bwó*
15. *uko*	*úkó*	*kó*
16. *aho*	*áhó*	*hó*

These are free standing morphemes and take the place of the finite verb object. In Kinyarwanda relative pronouns are related to demonstrative and are always in agreement in noun class and number with the head noun. They always occur left most in the relative.

Accessibility Hierarchy to Relative Clause Formation in Kinyarwanda

      'Accessibility Hierarchy determines, universally, the degree of accessibility to RC

formation' (Keenan and Comrie 1977 , 67). The accessibility hierarchy is analysed by Keenan

and Comrie considering the NP positions tha can be relativized in languages. The relative

accessibility proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 66) is the following:

SU > DO >IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP (subject > direct object >indirect object> oblique >

genitive>   object of comparison.)

'Where ' >' means ' is more accessible than' "

      It is argued that in Kinyarwanda 'only subjects and direct objects are accessible to

relativisation' (Givon 1995). However we also recognize that it is not possible to distinguish

syntactically the direct object and the indirect object. Consider examples(27) and (28) . There

is no formal difference to help the hearer or reader decide which one of the objects is direct or

indirect.

(27)   N-   a-   ha-   ye   umwana   nyina

         1sg-   past- give-   asp   child   mother

         'I gave the child to his mother'

(28)   N-   a-   ha-   ye   nyina   umwana

         1sg-   past- give-   asp   mother   child

         'I gave to the mother her child'

The object relative clauses formation would be as follows (29):

(29)   umwana   *wó*   *n-*   *a-*   *há-*   *ye*   *nyina*

       child   rel   1sg-   past- give-   asp   mother

       'The child that I gave to the mother.'

The relativising of IO would be as follows:

(30)　nyina　　*wó*　　*n-*　　*a-*　　*há-*　　*yê*　　*umwana*

　　　　mother　rel　　1sg-　past-　give-　asp　　child

　　　　'The mother to whom I gave the child'.

In Kinyarwanda indirect object is relativised just like direct object and subjects using a postnominal strategy . Passivisation is also used as strategy to access to IO relativisation (see 31).

(31)　umubyeyi　　*u-*　　*a-*　　*há-*　　*w-*　　*e*　　*umwana*

　　　　mother　　　rel-　past-　give-　pass-　asp　　child

　　　　'The mother to whom the child was given'

Oblique positions can also be relativised according to Givon's theory stated as follows:

> When the object to be relativised is not a patient it must be first promoted to DO a process through which it gains verb-marking of its semantic role. Only then can it be relativised (Givon 1995, 239).

Instrument, manner, associative, benefactor, locative, time, are other positions which can be relativised in Kinyarwanda.

　　　　Relativisation of the instrument.

(32). DO=patient:

　　　　n-a-tem-ye　igiti　　n'　umupanga

　　　　I-past-cut　tree　　with　knife

　　　　'I cut a tree with a knife'

(33). DO=instrument

umupanga	n-	a-	tem-	esh-	eje	igiti	uratyaye
knife	1sg	-past-	cut-	inst-	asp	tree	it-sharp

'The knife I cut the tree with is sharp'

In (33) *umupanga* ' knife' which is an instrument finds its role marked by the infix *-esh* on the verb becoming accessible to relativisation in (34) below:

(34). Instrument REL-clause

Umupanga	*wó*	*n-*	*a-*	*tém-*	*esh-*	*eje*	*igiti* …
Machete	rel	1sg-	past-	cut-	with-	asp	tree

'The machete that I cut the tree with'

What we have in (34) is the same verb as in (33) but the instrument NP is fronted and the relative pronoun *wó* is added.

Manner relativisation.

(35). DO: patient

N-	a-	mu-	sang-	ze	n' ibyishimo
1sg-	past-	him-	find	asp-	with joy

'I went to him with joy'

(36). DO: manner

N-	a-	mu-	sang-	an-	ye	ibyishimo
1sg-	past-	him-	find-	with-	asp	joy

'I found him joyful'

The infix *an-* on the verb marks the semantic role of ' joy' promoted now to the object of the

verb and relativised in (37) :

(37). Manner REL-clause

Ibyishimo	n-	a-	mu-	sáng-	an-	ye
Joy	1sg-	past-	him-	find-	with-	asp

'The joy I have found him with'

Fronting of the manner NP and tone on the first syllable of the verb stem have realised
relativisation.

Associative relativisation.

(38). DO = patient

Imbwa	a-	a-	ryam-	ye	na	umwana
Dog	3sg-	past-	sleep	asp	ass	child

'The dog slept with the child'

(39). DO = associative

imbwa	a-	a-	ryam-	an-	ye	na	we
dog	3sg-	past-	sleep-	ass-	asp	with	him

'the dog slept with him'.

(40). Associative relative clause:

Umwana	u-	a-	ryám-	an-	ye	na	imbwa
child	rel-	past-	sleep-	ass-	asp	ass	dog

'The child that slept with the dog'

The associative is relativised by adding the morpheme *-an* to the verb but also the particle *na* '
with' or 'together with' is retained in the clause.

The benefactor and the possessor relativisation.

Both benefactor and possessor are relativised in the same way. Like in Luganda as described by Taylor (1985) the relativisation is done indirectly with a preposition or the equivalent of 'whose' , and the relative element remains in the first position.The infix er-/ir- is added to the verb stem.

(41). DO = patient

N-	a-	tek-	ze	ibiryo	by' umwana
1sg-	past-	cook-	asp	food	for child

'I cooked the food for the child'

(42). DO = dative-benefactive

N-	a-	tek-	er-	ye	umwana	ibiryo
1sg-	past-	cook-	ben-	asp-	child	food

'I cooked for the child food'

(43). Dative-benefactive REL-clause

Umwana	n-	a-	ték-	er-	ye	ibiryo
Child	1sg-	past-	cook-	ben-	asp	food

'The child for whom I cooked food'

Again in (43) benefactive is fronted.Lets compare (42) and (43) with (44) and (45):

(44)	Imbwa	a-	a-	ri-	ye	ibiryo	bya	umwana.
	Dog	3sg-	past-	eat-	asp	food	of	child

'The dog ate the food of the child'.

(45)	umwana	imbwa	a-	a-	rí-	ir-	ye	ibiryo
	child	dog	3sg-	past-	eat-	ben-	asp	food

'the child the dog ate- for/of the food'

or 'the child of which the dog ate food'

In (43) *umwana* 'child' is the benefactor is the benefactor of food , but in (45) it (child) is the possessor of food. This possessor of the direct object (*umwana* 'child' in 44 and 45) is what Payne (1997) calls ' recipient dative participant'. In both cases the relativised element is brought to the front of the clause and their role is marked by the morpheme -*ir/-er* on the verb. (-*ir* becomes -*er* when the last vowel on the preceding syllable is *e* or *o* and -*ir* elsewhere the.) The relativisation of the possessor and benefactive always affects the verb structure adding -ir infix to the verb stem.

Relativisation on locative.

The locative prepositional phrases are marked by *mu* 'in' (46), *ku* 'on/to' (48). These prepositions appear in clitic form -*mo* (47) and (51), -*ho* (49) in relative clauses. In addition to these clitic form of the prepositions tone, fronting and relative pronoun (53) strategies are still used in relativising locative.

(46)	n-	a-	bi-	bon-	ye	mu	gitabo
	1sg-	past-	DO-	see-	asp	in	book

'I have seen it in a book'.

(47)	Igitabo	cyó	n-	a-	bi-	bón-	ye-	mo
	book	rel	1sg-	past-	DO-	see-	asp-	in

ki-	ra-	shaz-	ye
3sg-	pres-	old-.	asp

'the book in which I found them is old'

(48) n-   a-   ndik-   ze   ku   rupapuro

      1sg-   past-   write-   asp   on   paper

      'I wrote on a paper'

(49) urupapuro   *n-*   *a-*   *ndík-*   *ze-*   *ho*

      paper   1sg-   past-   write-   asp-   on

      n-   aa-   ru-   tang-   ye

      1sg-   past-   3sg-   give-   asp

      'The paper on which I wrote I handed it in'

(50) n-   a-   gi-   ye   ku   isoko   riri   kure

      1sg-   past-   go-   asp   to   market   is   far

      'I went to market which is far'

(51) isoko   *n-*   *a-*   *gi-*   *yé-*   *mo*   riri   *kure*

        market   1sg-   past-   go-   asp-   to   is   far

        'The market I went to is far'

When *ku* means 'to' it changes to *-mo* in the relative (51). In a headless locative relative
clause the relative pronouns *íyó* and *áhó* are used interchangeably (52) and (53).

(52) *áhó*   n-   a-   vu-   yé   ni   kure

        rel   1sg-   past-   come-   asp   is   far

        'Where I came from is far'.

(53)   *iyó*   n-   a-   vú-   ye   ni   kure

        where   1sg-   past-   come-   asp   is   far

        ' where I came from is far'

Relativisation on time.

Relativisation on time is realized by the tone and the relative pronoun *íyó* (61)

(54)	*iyó*	*umwana*	*a-*	*rwá-*	*ye*	*si-*	*n-*	*za*
	rel	child	3sg-	sick-	asp	neg-	1sg-	come

'when the child is sick I do not come'

íyó referring to the time can be replaced by *igihe* ' time' as in (62)

(55)	*igihe*	*cyó*	*mu-*	*kín-*	*a*	*n-*	*ra-*	*seng-*	*a*
	time	rel	2pl-	play-	asp	2sg-	pres-	pray-	asp

'The time you play I pray'

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

After having discussed the structure of relative clause in Kinyarwanda it appears relevant to show its role in the language especially in commnunication. I will define first of all what is understood to be restrictive and non- restrictive relative clauses but my focus will be on restrictive clause.

Restrictive Relative Clause.

Restrictive relative clauses are used characteristically to provide descriptive information which is intended to enable the addressee to identify the referent of the expression within which they are embedded (Lyons1977, 761).

As defined restrictive clauses are identifying elements (Levinsohn 1999, 1). A restrictive relative clause ' serves to delimit the potential referents' (Comrie 1989,138 as quoted by Levinsohn 1999,1) . A non-restrictive relative clause ' serves merely to give the hearer an added piece of information about an already identified entity, but not identifying that entity' (Ibid) . This description is similar to Lyons' (1977, 760) claiming that non- restrictive relative clauses ' are like parenthetically inserted independent clauses'.

Restrictive Clauses in Simplex Sentences

Keenan (1985) uses the term 'domain of Relativisation' to mean class of objects determined by the head noun. Restrictive identifies a subset of the domain. Restrictive clauses then function to constrain the domain of relativisation, but the non-Restrictive clauses do not. Consider (56) which is a non-restrictive relative clause and (64) a restrictive clause.

(56)	Umwana,	umwe	*u-*	*a-*	*rír-*	*aga*
	chid	the one	rel-	past-	cry-	asp

31

a-	ra-	rwar-	ye
3sg-	pres-	sick-	asp

'The child, the one who was crying is sick'

(57)	Umwana	u-	a-	rír-	aga
	child	rel-	past-	cry-	asp

a-	ra-	rwa-	ye
3sg-	pres-	sick-	asp

'The child which was crying is sick'

In (56) the speaker is talking about one particular child who was crying and assumes that the hearer is aware of it. The relative clause' umwe wariraga' is not constraining the head noun. The speaker's intention is not to describe the head noun, he is just making a statement. And if we have in mind that our goal in speaking is to increase the knowledge of the addressee we do not need to say things that the addressee know already (Lambrecht 1994,51) but things which lead to the right interpretation in respect with the principle of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995,184).

If we consider our example (57) the new information conveyed by the proposition is that the child was sick. But there is an information already available in the hearer's mind that 'there was a child crying. The Speaker will use this old information as a point of departure to communicate then the new information, because for that new information 'ararwaye' he is sick' to be relevant to the hearer there is a background information needed. That background information will be conveyed by the restrictive relative clause. The old information is what the speaker takes as granted that his audience know about. In our example (57) above it was taken for granted that the audience knew that there was a child crying. If it is assumed that the addressee does not know anything about the 'child crying' then the restrictive clause

would be inappropriate. Rather the speaker might say: 'the child is sick'. In this case I assume that there is one and only one child in the immediate context and that he is sick. In English the definite article helps the interpretation that the hearer knows which child is talked about. But in Kinyarwanda nothing in the form to help us to draw some contextual assumption. The use of a demonstrative (58), (59) and (60) will help the processing effort of the hearer by achieving disambiguation (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

58) Wá   mwana   a-   ra-   rwar- ye
     Dem . Child   he-   pres- sick- asp.
     'That child is sick'

The speaker assumes that the hearer knows which particular child in the world is being talked about. But the proposition only conveys only new information but no background information. The relevance of this proposition (58) will depend on how much information is being shared by both the speaker and the hearer. There is however a possibility of different interpretations; for example, the child may be present but manifesting an unusual behavior. Then one of the interlocutors discovers that the child has fever and will say

(59) Wá   mwana   a-   ra-   rwar-   ye!
      Dem. Child   he-   pres- sick-   asp
      'That child is sick.'

The intonation with which the proposition is uttered plays a great role in the interpretation given by the hearer. Most of the time in this particular context, the particle *'burya'* will be added to the proposition.

(60)	Burya	wá	mwana	a-	ra-	rwar-	ye
	part.	Dem	child	he-	pres-	sick-	asp

'(It is true) that child is sick'

But in some other contexts, the hearer may have to ask for more information for him to know which is sick. In this case the function of the relative clause may be the best strategy to help the hearer determine the referent . By relating this referent to some already given piece of knowledge which I assume the hearer happens not to be thinking of at the time I utter the sentence (Lambrecht 1994, 51).

The restrictive relative clauses then 'serve to specify more fully the referent of the noun they qualify' (Dixon 1994, 102). Dixon also states that ' the restrictive relative clause can only be used with nouns or plural pronouns'. The first (speaker) and second (hearer) persons singular cannot be used with the restrictive clauses because, according to Dixon (1994), they are fully specified.

(61)	wowe	u-	a-	som-	ye	igitabo	sobanura
	you	rel-	past-	read-	asp	book	explain

'You who have read the book explain (to us)'.

(62)	jyewe	n-	a-	som-	ye	igitabo	ndasobanura
	me	rel-	past-	read-	asp	book	I will explain

'Me who have read the book I will explain'.

Morphologically (61) and (62) are restrictive relative clauses. But pragmatically the restriction is minimized simply because in both cases the hearer does not need to do much processing in order to identify whom is being talked about. However the processing would be required if the speaker says:

(63) Twebwe   tu-   a-   som-   ye   igitabo

        we   rel-   past   read- asp   book

        'We who have read the book'

The use of this plural pronoun 'we' can produce different interpretations because it may include both the speaker and the hearer or it may refer to the speaker alone or to the speaker and some other people. In this case there is a restriction involved and the hearer has to produce an effort to identify the referent either by asking some more questions to the speaker or by analyising the immediate context in which the sentence has been uttered.   In summary , restrictive relative clauses are tools of communication in that they provide background information which helps the hearer in processing new information.

Conjoining Restrictive Modifiers in Kinyarwanda

Conjoining is defined as 'the phenomenon by which two or more constituents are combined in a coordinate structure' (Trask 1993, 5).This conjoining of relative clauses can consist of simultaneous or consecutive events.

Conjoining of Simultaneous Events or Properties

(64) shows two conjoined relative clauses with only one head noun:

(64) N-   kund-   a   abana   [[ba- byín-   a]   [ba-   sék-   a]]

        1sg-   love-   asp   children   rel- dance-asp   rel-   smile-asp

        'I love the children who dance smiling.'

The actions of dancing and smiling are simultaneous .

(65) Abana   [[ba-   byín-   a]   [ba-   sék-   a]]

        Children   rel-   dance- asp   rel-   smile   asp

ba-   shimish-   a

3pl-   please-   asp

'The children who dance who smile make people happy'.

(66)   Abana   [[ba-   byín-   a]   kandi   [ba-   sék-   a]]

        children rel-   dance-asp   and   rel   - smile- asp

ba-   shimish-   a   abantu

3pl-   please-   asp   people

'The children who dance and who smile make people happy.'

Two important remarks here:

- the conjoining doesn't require the use of the conjunction (64) and (65).

-the two verbs in the conjoined relative clauses carry the same aspect marker; which is one of

the markers of simultaneity of events. The conjunction 'kandi' in (63) can also be used only in a

case of two events of the coordinate clause happen at the same time. This particle kandi can

be replaced by the morpheme na- on the verb:

(67)   Abana [[ba-   byín-   a]   [ba-   na-   sék-   a]]

        children rel-   dance-   asp.   rel-   and-   smile-asp

ba-   ra-   shimish-   a

3pl-   pres-   please-   asp

children who dance and smile make people happy'

The morpheme na- appears only on the second verb of the coordinate clause. In (64) and

(65) though there is no conjunction the speaker will always pause between the two coordinate

clauses.

Conjoining of Consecutive Events

The morpheme ka- will mark the consecutivity of the events:

(68) Abana   [[ba-   byí-   a]   [ba-   ga-   sék-   a]]

      children   rel-   dance-   asp 3pl-   and- smile- asp

      n-   ra-   ba-   kund- a

      1sg-   pres- 3pl-   love- asp

      'The children who dance then smile I love them'

This means that children dance and after dancing they laugh. Or they dance, stop for a while to laugh. (The morpheme ka- has changed to ga- because of the environments). Here also we have the deletion of the aspect marker. Both particles ka- and na- can be present:

(69) Abana [[ba-   byín- â]   [ba-   ka-   na-   sék-   a]]

      children rel- dance- asp   rel-   and- then- smile-asp

      n-   ra-   ba-   kund-   a

      1sg-   pres- 3pl-   love-   asp

      'The children that dance and then smile I love them'

The adding of the na- does not affect the meaning conveyed by the utterance (68) nor its interpretation. In both cases the speaker is assuming that after dancing (especially the Rwandese traditional dance) children are not supposed to smile because they are tired. He is then admiring that children still smile despite the tiredness. In consecutive clauses (69) na- is translated ' then' . na- is translated ' and' in simultaneous clauses (67).The tense marker is only missing when the events happen in present time. When the events are in the past (70) or

future (71) the tense marker will be absent only in the second verb of the coordinate clause:

(70) Abana   [[ba-   a-   byín- aga]   [ba-   ga-   sék-   a...]]

      Children   rel-   past-   dance- asp   rel-   and-   smile- asp

      'The children who were dancing and then smiling are strong'

(71) Abana [[ba- za-   byín-   a]   [ba-   ga-   sék-   a]]

      children rel- fut-   dance-   asp   rel-   and-   smile- asp

      ba-   za-   hemb-   w-   a

      3sg-   fut-   reward-   pass- asp

      'Children who will dance and the smile they will be rewarded'

In all these restrictive clauses the head noun is not definite, since in Kinyarwanda there is no
definite article. The term *abana'* children is being used to mean children in general.
The use of the demonstrative pronoun (*aba*) like in (72) will help establishing the
definiteness of the head noun (or the domain of relativization).

(72) Aba   bana   [[ba-   byín-   a]   [ba-   séka]]

      these children   rel-   dance-   asp   rel-   smile

      ba-   ra-   komer- ye

      3pl-   pres-   strong- asp

      'These children who are dancing and smiling are strong'

If the speaker and the hearer are in the immediate context, the children talked about are
immediately identified. If the children are not present, the demonstrative *ba* (in agreement with
the head noun) will be used (73). Still the speaker assumes the context is accessible to the

hearer.

(73) ba   bana   [[ba-   byín-   a]   [ba-   sék-   a]]

      Dem.   Children   rel-   dance -asp   rel-   smile   asp

      ba-   ra-   shimish-   a

      3pl-   pres-   please-   asp

      'Those children who dance smile make people happy'

Also two conjoined restrictive clauses though modifying the same head noun can, be contrasting each other (74) :

(74) Abana   [[ba-   byín-   a]   ariko   [ba-   sék-   a]]

      children   rel-   dance- asp   but   rel   smile-asp

      nti-   ba-   shimish-   a

      neg-   3pl-   please-   asp

      'The children who dance but who smile do not please people'.

In uttering (75) the speaker implies that he likes the way those particular children he is talking about dance, but is not pleased by the way they laugh while dancing. In other words they are not serious. The speaker's feeling can be expressed in these words in English: 'I like the way they dance; I wish they were not laughing'.

    Also conjoining may be realized between two modifiers of different head nouns:

(75) Abana [[ba- byín-   a]   n'   [a-   ba-   sék-   a]]

      children rel- dance-   asp   and   rel-   3pl   smile-asp

      'The children who are dancing and the one smiling'

In this clause the conjunction used makes us to interpret the two conjoined clauses as having two different subjects.

The conjunctions *na* and *kandi* are then used differently in discourse. *Kandi* is used between two restrictive clauses modifying the same head noun; *na* as used in this paper has two different meanings in discourse. *Na* 'and' joins two restrictive clauses modifying the same head noun and is prefixed to the verb. When it joins two different head nouns the conjunction *na* is a free standing morpheme between conjoined restrictive clauses. For instance the referent expression '*abana'* used in (76) and (77) does not refer to the same group of children.

(78)   Abana$_i$ [*ba-*   *byín-*   *a*]   n'   abana$_j$ [*ba-*   *sék-*   *a*]
        children   rel-   dance- asp   and   children   rel-   smile-asp

        ba-   ra-   shimish-   a
        3pl-   pres-   please-   asp
        'The children who dance and the children who smile make people happy.'

The second noun can be replaced by any other NP as in (74).

(79)   Abana   [*ba-*   *byín-*   *a*]   n'   abakuru   [*ba-*   *séka*]
        children   rel-   dance-asp   and   adult   rel-   smile
        'The children who dance and the adult who smile please'.

This what Walusimbi and Givon (1970) calls 'conjunction of two non- coreferential noun phrases' and each has the potential to be relativized.

All the examples we have so far given are illustrating cases where two clauses are functioning as NP modifiers of the head noun. This can also happen between two adjectives

modifying the head noun. Consider the two examples below (80) and (81):

(80)   Du-   fite   abana   *beéza*   n'   *abábí*

         1pl-   have   children   good   and   bad

         'We have good and bad children'

(81)   Du-   fite   abana   *beza* kandi *babi*

         1pl-   have   children   good and   bad

         'We have children who are both good and bad'

Attention needs to be paid to these two examples to the way we have used both the conjunctions *na* 'and' *kandi* .

In (80) 'na' is used when the two NP modifiers are not modifying the same head noun, i.e there are non-coreferential NP's.In (81) the conjunction *'kandi'* is used between two coreferential NP i.e. referring to the same NP head. The adjective modifiers are refered to as stative modifiers (Walusimbi and Givon 1970). Conjoining is then one of the constraints on restrictive relative clause in Kinyarwanda.

Clefts

Relativized elements can be clefted . Cleft constructions are defined by Payne (1997,278) as 'a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativised NP is coreferential with NP_i . NP_i is commonly referred to as "the clefted constituent", and is normally found to the left of the rest of the clause, though it may appear in other positions.' Clefts constructions in Kinyarwanda are introduced by the particle 'Ni' which functions as a copula.

(82) Ni   Paulo   *u-*   *a-*   *gúr-*   *ze*   *ibirayi.*

      Cop   Paul   rel- past- buy- asp   potatoes

      'It is Paul who bought potatoes'.

Like in English, Kinyarwanda has two types of cleft constructions: Clefts and Pseudo-clefts. According to the knowledge of the language that I have it seems that Kinyarwanda uses pseudo-clefts more often than it uses clefts. Let's consider (83) below:

(83) Paulo   ni   we   u-   a-   gú-   ze   ibirayi
      Paul   cop   3sg   rel-   past-   buy-   asp   potatoes
      'Paul is the one who bought potatoes'

(84) Ukó   bi-   a-   génd-   ze   ni   uko
      how   3sg-   past-   happen-asp   cop   that
      That how it happened'

(84) is used as an introductory sentence of a discourse but not at the beginning. Clefts normally indicate foreground entailment (Sperber and Wilson 1995). (83) indicates focus answering a WH- question. In Kinyarwanda pseudo-clefts are so much used in headless relative clauses which is frequently used in natural languages. The role of cleft construction in Kinyarwanda like in some other languages is to facilitate processing state (Sperber and Wilson (1995) and Blass (1990)). Lambrecht states that 'while the marked member is positively specified for some pragmatic features, the unmarked member is neutral with respect to this feature' (Lambrecht 1994,17).

(85) Paulo   ya-   a-   gu-   ze   ibirayi
      Paulo   3sg-   past-   buy-   asp   potatoes
      'Paul bought potatoes'

(85) is just a statement, which does not create much processing in the hearer's mind. It is not conveying information about Paul but informing the addressee of an event involving Paul as

participant. This is what Lambrecht (1994,124) calls' event-reporting' but it can also be a topic-comment sentence. It answers the question: ' what else did Paul buy'? There is a pragmatic presupposition that 'potatoes are bought' and the speaker assumes that the person referred to as the one who did the action of buying is identifiable to the addressee. The interpretation will be different if the speaker says:

(86)   Ni   Paulo *u-*   *a-*   *gú,*   *zê*   *ibirayi*

        cop   Paul   rel-   past-   buy-   asp   potatoes

        'It is Paul who bought potatoes'

In this sentence there is a focus marked by the cleft construction. It could be a normal focus, i.e., when it answers the question 'who bought potatoes ?' or a contrastive focus, i.e, there is a contrast between what the hearer assumes to be true and what is really true. This would be the case where the hearer was assuming that it was Mary who bought potatoes. Then the speaker's intention is to make the hearer know who bought potatoes.The sentence can be constructed otherwise as in (87) and (88):

(87)   ibirayi   ni   *byo*   *Paulo* *ya-*   *a-*   *gúr-* *ze*

        potatoes   cop   rel   Paul   3sg-   past-   buy- asp

        'Potatoes are what Paul bought'

(88)   Ni   ibirayi   *byó*   *Paulo* *ya-*   *a-*   *gúzê*

        cop   potatoes   rel   Paul   3sg-   past-   buy

        'It is potatoes that Paul bought'.

(88) can be ambiguous in that it can answer two questions:

    -What did Paul buy?

    -What is that (you are carrying?)

In this last case, the information expressed is not presupposed as in restrictive relative. It is just the predicate of the clause.But one can also say:

(89)   *U- a- gúzê ibirayi*   ni Paulo.

        rel-past- buy   potatoes is Paul

        'The one who bought potatoes is Paul'

in which one individual among others is identified. This is an interesting case where the head noun of the relative clause is last.

These are formulae of cleft constructions in Kinyarwanda :

     S------→ cop+head+Srel

        S------→   Srel + cop+ Head

        S------→   Head + cop + Srel

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This paper is an attempt to study Relative Clauses in Kinyarwanda.

This paper is a result of personal effort since no other related work in the language has been available to us. This means that the conclusions made can be contradicted or confirmed by whoever would like for the future to dig deep in this field. Here below are some of the conclusions proposed:

1. Because Kinyarwanda is a V.O language, the relative clauses are postnominal clauses i.e. the R.C modifiers occur after the head noun of the clause. In this case we are dealing with a headed Relative Clause. The presence of a relative pronoun and the high tone on the verb are two grammatical markers accomplishing the task of relativization.

2. In the case of headless Relative clauses the head noun is deleted and replaced by a Relative pronoun or marked directly on the verb by an augment preceded to the usual subject of the verb. This what some will call relative clause, others nominalized Clause. As far as morphology and syntax are concerned a headless relative clause in Kinyarwanda can be easily called a nominalized Relative Clause. But as far as function in the clause is concerned, a relative clause (headless) is not just an NP, but a modifier providing more information about a particular individual in the world. Kinyarwanda makes a clear distinction between a generic NP and an NP relative clause:

(90)   a-   ba-   geend- zi   (NP1)

        Vi-   Ncl-   go   Nend.

        'The one who goes'

(91)   a-   ba-   geénd- a   (NP2)

        Vi-   rel-   go   asp

        'The ones who are going'

45

I have here NP1 (90) and NP2 (91) both of which derived from the same verb stem gend- 'go'/ 'walk'. However NP1 is a generic term given to people who take the action of going as their daily occupation. NP2 is restricted to a particular group of people undertaking the action of going during a given period of time. I will call then the process in NP1 nominalization and the one in NP2 Relativization.

3. Subjects and direct objects are relativised. But some elements at a lower level hierarchy can be raised to kind of higher level hierarchy before they can be relativized. The indirect object will be relativized through passivization (voice marked on the verb. The same phenomenon happen with the benefactive, possessor of the direct object and associative where another kind of voice is supplied marked by the morphemes - ir/-er or -an/ on the verb. The instrument is marked by marked by -ish; the use of the morphemes -ho; -yo, and -mo allow us to relativise the location. In Kinyarwanda it is also possible to relativise on reason, time and manner.

4. The discourse function of relative clause is to provide background information in order to access new information conveyed by the utterance. This is a function of Restrictive Relative clause. Cleft constructions are used to bring emphasis on the topic for which more information is provided (focus).

In brief, what is found in Kinyarwanda is not a unique situation but a situation shared by a number of languages around the world especially those belonging to the same group, Bantu. I think of Luganda, Kiga of which I have been privileged to have some material, and Swahili (no evidence to this). See examples below:

Luganda

(92) Omusajja omu-nene omu-lungi   a-   genze

      man   big   good   3sg-   left

      'the big good   man left.'

Kinyarwanda

(93)   umugabo   umu-nini   umu-iza   ya-giye

       man   big   good   3sg-   left

      'The big good man left'

Luganda

(94)   Omusajja   gwe   o-   labye   a-   genze

       man   whom   you-   saw   3sg-   left

      'The man whom you saw left'

Kinyarwanda

(95)   Umugabo   wo   wa-   rebye   ya-   giye

       man   whom   you-   saw   he-   left

      'The man whom you saw left'

. These are some examples taken from Luganda (92) and (93) compared to Kinyarwanda (94) and (95). What is interesting in these examples is not necessarily the sameness of the words but the general syntactic structure of words and clauses. I would then invite whoever would want to investigate in more research on Kinyarwanda, not to take it as an isolated case. Rather it is to be studied in parallel with other related languages on which perhaps more material is available.

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TEXT: TWAKIRANE MU BITEKEREZO. "Let accept each others thoughts"

1. Ese tu- vuge ko amahoro a- a- buze nyuma y'iitaliki ya 6.4.1994?

   Q 1pl-say that peace 3sg- past- lost after of-date of 6.4.1994 ?

   "Can we say that peace was lost after April 6th, 1994?

2. Imyaaka i- shize a- ri iine, impagarara urwikekwe,

   years 3sg- finish 3sg- be four stress suspicion

   n' umwiiryane mu baana b'u Rwanda bi- ara- ha- w- e ikicaro

   and hatred in children of- Rwanda 3pl- past- give- pass- asp

   'There are four years that stress suspicion and hatred among the people of Rwanda have been sited.'

3. Imitima si u- gu- komereka a- ara- shegesh- w- e.

   hearts neg Vi- inf- wound 3pl- past- damage pass-asp

   'Hearts have not only been wounded but also damaged.'

4. A- ba- enshi ba- ibagiwe amahoro y'umutima icyó ari cyo.

   Vi- Ncl-many 3pl- forget peace of-heart what cop it

   'Many have forgotten about peace of heart/mind.'

5. A-ba-rí mu gihugu ba-fite ubwooba ba- gerek- w- a- ho

   rel-3pl-be in country 3pl-have fear 3pl- accuse-pass-asp-on

   ibyaaha bi- a- koz- w- e n' abandi.

   Sins 3pl- asp- do- pas asp by others

   'Those who are in the country have fear, they are being attributed others' sins'.

50

6. | A- | ba- | bá | mu | nkambi | nabo | ba- | hora- | na | umutima |
    |----|-----|-----|-----|--------|------|-----|-------|-----|---------|
    | rel- | 3pl- | live | in | camp | and-them | 3pl- | stay- | with | heart |

u-	hágar-	ye	ba-	i-	baz-	a	niiba	ba-	da-
rel-	stand-	asp	3pl-	ref-	ask-	asp	if	3pl-	neg-

shobor- a	gu-hohoter-w- a.
can- asp	inf- abuse -pass-asp

    'Those who are in the (refugee) camp also are always in fear asking themselves if they can't be injustly attacked.'

7 | Abandi | u-saang-a | ba-hora | ba-i-shish- | a | ábó | ba-ri | kumwe, |
    |--------|-----------|---------|-------------|-----|-----|-------|--------|
    | others | 2sg-find-asp | 3pl-stay | 3pl-ref-untrust | asp | rel | 3pl-are | together |

    'You find that others suspect those who are with them,

u- ga- saang-a	muri bo	ha- bur- ze	urugwiro	no	ku-i-sanzuura.
2sg-cont-find- asp	in 3pl	3sg-miss-asp	fellowship	and	to-ref-relax

    'you find that there is no fellowship and relaxation.'

8. | Ibyo | byose | bi- ra- ter- | w- | a | no | ku-i- fung- ir- an- a |
    |------|-------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------|
    | Dem | all | 3pl-asp-cause | pass | asp | of/by | to-ref-close-ben-ass-asp |

mu	bitekerezo	byaacu	ngo	ha- ta- gira	a- ba- bi- i- vaangá-mo.
in	thoughts	our	that	3sg-neg- be	rel-3pl-Do- ref- mix- loc

    'All that because we are so closed to ourselves in our own thoughts so that anybody may be involved in it.'

9. Ikindi kandi tu-ga- tiiny- a ku-meny-a ibyo abandi ngo ha- ta- gira
    other also 1pl-cont-fear-asp inf-know-asp what other that 3sg-neg-be

    abandi ngo ha- ta-gira úwó tu-emér- er- a ku-injir- a mu byaacu,
    others that 3sg-neg-be rel 2pl-allow- ben-asp inf-enter-asp in ours

    'Another thing also is that we fear to get concerned about other's problemes
    because we want nobody to be concerned about ours;

    ibyo bi- ga- tuma naa-twe tu-gúm- a inyuma y' amareembo y' abandi,
    dem 3pl-cont-cause and-2pl 1pl-stay-asp behind of gates of other
    that keeps us isolated from other people,.

    nti- tu- umv- e inaama nziiza ba-shobora ku- twu-ungur- a.
    neg-1pl-hear-asp advices good 3pl-can inf-3pl- give- asp
    unable to benefit from their good advises'

10. Erega burya umuuntu a- haab-w- a íyó na- we a-taang-a!
    For sure man 3sg-give-pass-asp when and-him 3sg-give -asp
    'For sure the person receive when he gives!'

11. Du- he abaandi amahoro na-atwe tu-za-ya- gira.
    1pl-give others peace and-1pl 1pl- fut-DO-have!
    'Let give others peace and even us we will receive it'.

12. Du-haguruk- ir- e icyaarimwe rero banyarwaanda
    2pl-stand- ben-asp together then (people)of Rwanda
    'Let stand together then people of Rwanda,

tu-rwan-ye Satani u-shák- a ku-tu-rem-a-mo   ibice,

2pl-fight-asp Satan rel-want-asp inf-2pl-create-into parts

let fight Satan who want to divide us (into groups),

tu- imike   Kristo maze a-ha- ári   amacakubiri tu-ha- shyire   ubumwe

2pl-besiege Christ then   rel-3sg-was separation 2pl-DO-put   unity

let besiege Christ, and where was division we put unity

aha-ari   agahiinda tu-ha-   shyir-   e   ibyishimo

where-was sadness   2pl-there-put   asp happiness

where was sadness let put happiness.'

LET ACCEPT EACH OTHER'S THOUGHTS

Can we say that peace was lost after April 6[th.] 1994?(1) There are four years that stress,

suspicion and hatred among Rwandeese people have been given sit.(2) Hearts have been not

only wounded but completely damaged. (3) Many have forgotten about peace of heart. (4)

Those who are inside the country live under fear of being attributed others' sins. (5) Those who

are in the refugee camps are wondering if they can't unjustly attaqued . (6) Others always

suspect those whom they live with and there is no possible fellowship among them. (7) We

are so closed to ourselves we want nobody to be implicated in what we are doing or planning to

do. (8) 'All that because we are so closed to ourselves in our own thoughts so

that anybody may be involved in it. (9). Another thing is that we fear to be concerned about

others' problems because we want nobody to be concerned about ours; we are completely

isolated from other people, unable to benefit from their good advises. (10) For sure you can not

receive unless you give. (11) Let give others peace and even us we will receive it..

(12) Let stand together you people of Rwanda, fight Satan who want to divide us, let besiege

Christ and put unity where there is separation, happiness where there is sadness.

(Ntezimana 1995, 7)