

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MARAGOLI

BY
JEDIDAH JUMBA

A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

JULY, 2007

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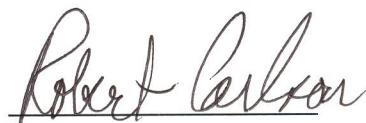
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Approved by:

Supervisor:

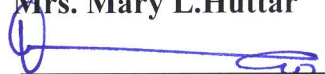


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Student's Declaration

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MARAGOLI

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)  _____

Jedidah Jumba

July, 2007

ABSTRACT

In the course of my studies at NEGST, it has come to my attention that very little linguistics work has been done on the Maragoli language. This study is on the relative clause as one of the grammatical categories needing research. The purpose of the paper is to establish the different types of relative clauses that are present in the language. The focus is on the morpho-syntactic roles in the grammar of the language. By so doing, I intend to make available Maragoli language data and thus make a contribution to linguistic, hence, translation work on not only Maragoli, but other languages as well.

TO

My late son

JAMES KEYA JUMBA

who went to be with the Lord Jesus Christ through a fatal road accident that involved
the whole family in the course of my studies at N.E.G.S.T.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere and deepest gratitude is first and foremost to God Almighty who has enabled me to complete this Linguistics Project and my studies at N.E.G.S.T.

I also wish to thank Dr. Carlson, my supervisor, who painstakingly read through my paper and offered the necessary guidance.

Mrs. Mary Huttar, for accepting to be my second reader and Dr. Huttar, for their guidance and contribution in developing my linguistic skills.

Dr. Blass, whose support and understanding was unique throughout my studies.

My teachers who have faithfully transmitted to me what God has entrusted to them.

My colleagues in Translation Department, especially Bolobo, Waweru, Olivia and Mukiti.

Fellow students and the entire N.E.G.S.T community for their love.

Mrs. Ulrich Sostmann for her support in my studies.

C.I.T.A.M and every one in the entire body of Christ, who have stood with us as a family.

Last, but not least, to my dear loving husband, for his insurmountable support, my two darling daughters, MercyAnn and Esther, for their irresistible warmth and love.

To God be the glory, for the things He has done.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APP	applicative
BEN	benefactive
CL	class
CAUS	causative
DO	direct object
FP	far past
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INSTR	instrument
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative
MANN	manner
NC	noun complement
NP	noun phrase
O COMP	object of comparison
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PAT	patient
PERF	perfective
PL	plural

POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PRON	pronoun
RC	relative clause
REAS	reason
REC	reciprocal
REL	relative pronoun
RF	remote future
SG	singular
SU	subject
TIME	time
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People, Language Classification and Social Setting

Maragoli or Logooli is spoken in Vihiga Districts of western Kenya. Its alternative names are RAGOLI, ULURAGOOI, LLUGULE, LUGOOI, MARAGOLI, LURAGOLI, LLOGOLE. Its language family is *Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, southern, Narrow Bantu, central, J. Masaba-Luyia (J.30), Luyia*. Maragoli has 70% to 80% lexical similarity with Idakho-Isukha-Tiriki. Maragoli is a term used interchangeably to refer to the language or the place. The speakers are normally referred to as Maragolis by non native speakers but (a)Valogooli by fellow Maragoli speakers. One native speaker is referred to as (u)Mulogooli. Their location is known as (e)Vologooli and the language (u)Lulogooli. The initial vowel is optional, particularly in rapid speech, it is also dependent on idiosyncratic tendencies. There are 197,000 speakers of the language (Grimes 1996, 292).

The Maragoli people are traditionally peasant farmers and have a literacy rate of between 50-75 %. There is a small range of published material including some novels and school textbooks (Grimes 1996, 292) and the Lulogooli Bible which was first published in 1951 (Mojola, 1999).

Religion, and in particular Christianity, plays a very important role among the Valogooli and is part and parcel of their social lives as evidenced in cultural activities like birth, initiation, marriage, etc.

1.2 Previous Research of Maragoli and Its Language Family

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no linguistics work has been done on the Maragoli relative clause (RC). However, studies have been carried out in related languages like Kinyarwanda, a Lake-Bantu language of Rwanda, and Bemba, a Bantu language of Uganda. Keenan and Comrie's comparison of RC formation in several languages including Bantu languages has been very useful.

1.3 Purpose of Study

Relativisation is characteristic of many languages in the world. Considering the lack of a descriptive study of the Maragoli language, the purpose of this study is two-fold:

1. To give a detailed discussion of the Maragoli Relative Clause.
2. To make the Maragoli language data available to other researchers.

1.4 Methodology

The data used in this paper is based on a Maragoli narrative text: "*Zinyingu munane*" and a Maragoli translation of Isaiah 65: 1-4, as found in the Appendix. My personal knowledge of the language and interaction with native speakers has been an additional source.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 An Overview of the Maragoli Language

2.1.1 Syntactic Typology

Maragoli has a constituent order of SVO where simple clauses require representations for the three constituents: subject, verb, and object as illustrated in the example below:

1. **Maria a- fuy- a zi- nguvu.**

Mary CL1- wash- PRES CL10- clothes

“Mary is washing clothes.”

Maragoli, like many Bantu languages, is agglutinative, i.e., a single word usually has more than one morpheme, as can be seen by the number of affixes taken by the verb. Maragoli also has a noun class system in which the head noun controls agreement and concord prefixes of the other grammatical categories like adjectives, quantifiers, possessives, demonstratives. The verb prefix also agrees with the subject as illustrated in the example below, where the noun class marker of the subject head noun *zi-* (noun class 8), governs agreement both within the subject noun phrase and with the verb

2. **Zi- nyingu zi- viri zi- nditu zi- adik- i.**
 CL8- pots CL8- two CL8- heavy CL8- breaks-
 PAST

“Two heavy pots have broken.” Maragoli does not have mandatory NP constituents as illustrated in the examples below.

Intransitive clauses:

In example 3, Maria is the NP constituent of the sentence.

3. **Maria a - gon- a.**
 Mary CL1 - sleep- PRES

“Mary is sleeping.”

The alternative is also possible in Maragoli where a subject pronoun is used in the place of an overt noun subject as illustrated in example 4 below.

4. **A- gon- a.**
 CL1- sleep- PRES

“She is sleeping.”

Transitive clauses

The same is possible with transitive clauses. In example 5 below, Kadenge is the mandatory NP constituent, whereas in example 6 a subject pronoun is used.

5. **Kadenge a - riz- a rigomia.**
 Kadenge CL1 - eat- PRES banana

“Kadenge is eating a banana”

6. A- riz- a rigomia.

CL1- eat- PRES banana

“She is eating a banana.”

2.1.2 *The Noun Phrase (NP)*

In Maragoli, the noun usually occurs at the beginning of the noun phrase. A noun consists of a stem and a noun class prefix. Nouns are distinguished by affixes where grammatical agreement is found between nouns and their modifiers. The noun prefixes function as members of singular/plural pairs, e.g. noun class **1 / 2** (*mu-* / *va-*) is a singular/plural pair as in *mundu/vandu* “person/people”. The table below gives examples of nouns in Maragoli and their respective classes.

Table 1: Noun classes in Maragoli

Class	N. prefix	Example	Gloss
1	mu-	mundu	"person"
2	va-	vandu	"people"
3	mu-	mukado /munwa	"avocado" /"mouth"
4	mi-	mikado/minwa	"avocado" /"mouths"
5	ri-	rigomia	"banana"
6	ma-	magomia	"bananas"
7	ki-	kitambaya/kikombe	"scarf" /"cup"
8	vi-	vitambaya/vikombe	"scarves" /"cups"
9	i-	isimba	"lion"
10	zi-	zisimba	"lions"
11	ru-	ruvusi	"thread"
11a	zi-	zimbusi	"pieces of thread"
12	ka-	kaduma	"small maize"
13	tu-	tuduma	"small pieces of/maize"
14	vu-	vuravu	"light"
15	ku-	kumoroma	"to talk"
16	ha-	yaha	"this place here"
17	yi-	yira	"that place there"
18	mu-	mumba	"inside the house"

2.1.3 Object Agreement on the Verb

Object agreement is not obligatory in Maragoli. When two objects are present, the direct object (DO) may display object agreement. When a non-patient participant is “promoted” to DO, the verb may agree with it, and an applicative suffix on the verb marks the promoted object’s semantic role.

PAT=DO

In the following example, **vuvehi**, which is the patient, takes the role of DO.

7. **Mu- kere ya- vor- a vuvehi.**
 CL1- old woman CL1- say-PAST lies
 “The old woman told lies.”

REC=DO

This example shows a recipient DO, and no verb agreement with DO

8. **Mu- kere ya- vor- er- a vana.**
 CL1- old woman she- say- APP- PAST children
vuvehi
 lies
 “The old woman told the children lies.”

REC=DO

Here, the verb agrees with the DO.

“Dative” participant is grammatically the DO

9. **Mu- kere ya- va- vor- er- a vana**
 CL1- old woman CL1- **them-** say- APP- PAST children

Vuvehi.

lies

“The old woman told them lies.” [va=’them’(children’)]

REC=DO

Here, PAT agreement is impossible. The clause is ungrammatical; it implies that the old woman spoke to “the lies”.

10. ***mu- kere ya- vu- vor- er- a**
 CL1- old woman CL1- **them-** say- APP- PAST

vana vuvehi.

children lies

“The old woman told them (lies).” [vu=’them’(lies’)]

In the following examples, an oblique case is promoted to DO optionally.

When the oblique is unpromoted, the PAT-DO controls the optional agreement. When the oblique is promoted to DO, it controls the agreement. The verb is marked with a special affix that signals the DO’s semantic role.

PAT=DO

Optional promotion of instrument to DO: Oblique instrument, no agreement.

11. **Mu- kana a- dah- i m- azi na**
 CL1- girl CL1- fetch- PAST CL6- water with
ke- kombe.
 CL7- cup

“The girl fetched water with a cup.”

PAT=DO

Here, the oblique instrument is unpromoted, there is PAT agreement. The verb is marked with the affix **ga** referring to the DO, **mazi** “water”.

12. **Mu- kana a- ga- dah- i m- azi na**
 CL1- girl she- **it-** fetch- PAST CL6 water with
ke- kombe.
 CL7- cup

“The girl fetched the water with a cup.”

[**ga**= ‘it’(water)]

PAT=DO

This is a double-object construction, when – **iy-** (instrument) is introduced, the oblique instrument is promoted to DO and there is no agreement.

13. **Mu- kana a- dah- iy- i m- azi**
 CL1- girl she- fetch- INSTR-PAST CL6- water
ke- kombe.
 CL7- cup

“The girl fetched water with a cup.”

No agreement with oblique instrument.

The sentence is not grammatical. It implies that the girl fetched water the cup.

14. ***Mu- kana a- ki- dah- i m- azi na**
 CL1- girl she- it- fetch- PAST CL6- water with
ke- kombe.
 CL7- cup [ki=‘it’(cup)]

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The Relative Clause

In the previous chapter I have given a general overview of the Maragoli independent clause. In the present chapter I will give a general review of the relative clause. I will concentrate on the relativization of a number of the aforementioned grammatical structures.

3.1.1 Definition

Relative clauses have been defined as subordinate clauses embedded as noun modifiers inside noun phrases (Givón 1990, 645). A similar definition is given by Trask (1993, 238) who describes a relative clause as “a type of clause that is most often a subordinate clause which serves to modify a noun phrase, and which in most languages is usually a constituent of the noun phrase whose head it modifies.” Trask’s definition identifies relative clauses as adjectives that act as nominal modifiers in the clause. Several authors, including Givón, identify two kinds of relative clauses; first, the restrictive relative clause, which is the most common in languages. It involves a proposition that the speaker assumes is known or accessible to the hearer, or otherwise unlikely to be challenged as controversial new information (Givón 1990, 646). For the non-restrictive relative clause, on the other hand, the proposition tends to not be presupposed; it is not assumed by the speaker to be known or accessible to

the hearer. Maragoli does not have non-restrictive relative clauses; this paper therefore focuses on restrictive relative clauses.

Functionally, the relative clause partakes in the grammar of anaphoric reference and referential identification (Givón 1990, 645). It establishes in the hearer's mind a coherence relation for the new referent. In the example **15a** below, the subject of the main clause is *imburi*. It is modified by a relative clause in **15b**. In this case, the subject of the main clause *imburi* is coreferential with the subject of the relative clause *imburi*. The head may also be coreferential with the direct object of the relative clause, or with some indirect object in it, as I will show later.

15a. I- mburi i- yi ni i- nduru.

CL9- goat CL9- this be CL9- harsh

“This goat is harsh.”

15b. I- mburi [í- duy- i mu- kana] ni i- nduru.

CL9- goat REL hit- PAST CL1- girl is CL8- harsh

“The goat which hit the girl is harsh.”

In “*Exploring Language Structure*, Payne (2003, 367) states that the relative clause has four parts: first, the **head** which is the noun (NP) that is modified by the relative clause itself. Maragoli is predominantly a head first language and allows only for a post-nominal relative clause. In example **15b**, *imburi* is the **head** of the relative

clause; secondly, the **restricting clause** is defined as the relative clause itself, it is the clause surrounded by brackets in **15b** [*iduyi mukana*] “which hit the girl.” Thirdly, the **relativized noun phrase (NPrel)** is the NP within the relative clause that is coreferential with the head noun i.e. *imburi* in **15b**, in the gap strategy, the (NPrel) is represented within the relative clause by a gap i.e. \emptyset . Lastly, the **relativizer** which is the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause. In English, relativizers are the same as complementizers. Maragoli like many other languages, does not have relativizers.

3.1.2 Typological Parameters for Relative Clauses

Several authors acknowledge that relative clauses are of different types. Payne (1997, 326) for example, explains that “the position of the relative clause with respect to the head” and the way in which the NPrel is expressed play an important role in establishing the typology of relative clauses. Relative clauses can be either **prenominal**, in which case the clause occurs before the head, **internally headed**, with the head occurring within the clause, **postnominal**, with the clause after the head or **headless**, when there is no head noun appearing in the clause. Keenan (1985, 143) notes “a general tendency across languages to favor postnominal as opposed to prenominal RCs.” Maragoli, like many other languages, has both headed and headless relative clauses. I will look at each of these in brief for now, but in detail under the section on the Keenan and Comrie hierarchy.

3.1.3 The Headed Strategy

Maragoli, which is dominantly VO in main clause constituent order (as observed in the examples below), has post-nominal relative clauses. **16a** is a simple transitive

clause corresponding to the relative clause in **16b**. *Zinyingu* “pots” is the head noun of the relative clause. *Zia* is the NPrel and is translated as “which”. It agrees with the head noun *zi-nyingu* in noun class.

16a. **mama** **ya-** **rong-** **a** **zi-** **nyingu** **zi-**
nene.
mother she- make- verbfinal CL8- pots CL8- big
“Mother made big pots.”

16b. **Zi-** **nyingu** [**zia** **mama ya-** **rong-** **a**]
CL8- pots CL8-REL mother she- make-PAST
ni **zi-** **nene.**
be CL8- big.
“The pots which mother made are big.”

3.1.4 *The Headless Strategy*

According to (Payne 1997, 328), “The headless relative clauses are those which themselves refer to the noun they modify. They are called headless relative clauses because the heads are not specified. They are instead, subject relative referring to the subjects of the clauses.” Maragoli uses headless relative clauses especially when the main clause is an interrogative and when the head noun is non-specific.

The examples below illustrate subject relative pronouns i.e. in **17a**, *u- w- va-*, classes 1 and 2 are used for humans.

Interrogatives:

17a. [W- a- tany- i ke- kombe] ni vwaha.?

CL1-REL- he- break- PAST CL8- cup is

who?

“The one who broke the cup is whom.?”

In **17b**, *ki-*, class 7 is used for things.

17b. [Ki- gwi- i] ni kindiki.?

CL7-REL- fall- PAST is what

“The thing that fell is what?.”

Non-specific headless human relative pronoun:

Maragoli also has non-specific headless human relative pronouns as illustrated in the examples below.

18a. [U- vor- a vovehi] ni mu- oni.

CL1-REL- say- PRES lies is PRES CL1- sinner

“Whoever says lies is a sinner.”

18b. [U- gwihiz-i inyingu] a- rir- a.

CL1-REL- drop- PAST pot she- cry- PRES

“The one(the person) who dropped the pot is crying.”

18c. [Va- duk- a vwangu] va- ra- heb- w- a
 CL2-REL- arrive- PRES quickly they- go- give- PASS-
 PRES

vi- hanwa.

CL8- gift

“Those who arrive quickly are going to be given gifts.”

Non human headless relative pronouns

Kia in 19a and 19b is an example of a non-human subject relative pronoun and refers to the unspecified *kindu* ‘thing’ which fell and which is the subject of interrogation and agrees in number and noun class with the referent noun *kindu* ‘thing’ of noun class 7. The copula *ni* in 19a is employed after the subject, which in this case is the RC.

19a. *Kia* ka- ekorek- a ni ki- rahi.
 CL7- REL just- happen- NP is- CL7- good

“What has just happened is good.”

19b. *Kia* a- ri- iy- i ni kio
 CL7-REL CL1- eat- APP- PAST is what
 ki- mu- nyangiz- a.
 CL7- him- disturb- PRES

“What he ate is what is disturbing him.”

Via in **19c** on the other hand agrees in number and noun class with the referent noun *vindu* ‘things’ of noun class 8.

19c. *Via* **va-** **nwe-** **ey-** **e** **ni** **vio**
CL8-REL *CL2-* *drink-* *APP-* *PAST* *is* *what*
vi- **va-** **nyangiz-** **a.**
CL8- *him-* *disturb-* *PRES*

“What things they drank is what is disturbing them.”

The applicative is marking the semantic role of the relativized object.

Maragoli also has non-headless relative pronouns that depend on noun class and that mark location. *Ha* in **19d** and **19e** points to “the place” (where they will go).

19d. *Ha* **va-** **raka-** **zi-** **e**
REL-16 *CL2-* *will* *sometime-go-* *FF*
ha- **many-** **iy-** **w-** **i** **dave.**
place- *know-APP-* *PASS-* *PAST* *not*

“Where they will go is not known.”

19e. *Ha* **va-** **ri-** **zi-** **a**
REL-16 *CL2-* *will* *whenever -go-* *RF*
i- **many-** **iy-** **w-** **i** **dave.**
it- *know-APP-* *PASS-* *PAST* *not*

“Where they will go is not known.”

In the example below, *kuri* “the manner” derived from noun class 15, is another strategy used to show headless relative pronouns.

19f. *Kuri* *Miriamu* *a-* *dek-* *i* *chukuria*
the manner Miriam CL1- cook- PAST food
ni *vurahi* *dave.*
is good not.

“The manner in which Miriam cooked the food is not good.”

Headless relative pronouns are also used to talk about time in a general sense. In example 19g, *rwa* “when” does not refer to a specific time or day or month, but whenever they will pass.

19g. *Rwa* *na-* *va-* *vit-* *i* *na-* *ku-* *siev-* *e.*
when ASP- CL2- come- F ASP- 1PL- dance- F.

“When they will pass, we will dance.”

Maragoli also employs headless relative pronouns in combination with an applicative to mark reason as illustrated in the example below.

19h. *Kia* *a-* *rir-* *ir-* *a* *ni* *vu-* *vereri.*
Why CL1- cry- BEN- PRES is CL14- sorrow.

“The reason he’s crying is sorrow.”

From the examples above, Maragoli seems to make use of the applicative with headless non human relative pronouns because the NPrel is not a patient e.g. in *a-ri-iy-i* in 20b, *va-nwe-ey-e* in 20c and *i-many-iy-w-i* in 20d.

3.1.5 The Relativized Noun Phrase

Many linguists have pondered over the question of which position in a clause may function as NPrel. In an attempt to answer this question for the Maragoli language, I refer to the works of the following authors which have been quite instrumental: Keenan (1985, 141-161), who makes a comparison of several languages on the subject of the relative clause, Keenan and Comrie (1977) in their discussion of Hierarchy generalizations in RC formation, Givón (1979, 146) and (1990, 645) in his discussions on the relative clause in a number of languages of which Bantu languages are included, among others.

The Relativized Noun phrase (NPrel) refers to the element within the restricting clause that refers to the head noun. Many of the authors agree that the question of which position in a language can be relativized is not independent of the RC forming strategy used. Depending on which grammatical argument is being relativized, a language may use different strategies for the relativized NP. Maragoli, which is the focus of this paper, uses the gap strategy and relative pronoun strategy to identify the referent within the restricting clause.

3.1.6 The Gap Strategy

In the gap strategy the relativized NP is left implicit and has no overt reference from within the relative clause, that is, it is represented within the relative clause by a gap.

The immediate context helps the reader and the hearer to see this gap as representing the head noun being relativized.

Payne (1997, 335) gives the following examples to show the grammatical elements that can be relativized in English.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------|
| 20a. | I hate the alligator that Ø ate Mildred. | subject |
| 20b. | I hate the alligator that Mildred saw Ø. | direct object |
| 20c. | I hate the alligator that Mildred threw the ball to Ø. | indirect object |
| 20d. | I hate the alligator that Mildred rode on Ø. | oblique |
| 20e. | I hate the alligator that Mildred is bigger than Ø. | oblique |
| 20f. | *I hate the alligator that Ø teeth are huge. | Possessor |

The examples above show that English relative clauses with the relativizer **that** allow the gap strategy on all positions except for possessors as illustrated by example f.

In Maragoli, the gap strategy is used for DO, where the relative pronoun is placed in the clause plus a gap where the DO is normally placed; (Rel. Pron. + gap) strategy.

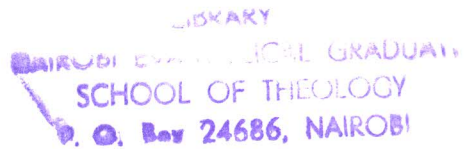
The examples below illustrate this strategy.

- 21a. Vi- tabu vi- vey- e ku emesa
 CL8- books they- be- SUBJ. on table
 ‘The books are on the table’

In **21b**, the gap is represented by Ø, and is found where the DO would have been placed.

21b. Vi- tabu [via mu- igizi a- gur- i Ø]
 CL8- books which CL1- teacher he- buy- PAST
 vi- vey- e ku emesa.
 CL8- be- SUBJ. on table

“The books which the teacher bought are on the table.”



3.1.7 The Pronoun Retention Strategy

The “pronoun retention” strategy is where a pronoun representing the head noun is used within the relative clause to help the reader trace the noun being relativized. For the pronoun retention strategy, the pronoun that is ‘retained’ is not a relative pronoun, but an ordinary anaphoric pronoun which is placed at its normal place in the clause.

Pronoun retention strategy is quite often confused with the relative pronoun strategy.

The examples below are helpful in distinguishing between the two strategies.

Example **22a** illustrates both relative pronoun and pronoun retention, whereas

example **22b** illustrates relative pronoun.

22a. The school [*which* the student loves *its* library]

22b. The school *which* is good

Maragoli uses the pronoun retention strategy in relativization of the possessor where a retained genitive is used in combination with a relative pronoun. In the example below, the genitive *kikie* “his” is combined with the relative pronoun *wa*.

23a. Mu- ndu a- vuguy-i ki- tabu kia mu- somi
 CL1- man he- take- PAST CL7- book of CL1- student
 “Somebody took the student’s book”

Note that in 23b, *kikie* “his,” the prefix agrees with the head noun i.e. the possessed N and DO of RC, and the suffix agrees with the NPrel, the genitive modifier of the head N.

23b. Mu- somi [wa ki- tabu *kikie* mu- ndu a- vuguy-i.
 CL1- student REL CL7- book *his* CL7- man he- take-
 PAST
 “The student whose book somebody took.”

3.1.8 The Relative Pronoun Strategy

According to Givón (1979, 151) ‘the relative pronoun involves case-marked pronouns which most normally get attracted to a position between the head noun and the restricting clause’. He also notes that the relative pronoun has two functions: ‘It carries the case-marking of the deleted NP and also separates the head noun from the embedded sentence’.

Subject relativization

Subject relativization occurs when the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause. Subject relativization is achieved by means of a relative subject prefix on the verb of the relative clause. See the examples below which illustrate subject relative pronouns of noun class 1.

In **24a** no relativization is going on.

24a. Mu- kana a- gwihiz-i inyingu.
 CL1- girl she- drop- PAST pot
 “The girl dropped the pot.”

In **24b**, the subject *mukana* ‘girl’ has been relativized by use of the relative pronoun strategy *u-* ‘who’ which is in agreement in noun class and number with the head noun *mukana* ‘girl’ i.e. noun class 1.

24b. Mu- kana [u- gwihiz-i inyingu] a- rir-a.
 CL1- girl REL.- drop-PAST pot she- cry-PRES
 “The girl who dropped the pot is crying.”

24c. illustrates that when the morpheme *u-* followed by a tense prefix *a-* representing Intermediate Past or Far Past, it changes to *w-* as illustrated in **24d**, a change from 2 vowels to CV, a common Bantu pattern. as illustrated in example **24d**.

24c. ***Mu- kana** [**u- a- gwihiz- i i- nyingu**]
 CL1- girl she- had- drop- FP CL- pot
a- rir- a.
 she- cry- PAST

“The girl who had dropped the pot is crying.”

24d. **Mu- kana** [**w- a- gwihiz- i i- nyingu**]
 CL1- girl she- had- drop- FP CL- pot
a- ri- r- a.
 she- whenever- eat- PAST

“The girl who had dropped the pot is crying.”

In the examples below, I have used nouns from class 2.

No relativization is going on in **25a**.

25a. **Va- kana va- gwihiz-i zi- inyingu**
 CL2- girl they- drop- PAST CL10- pot

“The girls dropped the pots.”

Relativization of the subject ***vakana*** ‘girls’ has been achieved by use of the relative pronoun strategy ***va-*** ‘who’ which is in agreement in noun class and number with the head noun ***vakana*** ‘girls’. The relative pronoun ***va-*** ‘who’ resembles the personal pronoun ***va*** – ‘they’, only that the relative pronoun ***va-*** ‘who’ has a High tone (See 25b below). In Maragoli therefore, the relative pronouns ***u- w- va-*** translated as ‘who’ are used for humans.

25b. Va- kana [vá- gwihiz-i zi- inyingu] va- rir-a.

CL2- girl REL- drop-PAST CL10- pots they-cry-PRES

“The girls who dropped the pots are crying.”

I will illustrate relative subject prefixes of non human noun classes using the examples I gave above under the headed strategy.

No relativization is going on here.

26a. Mama ya- rong- a zi- nyingu zi- nene.

mother she- make- verbfinal CL8- pots CL8- big

“Mother made big pots.”

Zi- prefixed to the verb in **26b** and which is translated as ‘which’ is the non-human relative pronoun, it agrees with the head noun *zi-nyingu* “pots” in noun class 8.

26b. Zi- nyingu zi-nene [zi- arong- w- a]

CL8- pots CL8-big REL-CL8- make- PASS- verbfinal

“The pots that mother made are big.”

The Maragoli subject relative pronouns therefore confirm Givón’s description of the functions of the relative clause. First, the relative prefixes agree 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 pronoun pronominalisation.

It is also evident that for class 2 nouns, subject prefixes differ from relative pronouns in that relative pronouns exhibit a High tone where the subject prefixes do not. This minimizes on ambiguity.

The table below shows subject relative morphemes arranged by noun classes as in table 1 above.

Table 2: Subject relatives in Maragoli

Class	Noun prefix	Subj. prefix	Subject relative	Example	Gloss
1	mu-	a-/ya	w-/u-	<i>mundu wa-kuria</i>	“person who ate”
2	va-	va-	vá-	<i>vandu va-kuria</i>	“people who ate”
3	mu-	gu-	gwa-	<i>mukado gwa-kugwa</i> <i>munwa gwa ku-hia</i>	“avocado which fell” “mouth which is burnt”
4	mi-	gi-	gia-	<i>mikado gia ku-gwa</i> <i>minwa gia ku-hia</i>	“avocadoe which fell” “mouths which are burnt”
5	ri-	ri-	ria-	<i>rigomia ria-kuhia</i>	“banana which is cooked”
6	ma-	ga-	ga-	<i>magomia ga-kuhia</i>	“bananas which are burnt”
7	ki-	ki-	kia-	<i>kitambaya kia-kwuma</i> <i>Kikombe kia-kwadika</i>	“scarf which has dried”

					<i>“cup which is broken”</i>
8	vi-	vi-	via-	<i>vitambaya via-kwuma</i> <i>vikombe via-kwadika</i>	<i>“scarves which have dried”</i> <i>“cups which have broken”</i>
9	i-	i/ya-	i-/ya-	<i>isimba ya- kuria</i>	<i>“lion which ate”</i>
10	zi-	zi-	zi-	<i>zisimba zia-kuria</i>	<i>“lions which ate”</i>
11/10	ru-	ru-	rwa-	<i>ruvusi rwa-kufwa</i>	<i>“thread which is finished”</i>
10	zi-	zi-	zia-	<i>zimbusi zia-kufwa</i>	<i>“pieces of thread which are finished”</i>
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	<i>kaduma ka-kwuma</i>	<i>“small maize which has dried”</i>
13	tu-	tu-	twa-	<i>tuduma twa-kwuma</i>	<i>“small pieces of maize which have dried”</i>
14	vu-	vu-	vwa-	<i>vuravu vwa-kwaka</i>	<i>“light which</i>

					<i>has shined</i> "
15	ku-	ku-	kwa-	<i>kumoroma kwa-ku-a-kumoroma</i>	" <i>talking which we have talked</i> "
16	ya- /ha-	ha-	ha-	<i>yaha ha-kugasiza</i>	" <i>this place here which has pleased</i> "
17	yi-	i/ya-	ya-	<i>yira ya-kugasiza</i>	" <i>that place there has pleased</i> "
18	mu-	mu-	mwa-	<i>mumba mwa-kwogiza</i>	" <i>inside the house which has been cleaned</i> "

Object relativization

Object relativization occurs when the relativized NP is the object of the relative clause. In example 27a, no relativisation is going on.

27a. Mu- kana a- gwihiz- i inyingu

CL1- girl she-drop- PAST pot

"The girl dropped a pot"

In 27b, *a-gwihiz-i* Ø “she dropped__”, the element that was “dropped” i.e. the NPrel, which represents the object, has been placed at the beginning of its clause, leaving a gap after the verb where the DO normally is placed.

27b. **Inyingu** [ya mu- kana a-gwihiz-i Ø] ya-dik- i.
 pot REL CL1- girl she-drop- PAST it- break-PAST
 “The pot which the girl dropped is broken.”

Example 27c is not grammatical, meaning that the simple gap strategy cannot be used on its own in Maragoli.

27c. ***Inyingu** [mu- kana a-gwihiz-i Ø] ya-dik- i.
 pot CL1- girl she-drop- PAST it- break-PAST
 “The pot the girl dropped, it is broken.”

As is the case with the subject relative, the phonological shape of the Maragoli object relative pronoun changes in agreement with the head noun. For example *kia* “which” in example 27d below agrees in noun class with the head noun *ki-tabu*.

27d. **ki- tabu** [kia mu- somi a- vuguy-i Ø] ni ki-
ange
 CL7-book REL CL1- student he/she-take- PAST is CL7-
 mine
 “The book which the student took is mine”

Object relativization in Maragoli is marked by the relative pronoun placed first in the clause plus gap where the DO is normally placed. Maragoli object relative differs from the subject relative in that whereas the subject relative pronoun is prefixed to the verb as illustrated in **24b.** above where the subject relative pronoun *u-* “who,” is prefixed to the verb *-gwhizi* “dropped,” the object relative pronoun is not a prefix, it occurs between the head noun and the subject. In **27d** above, the object relative pronoun *kia* “which,” occurs before the noun *musomi* “student”.

Secondly, for noun class 1, the object relative pronoun is *wa-* as opposed to *w-/ u-* subject relative pronoun. The form is the same for the rest of the noun classes.

Other object relative morphemes are listed in table 3 below.

3.2 Accessibility Hierarchy To Relative Clause Formation In Maragoli

On the basis of data from about fifty languages, Keenan and Comrie (1977, 66) argued that “languages vary with respect to which NP positions can be relativized, and that the variation is not random. Rather, the relativizability of certain positions is dependent on that of others, and these dependencies are universal.” The two linguists then proposed that accessibility to relativization is based on the accessibility hierarchy below:

Accessibility Hierarchy (AH)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP (Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparison).

Where > means is more accessible than, SU stands for ‘subjects’, DO for ‘direct object’, IO for ‘indirect object’, OBL for ‘major oblique case NP’, GEN stands for

‘genitive’ (or ‘possessor’) NP, and OCOMP stands for ‘object of comparison’. The positions on the hierarchy are to be understood as specifying a set of grammatical distinctions that a language may make. Keenan and Comrie did not claim that any given language necessarily distinguishes all these categories, either in terms of RC formation or in terms of other syntactic processes. The generalization is that the subject is the most likely argument in a language to be relativized, followed by the direct object and then the indirect object. A further generalization about this hierarchy is that “in any given language, if one position on this hierarchy is relativizable, all positions to the left will also be relativizable, though not necessarily with the same strategy” (Payne 1997, 335). This means that if the indirect object is relativizable in a given language, then the direct object and subject arguments will also be relativizable, though not necessarily with the same strategy. Keenan and Comrie claim that each strategy of relativization will be applied on a continuous segment of the hierarchy. If in some language pronoun retention is used in relativizing the subject, and also for indirect object, then it must also be used for direct object.

In English it is possible to relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and possessor in the possessive construction as in:

The man [who bought the book for the girl]	Subject
The book [which the man bought for the girl]	Object
The boy [who the teacher gave a pen]	Indirect object
The girl [for whom the man bought the book]	Oblique
The boy [whose book the man bought for the girl]	Genitive
The man [who John is taller than]	Object of comparison

Maragoli restricts the relativizable positions to subject and direct object. For genitives, as noted in example **23b** above, the prefix agrees with the head noun i.e. the possessed N and DO of RC, and the suffix agrees with the NPrel, the genitive modifier of the head N.

Maragoli also provides means of relativizing most oblique NPs like instrumentals, locatives, benefactives, etc. See the examples below.

3.2.1 Subject Relativization

Subject Relativization in Maragoli uses the relative prefix strategy where the relative prefix, which agrees in noun class with the head noun, is on the verb as illustrated in examples **24-26** above. Note that the relative prefix strategy is used only for subject relativization.

3.2.2 Direct Object Relativization

Direct object relativisation is achieved by placing a relative pronoun which agrees with the head noun at the beginning of the restrictive clause, plus leaving a gap in the position where the direct object is normally placed (Rel. Pron. + Gap). See example **27** above.

3.2.3 Indirect Object Relativization

For Indirect objects to be relativized, the recipient NP is obligatorily made DO and there is no accompanying applicative suffix. In example **28b** below, *mukana* “girl,” which is the recipient of the flower, is obligatorily made DO before taking the relative pronoun *wa* “who.”

- 28a. Suzana a- hey- e mu- kana ri- aua.
 Suzanne she- give- PAST CL1- girl CL5- flower
 “Suzanne has given the girl a flower.”

- 28b. Mu- kana [wa Suzana a- hey- e ri-
 aua.]
 CL1- girl REL Suzanne she- give- PAST CL5-
 flower
 “The girl to whom Suzanne has given the flower.”

3.2.4 Oblique

In addition to the above relativisation positions, Maragoli has oblique positions that can be relativized as shown below. These oblique positions must first be promoted to DO before they can be relativized.

3.2.5 Locational Relativisation

Locational relativization uses relative pronouns like *ha, ya, kia*, etc., depending on the noun class in combination with a stranded preposition. In 64b the relative pronoun *kia* is used together with the stranded preposition *mu*.

- 29a. A- zuk- i mazi mu ki- kombe ki- hia.
 she- pour- PAST water in CL7- cup CL7- new
 “She poured water in a new cup.”

- 29b. *Kia a- zuk- i mu ki- kombe ni mazi.*
REL she- pour- PAST in CL7- cup is water
 “What she poured in the cup is water.”

3.2.6 Instrument Relativisation

For instruments, relativization is achieved through relative pronoun plus gap with the added feature of an applicative. In the example below the relative pronoun *rwa* and the applicative *-ey-* has been used.

- 30a. *Maria a- voh- i ki- tambaya nu*
Mary he- tie- PAST CL7- scarf with
ru- vusi.
CL11- thread
 “Mary tied the scarf with thread.”

- 30b. *Ru- vusi [rwa Maria a- voh- ey- e ki- tambaya]*
CL11- thread REL Mary CL1- tie- APP- PRES CL7- scarf
nu ru- mwamu.
is CL11- black
 “The thread with which Mary tied the scarf is black.”

3.2.7 Benefactive Relativization

Benefactive relativization is achieved through a relative pronoun that agrees with the head noun in noun class and number plus an applicative, which promotes the oblique

to DO as illustrated in example **31b**. In example **31c** below the relative pronoun *wa* plus the benefactive applicative *-ey-* is used.

31a. Mu- ana a- vey- e na i- nzara.

CL1- child CL1- be- PRES with CL9- hunger

“The child is hungry.”

31b. Mama a- mu- dek- ey- e ri- gomia.

mother she- him- cook- APP- PRES CL5- banana

“Mother has cooked banana food for him.”

31c. Mu- ana [*wa* mama a- dek- ey- e ri- gomia]

CL1- child *who* mother CL1- cook- APP- PRES CL5- banana food

a- vey- e na i- nzara.

CL1- be- PRES with CL9- hunger

“The child whom mother has cooked for banana food is hungry.”

3.2.8 Manner Relativisation

Manner relativization uses *kuri* of noun class 15 as a relative pronoun as illustrated in the example below.

32a. Maria a- dek- i chukuria vurahi.

Mary she- cook- PAST food good

“Mary cooked the food well”

32b. Kuri Maria a- dek- i chukuria kwa- r- i
REL Maria she- cook- PAST food CL15- be- PAST

vurahi.

good.

“The way Mary cooked the food was good.”

3.2.9 Time Relativisation

When the noun *ing’inga* which refers to “time” or “period,” is used, time relativization employs the fronted relative pronoun *ya* “which” as illustrated in example 33b. When other nouns are used, relativisation employs a relative pronoun based on the noun class e.g. for *ridiku* “day” (CL5), the relative pronoun *ria* “which,” will be used as shown in example 33d.

33a. Ya- iz- i i- ng’inga i- ndahi dave
CL1- come- PAST CL9- time CL9- good not

“He did not come at a good time.”

The relative pronoun *ya* “which” (example 33b) of noun class 9 is not to be confused with the personal pronoun *ya* “he,” of noun class 1 (a phonological variant from *a* “he”).

33b. I- ng’inga [*ya* ya- iz- iy- i]
CL9- time REL-CL9 he-CL1 come- APP- PAST

y- ar- i i- ndahi dave.

it- be- PAST CL9- good not.

“The time which he came was not good.”

33c. Yohana a- duk- i ri- diku ria

John he-CL1- arrive- PAST CL5- day REL-CL5

ki- kevo.

CL7- circumcision.

“John arrived on the day of circumcision.”

33d. Ri- diku [ria Yohana a- duk- i]

CL5- day REL-CL5 John he-CL1- arrive- PAST

ri- ar- i ria ki- kevo.

CL5- be- PAST of CL7- circumcision.

“The day which John arrived was the day of circumcision.”

3.2.10 Reason Relativisation

In the example below, reason relativization uses the fronted relative pronoun *kia*

‘why’, which corresponds to noun phrase *kivuni* ‘reason’ of noun class 7 in

combination with the applicative *-iy-*.

34a. Petero a- hanzuk- i kigira vutima.

Peter he- do- PAST because anger

“Peter did that because of anger.”

34b. [*Kia Petero a- hanzuk- iy- i] ki- ar- i*
REL Peter he - shout- APP- PAST CL7- be-
 PAST

vutima.

anger.

“Why Peter shouted was anger.”

3.2.11 Possessor Relativization

Example **35b** below shows that Maragoli does not use a special word like English *whose* to relativize the possessor. Instead the relative pronoun *wa-* ‘who’ is used together with a possessive pronoun *yeye* ‘his’. The relativized possessor in Maragoli is achieved by a pronoun retention relativisation strategy.

35a. *Mu- igizi y- iv- i i- barwa ya mu- somi.*
 CL1- teacher CL1-he-steal- PAST CL9- letter of CL1-he-student

“The teacher stole the student’s letter.”

35b. *Mu- somi [wa i- barwa yeye mu- igizi*
 CL1- student REL CL9- letter his CL1- teacher
y- iv- i] a- duk- i karunu.
 CL1-he-steal- PAST CL1- he- arrive- PAST today

‘The student whose letter the teacher stole arrived today.’

In example **35c-35f**, pronominal possessives have been used.

- 35c. Miriamu a- vuguy-i zi- barwa zi- etu**
 Miriam CL1-he-steal- PAST CL10- letter CL10- our
 “Miriam took our letters.”

With possessors, relativization is determined by the clitic *ni* “is” and the nominal class to which the possessor relates as illustrated in examples **35d-35f**.

- 35d. Zi- barwa zi- etu ni zio zia**
 CL10- letter CL10- our is CL10-the ones CL10-which
Miriam a- vuguy-i.
 Miriam CL1- take- PAST.
 “Our letters are the ones which Miriam took.”

In **35e** the clitic pronominal morpheme is the subject of the relative clause.

- 35e. Petero ni yie wa va- it- i.**
 Peter is CL1-the one CL1-who they- kill- PAST.
 “The teacher took their letters.”

In **35f** the clitic pronominal morpheme is the object of the relative clause.

- 35f. Ni yio ya va- atany- i.**
 is CL9-the one CL9-which they- break- PAST.
 “It’s the one which they broke.”

The table below gives a summary of relative pronouns in Maragoli in comparison with demonstratives and interrogatives.

Table 3. Maragoli relative pronouns in comparison with demonstratives

<i>Cl.</i>	<i>N.Pref</i>	<i>S.Pref</i>	<i>S.Rel.</i>	<i>Ob.Rel.</i>	<i>D.prox</i>	<i>D.N-prox.</i>	<i>Man.Rel</i>
1	mu	a-/ya	w-/u-	w-/u-	uyu	ura	
2	va	va-	va	va	yava	vara	
3	mu	gu-	gwa	gwa	yigu	gura	
4	mi	gi-	gia	gia	yigi	gira	
5	ri	ri-	ria	ria	yiri	rira	
6	ma	ga-	ga	ga	yaga	gara	
7	ki	ki-	kia	kia	yiki	kira	
8	vi	vi-	via	via	yivi	vira	
9	i	i/ya-	ya	ya	iyi	ira	
10	zi	zi-	zi	zia	yizi	zira	
11	ru	ru-	rwa	rwa	yiru	rura	
11a	zi	zi-	zia	zia	yizi	zira	
12	ka	ka-	ka	ka	yaka	kara	
13	tu	tu-	twa	twa	yitu	tura	
14	vu	vu-	vwa	vwa	yivu	vura	
15	ku	ku-	kwa	kwa	yiku	kura	kuri
16	ya/ha	ha-	ha	ha	yaha	yira	
17	yi	i/ya-	ya	ya	yaha	yira	
18	mu	mu-	mwa	mwa	yimu	mura	

<i>Cl.</i>	<i>Class</i>
<i>N.Pref.</i>	<i>Noun Prefix</i>
<i>S.Pref</i>	<i>Subject prefix</i>
<i>S.Rel.</i>	<i>Subject Relative</i>
<i>Ob. Rel.</i>	<i>Object Relative</i>
<i>D.Prox.</i>	<i>Demonstrative Proximity</i>
<i>D.N-prox.</i>	<i>Demonstrative Non-Proximity</i>
<i>Man.Rel.</i>	<i>Manner relativization</i>

From the table 3 above and 4 below, it can be observed that even though Maragoli subject relative pronouns and object relative pronouns appear to be similar, they are different to some extent. For class 2 nouns, whereas subject relative pronouns exhibit a High tone, object relative pronouns do not. On the other hand, subject relative pronoun prefixes differ from object relative pronouns in that, for class 1, the subject relative prefix is *u-* / *w-* and the object relative pronoun is *wa*. The *a-* in the subject relative prefix does not always appear. The *a-* is a separate morpheme, changing in relation to tense and modality as illustrated in example **24d** above. This therefore means that the prefixes are not identical to the relative pronouns. It can also be observed from the table that there is resyllablification for class 1 when two vowels follow each other as in the case of *u-* followed by *-a*, the first vowel becomes a consonant and takes a consonant position i.e. *w-* e.g. *mu- a = mwa*, *gu- a = gwa*, *ru- a = rwa*.

A further observation is that demonstratives and interrogatives resemble to some extent relative pronouns in that they share morphemes and agree in noun class and number with the head noun e.g. *via/yivi*, *gwa/yigu*, *zia/yizi*, etc. for demonstratives, and *ha/hayi*, *kia/kindiki*, *kia/ki*, etc. for interrogatives (see table 4 below for interrogative forms). In addition, the personal pronouns resemble the relative pronouns even though they function differently.

Table 4. Interrogatives

<i>Interrogative forms</i>
vwaha- “who”
hayi- “where”
ri- “when”
kindiki- “what”
kigira ki- “why”
ndi- “how”

3.2.12 Conclusion

Maragoli agrees with the Keenan and Comrie hierarchy to some extent. As proposed by the two, for Maragoli subjects and objects, positions higher to the left in the accessibility hierarchy are the most accessible to relativization. The relative pronoun strategy is the primary strategy of relativization for Maragoli; it is used to relativize arguments farther down to the right of the hierarchy. Maragoli also agrees with the

Keenan and Comrie hierarchy in that, if one position on this hierarchy is relativizable, all positions to the left will also be relativizable, though with different strategies.

Subject relativization is achieved through the relative pronoun strategy where the relative pronoun is a prefix on the verb. The gap strategy is used in combination with a relative pronoun to relativize the DO. Indirect objects have to first be promoted to DO whence they can then be relativized. Likewise, most Obliques are promoted to DO via an applicative before they can be relativized using a relative pronoun that depends on the noun class. For locational obliques, the stranded preposition is used in combination with fronted relative pronoun. Manner relativization uses *kuri* of noun class 15 as a relative pronoun. Time relativization employs the fronted relative pronoun *ya* but when other nouns are used, the relative pronoun used is based on the noun class.

Maragoli uses the pronoun retention strategy in relativization of the possessor where a retained genitive is combined with a relative pronoun.

CHAPTER 4

Summary and Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to study relative clauses in Maragoli. Given that no previous research has been carried out on this grammatical feature to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the conclusions made here are not final but subject to correction.

- 1) Maragoli is a SVO language and it allows only for a post- nominal relative clause in which the restricting relative clause occurs after the head noun.
- 2) In Maragoli, subjects and objects, positions higher to the left in the accessibility hierarchy proposed by Keenan & Comrie (1977, 66), are the most accessible to relativization.
- 3) The relative pronoun strategy is the primary strategy of relativization; it is used to relativize arguments farther down to the right of the hierarchy. Subject relativization is achieved through the relative pronoun strategy where the relative prefix is on the verb.
- 4) The DO object strategy is achieved through a fronted pronoun plus gap.
- 5) Indirect objects have to first be promoted to DO whence they can then be relativized.
- 6) For some obliques like locatives, a stranded preposition plus fronted relative pronoun is used. For others like instruments and benefactives, obliques achieve relativization through promotion to DO via applicative plus fronted relative

- 7) pronoun. Manner relativization uses *kuri* of noun class 15 as a relative pronoun, whereas time relativization employs the fronted relative pronoun *ya* when the noun *ing'inga* “time” is used, but when other nouns are used, the relative pronoun used is based on the noun class.
- 8) In Maragoli relativization of genitives is achieved via a fronted pronoun plus a retained genitive pronoun. Relativization of possessors is achieved first, by pronoun retention relativisation strategy, in which the relative pronoun *wa-* ‘who’ is used together with a possessive pronoun *yeye* ‘his in contrast to the English *whose*. Secondly, the relativization is determined by the clitic *ni* “is” and the nominal class to which the possessor relates.

The Maragoli relative clause behaves in a similar manner as a number of other languages of the same language group i.e Bantu. In comparison with Bemba, a Bantu language and Kinyarwanda, a Lake-Bantu language, Maragoli maintains the SVO strategy for subject relativization. Maragoli also involves a tonal change on the subject-agreement pronoun for subject relativization as is the case with the other two Bantu languages. See examples below:

Bemba (Givón, 1979, 169)

36a. **Umuana á- a - lya umukate.**

child he- past- eat bread

“The child ate (the) bread.”

36b. **Umuana ú- a- lya umukate.**

child who- past- eat bread

“The child who ate (the) bread.”

Maragoli

37a. **Mu- ana ya- ri- a mu- gadi.**

CL1- child he- eat- PAST CL3- bread

“The child ate (the) bread.”

37b. **Mu- ana ú- a- ri- a mu- gadi.**

CL1- child who- long ago- eat- PAST CL3- bread

“The child who ate (the) bread.”

The *u-a* morpheme is normally spelled *wa*.

Kinyarwanda (*Nyimahoro, 2000, 30*)

38. **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.”

iyó refers to the time, relativization on time is realized by the tone on the relative pronoun **iyó**

Maragoli

39. **Rwá mu- ana a- rwar- a nz- iz- a**
 REL CL1- child CL1- he- be sick- PAST 1SG- come- PRES

dave.

not

“When the child is sick I do not come.”

Luganda (Keenan & Comrie, 1979, 341)

Luganda has a relative prefix on the verb for both SU and DO as illustrated in the examples below.

40a. **Ekikopo e- kigudde.**

cup REL- fell

“The cup which fell.”

40b. **Ekiikopo John ky’ aguze**

cup John REL bought

“The cup which John bought.”

Unlike Maragoli which has a relative prefix on the verb for SU only as shown below.

41a. **Ki- kombe ki- gwi- i.**

CL- cup REL- fall- PAST

“The cup which fell.”

41b. **Ki- kombe kia Yohana a- gur- i.**

CL- cup REL John he- buy- PAST

“The cup which John bought.”

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APPENDIX

ISAIAH 65: 1-4 IN MARAGOLI

(Translation by self)

Verse 1

- a. Nz- ivuy- i ku va- ndu va- vura
ISG- reveal- PAST to CL2- men REL- don't
ku- ny- eny- a.
To- me- look- PRES

“I revealed myself to those who don't ask for me.”

- b. Ny- orek- i ku yavo va- vura
ISG- find- PAST to those REL- don't
ku- ny- eny- a.
To- me- look- PRES

“I was found by those who did not look for me.”

- c. Ku i- hiri i- ta- rang- w- a
to CL9- nation CL9- not- call- PASS- PRES
na ri- eta ri- ange.
by C5L- name CL5- mine

“To a nation which is not called by my name.”

- d. **Nd- a- gi- vor- er- a**
 ISG- will- it- tell- APP- PRES
“Mb- ey- e hano, mb- ey- e hano.”
 ISG- be- PRES here, ISG- be- PRES here
 “I will tell it, ‘Here I am, here I am.’”

Verse 2

- a. **Mb- asu gw- osi nd- a- nyir- a**
 CL3- afternoon CL3- all ISG- will- stretch-PRES
 “The whole day I will stretch”
- b. **mu- kono gw- ange ku vi- vari**
 CL3- hand CL3- mine to CL2- obstinate
 “my hands to the obstinate”
- c. **va- gend- anga ku i- nzira i- ndamanu.**
 REL- walk- IMPERF on CL9- way CL9- bad
 “who walk on the bad way.”

- d. **va- rond- anga zi- nganagani zi- avo v- ene**
 CL2- follow-IMPERF CL10- thoughts CL10- their CL2-
 own
 “who follow their own thoughts”

Verse 3

- a. **va- ndu va- mb- ihiriz- anga kazozo**
 CL2- men REL- me- provoke- IMPERF always
 “people who always provoke me”

- b. **i- mbiri wa zi- moni zi- ange.**
 CL- in front of of CL10- eyes CL10- mine
 “before my own eyes.”

- c. **Va- han- anga vi- hanwa mu mi- rimi**
 CL2- give- IMPERF CL8- gifts in CL4- gardens
gi- avo.
 CL4- Their
 “Who give offerings in their gardens.”

- d. **na ku- vuyiz- a vi- muri ku ma- dafari.**
 and to- smoke-PRES CL8- offering on CL6- bricks
 “and smoke incense on bricks.”

Verse 4

- a. V- ikar- anga hagati ha vi- rindwa
 REL- sit- IMPERF middle of CL8- graves
 “Who sit in among graves”

- b. no ku- gon- a ni v’- ivis- a
 and to- sleep- PRES while they- hide- PRES
 “and sleep while hiding”

- c. va- riz- anga zi- nyamazia zi- mbizi
 REL- eat- IMPERF CL10- meat of CL10- pigs
 “who eat the meat of pigs”

- d. va viju vi- avo vi- ging- anga mu- nyu
 CL2- pots CL2- their CL2- carry- IMPERF CL3- broth
 gwa vi- ndu via ku- mb- ihiriz- a.
 of CL8- things REL to- ISG- provoke- PRES
 “whose pots carry the broth of things which provoke me.”

Verse 5

- a. va- vor- a, ‘singir-i ihare,’
 REL- say- PRES, stand- PRES far
 “who say, “stand afar off,”

b. **mu- ta- isund- a himbi na inze dave,**
 2PL- not- draw - PRES near with me not

“do not draw near me,”

c. **kigira mb- ey- e mu- takatifu ku- va- vita.**
 becauseISG- be- PRES CL1- holy to- 2PL- pass

“I am more holy than you.”

FREE TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH 65: 1-5

“I revealed myself to those who don’t ask for me. I was found by those who did not look for me. To a nation which is not called by my name. I will tell it, ‘Here I am, here I am’. The whole day I will stretch. My hands to the obstinate. Who walk on the bad way. Who follow their own thoughts. People who always provoke me. Before my own eyes. Who give offerings in their gardens. And smoke incense on bricks. Who sit among graves. And sleep while hiding. Who eat the meat of pigs. Whose pots carry the broth of things which provoke me. Who say, “Stand afar off. Do not draw near me. I am more holy than you.

B. NARRATIVE TEXT: ZINYINGU MUNANE

1. **Mu- kere ya- ar- i ho na va- kana munane.**

CL1- woman she- be-PAST there with CL2- girls eight

“There was an old woman with eight girls.”

2. **Ri- diku ri- rara, mu- kere uyu ya- vugur-a**

CL5- day CL5- one, CL1- womanthis she- take-final vowel

ri- dohi,

CL5- mud.

“One day, this old woman took mud,”

3. **kandi ya- vugur-a ma:zi,**

Again she- take-final vowel water.

“again she took water,”

4. **ya- rong- a zi- nyingu munane.**

She- make-final vowel CL8- pot

“She made eight pots.”

5. **Vuri mu- kana ya- rong- er- w- a**
 Every CL2- girl she- make- BEN -PASS- final vowel **i-**
nyinguyeye.

CL7- pot her.

“For each girl a pot was made.”

6. **Mu- kere uyu ya- vor- er- a**
 CL1- woman this she- say- BEN- final vowel
va- kana veve,

CL2- girls her

“This old woman told her girls,”

7. **“mu- ndu u- ri- atany- a i- nyingu**
 CL11- man REL- FUT- break- final vowel CL7- pot
yeye a- ri- hir- w- a wa
nakanani.”

Her She- FUT- take- PASS- final vowel to place giant”

“whoever will break her pot will be taken to Mr. Giant’s place.”

8. **Ri- diku ri- rara, mu- kana murara**
 CL5- day CL5- one, CL1- girl one
ya- azi- a mu kidaho.

in- well- final vowel in well

“One day, one of the girls went to the well.”

9. **Rwa ya- ar-i ya- nigir- anga,**
 when she- be-PAST she- climb- IMPERF.

ya- telek- a ma ya- gw-a.
 she- fall-final vowel. Then she- fall-final vowel

“When she was climbing, she fell.”

10. **I- nyingu ya- gw- a hasi**
 CL7- pot it- fall- final vowel down

ma ya- dik- a.
 then it- break- final vowel

“The pot fell dawn and broke.”

11. **Rwa mu- kana uyu ya- izuriz- a**
 when CL1- girl this she- remember-final vowel

mang’ana ga mama weve ya- vor-
 words of mother her she- say-
a,

finalvowel

ya- izur- w- a na vuti mu
moyo.

She- fill- PASS- final vowel with fear in
 heart.

“When this girl remembered the words of her mother, she was filled with fear.”

12. **Ya- karag- a ku- zia ku- riv- w- a**
 she- decide-final vowel to- go to- eat- PASS- final vowel

na nakanani kuvita ku- vugan-a na
 with giant instead to- meet-final vowel
 with

mama weve.

Mother her.

“She decided to go to be eaten by giant instead of meeting with her mother”

13. **Hene yaho ya- tang- a rugendo**
 At there she- begin- final vowel journey
ku- zia mu mu- ritu wa nakanani
 to- go in CL4- forest to place giant
ya- meny- a.
 he- stay- final vowel

“There and then she began her journey to the forest where the giant lived.”

14. **Rwa ya- ar- i nakiri ku- duka**
 when she- be- PAST before to-
 reach
mu mu- ritu,
 in CL4- forest,

“Before she arrived in the forest,”

15. **va- sakuru vaviri va- vugan-a na- ye**
 CL2- old men two they- meet- final vowel with- him
ku inzira.
 On way.

“Two old men met with her on the way.”

16. **Rwa va- sakuru yavo va- mu- ror- a,**
 when CL2- old men those they- her- see-final vowel
va- tev- an- a,
 they- ask- REC-final vowel,

“When those two old men saw her, they asked each other,”

17. **“Uyu si a- vey- e mu- kana wa**
 this not she- be- PRES CL1- girl of
ridara rietu?”
 village our?”

“Is this not a girl from our village?”

18. **Va mu- tev- a,**
 They her- ask- final vowel,
 “They asked her,”

19. **“Mu- kana, u- ziz- a hayi?”**
 CL1- girl, who- go- PRES where?
 “Young girl, where are you going?”

20. **Hene yaho mu- kana uyu**
 place there CL1- girl this

ya- tang- a ku- imba,
 she- begin- PAST to- sing,

“There and then, the girl began to sing,”

21. **“Mama ya- ar- i na va- ana**
 mother she- be-PAST with CL2-
 child

munane, ma ya- rong- a zi- nyingu
 eight, then she- make- PAST CL8- pot

munane mana a- vor- a,
 eight then she- say- final vowel,

“Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots and said,”

22. **“Mu- ndu u- ri- atanyi- a i- nyingu**
 CL1- man who- FUT- break- final vowel CL7- pot

yeye a- ri- hir- w- a wa nakanani,”
 her she- FUT- take- PASS- final vowel place of giant,”

“The person /whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant’s place,”

23. **Nakanani, kandie nd-ore!”**
 giant, eat me 1SG-see!”

“Mr. Giant, eat me I see”

24. **Va- sakuru yava va- rek- an- a**
 CL2- old men these they- leave- REC- final vowel

na mu- kana uyu.

With CL1- girl this.

“These old men and the girl left one another.”

25. **Mu- kana zana ya- ziril- a na**
 CL1- girl herself she- continue-final vowel with

rugendo.

journey.

“The girl herself continued with the journey.”

26. **Rwa ya- ar- i a- gend- i**
 when she- be- PERF he- walk- PAST

rugendo rutambi,

journey long,

“When she had walked the long journey,”

27. **ya- vugan-a na kiduma kia va- ndu.**
 she- meet- final vowel with group of CL2- man

“she met with a group of people.”

28. **va- mutev-a,**
 they- ask- final vowel
 “they asked her,”
29. **“Mu- kana, u- ziz- a hayi wenyine?”**
 CL1- girl, 2SG- go-final vowel where alone,”
 “Young girl, where are you going alone?”
30. **Ya- tang- a kandi ku- imb- a,**
 she- begin- final vowel again to- sing- final vowel
 “She began again to sing”
31. **“Mama ya- ar- i na va- ana**
 mother she- be-PAST with CL2-
 child
munane, ma ya- rong- a zi- nyingu
 eight, then she- make- PAST CL8- pot
munane mana a- vor- a,
 eight then she- say- final vowel,
 “Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots and said,”

32. **“Mu- ndu u- ri- atanyi- a i- nyingu**
 CL1- man who- FUT- break- final vowel CL7- pot
yeye a- ri- hir- w- a wa
nakanani,”

Her she- FUT- take- PASS- final vowel place of giant,”

“The person /whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant’s place and be eaten by him.”

33. **Nakanani, kandie nd-ore!”**
 giant, eat me 1SG-see!”

“Mr. Giant, eat me I see”

34. **Va- ndu yava va- rek- an-a na ye.**
 CL2- man these they- leave-REC-final vowel with her.

“These people left her.”

35. **Rugendo rwirwe rwa manya**
 journey her it then
rumuduk- iz- a mu mu- ritu.
 Reached- APPL.-final vowel in CL4- forest.

Her journey took her to the forest.”

36. **Rwa ya- ar- i a- duk- i,**
 when she- be- PERF she- arrive-PAST

“When she had arrived,”

37. **ya- ror- a gu- ndu gunene**

she- see- final vowel CL20- man big

“**gu- za- anga,**

CL20- come- IMPERF

“she saw a very big person coming,”

38. **gu- ar- i na gu- nwa gunene.**

CL20- be- PAST with CL20- mouth big.

“he had a very big mouth.”

39. **Mu gu- nwa zana, mulu guak- anga,**

in CL20- mouth itself, fire burn- IMPERF

“In the mouth fire was burning,”

40. **mi- voni gia gwo gi- ar-i gia**

CL21- eye of it CL21- be-PAST of

a- kiri ku- ror- a

she- never to- see- final vowel

ma-diku gege goosi.

CL6-day her all.

“she had never seen his very big eyes all her days.”

41. **Mu- kana uyu ha ya- ar- i,**
 CL1- girl this where she- be- PAST,
mara ga- hi- a munda pa-pa-pa.
 Intestines CL4- get hot-final vowel stomach very very hot.
 “This girl where she was, the intestines became very very hot.”
42. **Vi- renge vi- atang- a ku- duy- an- a.**
 CL5- legs CL5- begin- final vowel to- hit- REC- final vowel
 “The legs began to hit each other.”
43. **Mi- no ga- tang- a ku- siag- an- a.**
 CL6- teeth they- begin- final vowel to- crash- REC- final vowel
 “The teeth began to grind each other”
44. **Ya manya ya- tev- w- a na nakanani,**
 she then she- ask- PASS- final vowel by giant,
 “Then she was asked by the Giant”
45. **“Mu- kana, yiki ki- kuret- a mu ri- dara**
 CL1- girl, what CL7- bring- final vowel in CL5- village
riange.”
 mine.”
 “Young girl, what is bringing you in my village?”

46. **Mu- kana uyu ya- hurir- a riteva**
 CL1- girl this she- hear- final vowel question
yiri dave.
 this not

“This girl did not hear this question.”

47. **Nakanani ya mu- tev-a kandi,**
 giant he her- ask-final vowel again,
 “The giant he asked her again,”

48. **“Mu- kana, yiki ki- kuret- a mu ri- dara**
 CL1- girl, what CL7- bring- PRES. In CL5- village
riange.”
 Mine.”

“Young girl, what brings you in my village?”

49. **Mu- kana ya manya ya- tang-a**
 CL1- girl she then she- begin-final vowel
ku- imb- a,
 to- sing,- final vowel

“The girl began to sing,”

50. **“Mama ya- ar- i na va- ana**
 mother she- be-PAST with CL2-
 child

munane, ma ya- rong- a zi- nyingu
 eight, then she- make- PAST CL8- pot

munane mana a- vor- a,
 eight then she- say- final vowel,

“Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots,”

51. **“Mu- ndu u- ri- atanyi- a i- nyingu**
 CL1- man who- FUT- break- final vowel CL7- pot

yeye a- ri- hir- w- a wa

nakanani.”

Her she- FUT- take- PASS- final vowel place of giant.”

“The person /whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant’s place.”

52. **Nakanani, kandie nd-ore!”**
 giant, eat me 1SG-see!”

“Mr. Giant, eat me I see”

53. **Nakanani ya- mu- tev- a,**
 giant he- her- ask- final vowel

“The giant asked her,”

54. “**Mu- kana, yiki kia u- vor- a?”**
 CL1- girl, what it 2SG- say- PAST?”

“What are you saying young girl?”

55. **Mu- kana ya- imb- a kandi,**
 CL1- girl she- sing- final vowel again

“The girl sang again,”

56. “**Mama ya- ar- i na va- ana**
 mother she- be-PAST with CL2-
 child

munane, ma ya- rong- a zi- nyingu
 eight, then she- make- PAST CL8- pot

munane mana a- vor- a,
 eight then she- say- final vowel,

“Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots,”

57. “Mu- ndu u- ri- atanyi- a i- nyingu
 CL1- man who- FUT- break- final vowel CL7- pot
 yeye a- ri- hir- w- a wa
 nakanani,”

Her she- FUT- take- PASS- final vowel place of giant.”

“The person /whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant’s place.”

59. Nakanani, kandie nd-ore!”
 giant, eat me 1SG-see!”

“Mr. Giant, eat me I see!”

60. Nakanani ya manya ya- sinyik- a.
 Giant he then he- get angry- final vowel

“Then the giant got angry.”

61. Hene yaho ya- mir- a mu- kana
 uyu! place there he- swallow-final vowel
 CL1- girl this!

“There and then the giant swallowed this girl!”

TEXT: ZINYINGU MUNANE

Free Translation

There was an old woman who had eight girls. One day, this old woman took mud. Again she took water. She made eight pots. She made a pot for each girl. This old woman told her girls, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to Mr. Giant's place and be eaten by him." One day, one of the girls went to the well. When she was climbing, she fell. The pot fell down and broke. When this girl remembered the words of her mother, she was filled with fear. She decided to go to be eaten by the giant instead of meeting with her mother. There and then she began her journey to the forest where the giant lived. Before she arrived in the forest, two old men met with her on the way. When those two old men saw her, they asked, "Is this girl not from our village?" They asked her. "Young girl, where are you going?" There and then, the girl began to sing. "Mother had eight children, and then she made eight pots. Then she said to her girls, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place and be eaten by him." Mr. Giant, eat me I see! These old men went on their way and left the girl. The girl herself continued with the journey. When she had walked for a long time, she met with a group of people. They asked her. "Where are you going alone?" She began to sing. "Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots, then she said, "whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place." Mr. Giant, eat me I see!" These people left her. Her journey took her to the forest. When she had arrived, she saw a very big person coming. He had a very big mouth. In the mouth fire was burning. She had never seen such big eyes as his all her days. The girl, where she

was, the intestines became very very hot, the legs began to hit each other, the teeth began to grind each other. Then she was asked by the Giant. "Young girl, what is bringing you in my village?" This girl did not hear the question. The giant asked her again. "Young girl, what brings you in my village?" The girl began to sing. "Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots, then she said, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place and be eaten by him." Mr. Giant, eat me I see!" The giant asked her. "What are you saying?" The girl sang again. "Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots, then she said, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place and be eaten by him." Mr. Giant, eat me I see!' Then the giant got angry. There and then, the giant swallowed the girl!!

was, the intestines became very very hot, the legs began to hit each other, the teeth began to grind each other. Then she was asked by the Giant. "Young girl, what is bringing you in my village?" This girl did not hear the question. The giant asked her again. "Young girl, what brings you in my village?" The girl began to sing. "Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots, then she said, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place and be eaten by him." Mr. Giant, eat me I see!" The giant asked her. "What are you saying?" The girl sang again. "Mother had eight children, then she made eight pots, then she said, "Whoever will break her pot will be taken to the giant's place and be eaten by him." Mr. Giant, eat me I see!' Then the giant got angry. There and then, the giant swallowed the girl!!