NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN KIEMBU

BY

HELGA BARNARD

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, 2008

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
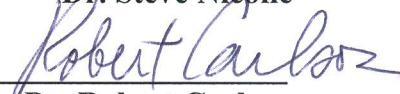
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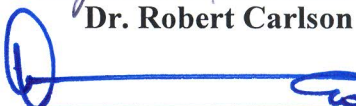Supervisor: _____
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July, 2008

Student's Declaration

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN KIEMBU

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 the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) _____
Helga Barnard

July, 2008

ABSTRACT

The present paper attempts to give a basic description of the formation of relative clauses in Kiembu, a Bantu language of Kenya. As an SVO language, Kiembu employs postnominal relative clauses. The language uses three different relative clause strategies: the relative pronoun, the gap and the resumptive pronoun strategy. The correlations between the relativizable positions and the different strategies used follow the universal, expected tendencies. Kiembu fully supports the Keenan and Comrie Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Unlike several other Bantu languages, Kiembu does not employ applicatives on the verb to promote obliques into a higher (subject or object) position to enable relativization. The language also has a type of relative clause, which does not have an overt head. Some of these may be interpreted as null headed, and others as headless relative clauses.

To Tim and Samuel

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
BEN	benefactive
CL	noun class
COM	comitative
COP	copula
DO	direct object
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
GEN	genitive
HV	hiatus filling vowel
INF	infinitive
INST	instrument
IO	indirect object
IP	initial prefix
LOC	locative
MAN	manner
NEG	negative
NH	non-human
NP	noun phrase

O	object
OBL	oblique
OCOMP	object of comparison
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present tense
PRF	perfect tense
PST	past tense
REL	relative clause
SG	singular
S	subject
V	verb

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People

The Embu people live in Eastern Province, Embu district in the central area of Kenya. They are a Bantu people estimated to be around 150,000 in Embu district and 61,725 in Mbeere District (Grimes 2000, 137). They are surrounded by other closely related Bantu groups, such as Kikuyu to the East, Meru and Chuka to the West, and Kamba to the South. Embu district is on the slopes of Mt Kenya, sloping from northwest towards east and south-east with a few isolated hills. The area is highly productive in terms of agricultural foods, such as maize and beans, and dairy products. The Embus are the main producers of tea and coffee in Kenya. The majority of the population is Christian.

1.2 Language Classification

Kiembu belongs to the Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central E, Kikuyu-Kamba language family. Kiembu is closely related to Kikuyu, Gichuka and the neighboring languages. Thus it has 85% lexical similarity with Kimbeere, 73% with Kikuyu and Chuka, 66% with

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Kamba and 63%-65% with Meru. Most Embu people are bilingual in Kikuyu because of the proximity of the Kikuyu people and frequent intermarriages.

Among the not very numerous published works the most important one is the Kiembu New Testament, which was published in 2005 by the Kenyan Bible Society.

1.3 Orthography Used

The present paper uses the following standard orthography for Kiembu, presented below.

Table 1. Kiembu orthography characters

Consonant Letter	Phonetic Symbol	Consonant Letter	Phonetic Symbol	Consonant Letter	Phonetic Symbol
b	/b/	n	/n/	ny	/ɲ/
c	/s/	nd	/^{n}d/	nyw	/ɲ^w/
d	/d/	ndw	/^{n}d^w/	r	/r/
g	/ɣ/	ng	/^{ŋ}g/	rw	/r^w/
gw	/ɣ^w/	ng'	/ŋ/	t	/t/
k	/k/	ngw	/^{ŋ}g^w/	th	/θ/
kw	/k^w/	nth	/^{n}ð̃/	tw	/t^w/
ky	/k^j/	nthw	/^{n}ð̃^{w}/	v	/v/
m	/m/	nv	/ɱ/	w	/w/
mb	/^{m}b/	nw	/n^w/	y	/j/
Vowel Letter	**Phonetic Symbol**	**Vowel Letter**	**Phonetic Symbol**	**Vowel Letter**	**Phonetic Symbol**
a	/a/	ĩĩ	/ɛ:/	ũ	/o/
aa	/a:/	i	/i/	ũũ	/o:/
e	/e/	ii	/i:/	u	/u/
ee	/e:/	o	/ɔ/	uu	/u:/
ĩ	/ɛ/	oo	/ɔ:/		

Kiembu is a tone language with high (´) and low (`) tones marked above the vowel

letters. In this paper tone is only marked when it is relevant for the discussion.

1.4 Previous Research on the Kiembu Relative Clause

According to my knowledge, no research has been done on the Kiembu relative

clause before. The relative clause has not been researched in closely related

languages either, including Kikuyu. The present paper aims to fill in this gap.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present paper is to provide a basic description of the relative

clause in Kiembu. My research aims at answering the following questions: 1) What

different relative clause strategies are there in Kiembu? 2) For each strategy, how

does the relative clause differ from the independent clause? 3) What position in the

relative clause can be relativized using each strategy? 4) Does Kiembu support the

Keenan and Comrie Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy?

1.6 Methodology

My research is based mainly on elicited data from two sources. My primary source

has been Jane Runji Njiru, who is a 29 years old bilingual Kiembu-Kikuyu speaker.

She grew up and spent 25 years in Kathuthuma village in Embu district, near Embu

town. The reason for choosing to elicit data from Jane was primarily her availability.

However, in order to reduce the Kikuyu-Kiembu linguistic interference, the data has

been double-checked by a middle-aged native Kiembu speaker, Patrick Nduiga Ireri,

whose knowledge of Kiembu is very reliable.

CHAPTER 2
AN OVERVIEW OF KIEMBU

2.1 Word Order

Kiembu is a subject – verb – object (SVO) language. Indirect objects are not

distinguished overtly from direct objects, and indirect objects are followed by direct

objects in the sentence. Examples to support this are illustrated in (1) - (2) below:

(1)   Kamau niwonire   Njeri.
       Kamau saw   Njeri
       S   V   O
       'Kamau saw Njeri.'

(2)   Kamau niũvere   Njeri kaviũ.
       Kamau gave   Njeri knife
       S   V   IO   DO
       'Kamau gave Njeri a knife.'

2.2 The Noun Phrase

In independent clauses the subject is marked on the verb. The object must be marked

on the verb when there is no separate direct object in the sentence. The subject and

object prefixes used are determined by the class of the noun, and whether it is human

or animate/inanimate. For humans, the forms vary according to person and number.

Table 2 presents the possible subject and object markers (adapted from Waweru

2006, 19).

Table 2. Noun class, subject and object prefixes

Class	Example	Gloss	Subject Prefix	Object Prefix
1 mũ	mũka	wife	mũ -	mũ-
2 a	aka	wives	ma-	ma-
3 mũ	mũrango	door	ũ-	ũ-
4 mĩ	mĩrango	doors	ĩ-	mĩ-
5 ĩ	ĩrimũ	giant	rĩ-	rĩ-
6 ma	marimũ	giants	ma-	ma-
7 gĩ	gĩtĩ	chair	gĩ-	gĩ-
kĩ	kĩondo	basket	kĩ-	kĩ-
8 i	itĩ	chairs	i-	i-
ci	ciondo	baskets	ci-	ci-
9 n	ngitĩ	dog	ĩ-	ĩ-
10 N	ngitĩ	dogs	i-	i-
11 rũ	rũnjĩ	river	rũ-	rũ-
12 ka	kaana	child	ka-	ka-
13 tũ	twaana	children	tũ-	tũ-
14 ũ	ũũndũ	something	ũ-	ũ-
15 kũ	kũrĩa	to eat	kũ-	kũ-
16 va	ava	here	va-	va-
17 gũ	gũkũ	here	kũ-	kũ-

CHAPTER 3
TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION

3.1   Definition of the Relative Clause

A relative clause (RC) is a clause embedded in a noun phrase, which modifies the

head noun. Its function is similar to that of an adjective, in that it helps to identify the

reference of the head noun, or provides further information about it (Bickford 1998,

331).

Keenan and Comrie, in attempting to determine the universal properties of relative

clauses, gave a semantically based definition of RC (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 63-

64): "We consider any syntactic object to be an RC if it specifies a set of objects in

two steps: a larger set is specified, called the domain of relativization, and then

restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the restricting sentence, is

true." An example of a relative clause is in (3):

(3) $_{NP}$[the man $_{REL}$[who came yesterday]]

The idea that the defining characteristic of relative clauses is the semantic function of

restrictiveness can be supported by noting that although most relative clauses contain

some sort of syntactic link between the head noun and some constituent of the

relevant clause, not all do. In (4) and (5) the connection between the head and the

relative clause is purely semantic, as the embedded clause restricts the domain of

reference of the head without making direct reference to it (Bickford 1998, 333):

(4)   I like a handout [that you can tell what the paper was.]

(5)   I can tell that, of all the surprising haircuts I've received, this is going to be one

       [that I'll have to wear a hat for a week.]

3.2   Semantics of Relative Clauses: Restrictive and Non- Restrictive

The relative clause definition of Keenan and Comrie refers only to restrictive (or

adjectival) relative clauses, and excludes the so called non-restrictive (or appositive)

relative clauses.

A restrictive relative clause specifies or narrows down the class of entities

referred to by the head noun. In (6) the reference of *children* is restricted to those two

or more children of whom the proposition *they have green tickets* is true. However,

in the non-restrictive relative clause in (7) it is stated that all the children will be

admitted free. (The article *the* limits the reference to a previously identified class of

children.) (Downing 1978, 379):

(6)   The children who have green tickets will be admitted free.

(7)   The children, who have green tickets, will be admitted free.

This semantic difference has an impact on what type of noun phrase each type of relative clause can be used in. For example, a restrictive relative clause is usually not acceptable with proper names and other noun phrases that fully specify an entity by themselves. This is why (9) is well formed, but (8) is not:

(8)   *Tim [who is English] does not like tea.

(9)   Tim, [who is English], does not like tea.

A noun phrase which does not fully specify anything by itself, cannot be used with a non-restrictive relative clause, as is seen in (11):

(10) Any Englishman who does not like tea is strange.

(11) *Any Englishman, who does not like tea, is strange.

3.3   Parts of a Relative Clause

3.3.1 Head

The noun that the RC modifies is called the *head*. It has a unique role in its meaning, because even though it is outside the clause, it figures semantically inside the clause. In (12) below the head is *the apple*. It is interpreted as the object of the RC, even though it is outside the clause:

(12) NP[the apple REL[that I ate ø yesterday]]

3.3.2 Restricting Clause

The restricting clause is the relative clause itself. Throughout this paper it is indicated

in square brackets.

3.3.3 Relativized Noun Phrase (NPrel)

The relativized noun phrase (NP_{rel}) is the element within the restricting clause that is

coreferential with the head noun. In (12) above it is represented as ø (a gap).

3.3.4 Relativizer

The relativizer (or relative particle) is the morpheme that sets off the restricting

clause as a relative clause. In (13) the relativizer is *that*. In English *that* is a special

type of complementizer for relative clauses, which is just like its use as a

complementizer in complement clauses – it introduces the clause, period. Since it

does not refer to the head, it does not vary with case or humanness (13)-(15), unlike

relative pronouns (Payne 1997, 325-326):

(13) the man **that** ran over the child

(14) the car **that** ran over the child

(15) the man **that** I saw

3.4   Types of Relative Clauses

3.4.1 External or Headed Relative Clauses

In external or headed relatives the domain noun occurs outside the relative clause.

There are two types of external relative clauses: postnominal and prenominal,

depending on whether the relative clause follows or precedes the domain noun.

3.4.1.1   Postnominal Relative Clauses

In postnominal relative clauses the relative clause follows the head. These are almost

exclusively present in verb-initial languages, and are the overwhelming norm in SVO

languages, although in the latter it is more common to find both prenominal and

postnominal relative clauses (Keenan 1985, 144).

3.4.1.2   Prenominal Relative Clauses

Prenominal relative clauses precede the head. These are dominant only in verb-final

languages, although other forms of relativization are also common in such languages

(Keenan 1985, 145).

3.4.2 Internal Relative Clauses

In this type of relative clauses the domain noun occurs within the relative clause,

which is thus syntactically headless.

3.4.3 *Headless Relative Clauses*

The term 'headless' relative clause refers to relatives lacking an overt nominal head

(Citko 2004, 95). Examples from English are in (16) - (19) (Kuroda 1968, 249):

(16) John reads [what(ever) Mary recommended to him].

(17) [What(ever) surprised Mary] pleased John.

(18) [Whom the gods love] die young.

(19) [Who steals my purse] steals trash.

Headless relative clauses may be distinguished from the so called 'light-headed'

relatives (see Citko 2004); in these there is a head, but it is not a full nominal head

(as is the case in headed relatives). 'Light-heads' can be demonstrative pronouns,

definite determiners, indefinites, negative indefinites or universals. Some examples

for light-headed relatives are the following (from German, French and Polish,

respectively) (examples from Citko 2004, 96-7):

(20) Mary iβt   das   [was   (auch)   John   iβt].
      Mary eats   that   what   also   John   eats
      'Mary eats what John eats.'

(21) Jean lit   ce   [qu'   il   aime].
      Jean reads   this   that   he   likes
      'Jean reads what he likes.'

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CHAPTER 4
RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION IN KIEMBU

4.1   Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

In Kiembu restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are distinguishable

semantically. An example for a restrictive relative clause is in (25):

(25) Mundurume   [ũria   ũ-ra-ũk-ĩre   ĩgoro]   aturaga Nairobi.
      man   REL   3SG-PST-come-PRF   yesterday   lives   Nairobi
      'The man who came yesterday lives in Nairobi.'

Here the relative clause semantically restricts the class of many possible entities into

one single individual. Contrary to this, in (26) the proper name fully specifies the

entity by itself. It is the case that both speaker and hearer know already who John is,

thus the relative clause does not need to restrict the domain noun semantically, it only

adds extra information to it.

(26) John   [ũria   ũ-ra-ũk-ire   ĩgoro]   aturaga   Nairobi.
      John   REL   3SG-PST-come-PRF   yesterday   lives   Nairobi
      'John, who came yesterday, lives in Nairobi.'

Kiembu does not differentiate, however, syntactically between restrictive and non-

restrictive relative clauses, as is seen from the examples.

4.2   Types of Relative Clauses

4.2.1 Headed Postnominal Relative Clauses

As was mentioned above, the most frequently occurring relative clauses in SVO

languages are postnominal (Keenan 1985, 144). Kiembu corresponds to this universal

tendency as relative clauses are preceded by the head. This is shown in (28). (27) is

the corresponding independent clause:

(27) Jane   a-um-īte   Kanthũnthũma.
      Jane   3SG-come-PST   Kathuthuma
      'Jane came from Kathuthuma.'

(28) Jane   [ũrĩa   um-īte   Kanthũnthũma]   ni   mũnini.
      Jane   REL   come-PST   Kathuthuma   COP   young
      'Jane, who came from Kathuthuma, is young.'

4.2.2 Headless Relative Clauses

There are relative clauses in Kiembu which lack an overt nominal head. An example

for human headless relativization is in (31). (29) is the corresponding independent

clause. The headed counterpart of (31) can be seen in (30), where the relative

pronoun agrees in gender and number with the corresponding head noun: *ũrĩa*

corresponds to noun class 1. (Table 3 on page 19 shows the Kiembu relative

pronouns with the corresponding noun classes).

(29) Mũndũrũme   nĩ-a-ra-thom-a   mbuku.
     man   IP-3SG-PRES-read-FV   book
     'The man is reading a book.'

(30) Mũndũrũme   [ũrĩa   ũ-ra-thom-a   mbuku]   nĩ   mũthomi.
     CL1.man   REL   3SG-PRES-read-FV   book   COP   student
     'The man who is reading a book is a student.'

(31) [Urĩa   ũ-ra-thom-a   mbuku]   nĩ   mũthomi.
     REL   3SG-PRES-read-FV   book   COP   student
     'The one who is reading a book is a student.'

It can be observed that the same noun class agreement is present in (31), even though

the overt nominal head is absent. The same thing is true in (33):

(32) Ndegwa [ĩrĩa   nĩ-r-on-ire]   ĩraĩ   mbaganu.
     bull   REL   1SG-PST-see-PRF   was   wild
     'The bull that I saw was wild.'

(33) [Irĩa   nĩ-r-on-ire]   ĩraĩ   mbaganu.
     REL   1SG-PST-see-PRF   was   wild
     'The one that I saw was wild.'

This phenomenon makes it possible to assume that these relatives are actually

'headed relatives in disguise': there might be a null head in the main clause, whose

presence is licensed by the noun class agreement morphology of the relative pronoun.

In the case of indefinite headless relativization in (34) the form of the relative

pronoun (ũrĩa) is used to refer to a human person, belonging to noun class 1 (example

from a narrative text):

(34) [Urĩa   wacie-nyu   ũ-ka-vota

REL	among-you	3SG-FUT-manage

kũ-mĩ-giria	ĩ-rĩe	mũgũnda	na
INF-it.stop.sg/sy.to.do.sg	3SG.NH-feed	garden	and

nda-ka-mĩ-ringe]	nĩ	we	tũ-gwĩtĩkia
3SG.NEG-FUT-it-beat	COP	one	we-agree

nĩ	mũnene	wa	ng'ombe.
COP	big	of	cows

'Whoever among you will manage to stop it [the cow] feeding in the garden and will not beat it, we agree, will be the one in charge of the cows.' (Mwaniki 1971, 20)

The form of the Kiembu relative pronoun *varĩa* meaning 'where' carries the same prefix as the Kiembu noun *vandu* meaning 'place'. It varies according to number. In (35) the singular form *varĩa* is used, because – according to the explanation of my informant – the place referred to is a small one (from a narrative text):

(35) [Varĩa mbũkũ y-ekar-ĩte]   va-kĩ-thiũrũrũkir-u-a
     where rabbit 3SG.NH-stay-PST   it-PST-surround-PASS-FV

   buru   ni   nyamũ […]
   all.over by   animals
   'Where rabbit was staying, was surrounded all over by animals' (Mwaniki 1971, 18)

In the sentence below, however, the plural form *kũrĩa* 'where' is used (referring to *kundu*, the plural form of 'place'), because the place in question is an extended one:

(36) [Kũrĩa nĩrathiĩre]   nĩ   kwega.

where   I study   COP   good
'Where I study is good.'

However, in the case of *rĩrĩa* 'when', no obvious reference can be found to a

noun (a null head):

(37) [Rĩrĩa   Ngatunyi   ya-ũki-re   kũ-vingũra   iruga]
       when   Ngatunyi   3SG.NH-come-PST   INF-open   celebration

ĩ-gĩ-kora   nyamu.
it-PST-meet   animals
'When Ngatunyi came to open the celebration, he met the animals.' (Mwaniki
1971, 19)

Seemingly it is not the case of a null head being present, but probably of a

"real" headless relative clause. More (natural language) data is needed to further

research this problem.

4.3   The Representation of NPrel in Kiembu Relative Clauses

4.3.1   The Relative Pronoun Strategy

Relative pronouns are pronominal elements occurring in the restrictive clause. They

are distinct from the ordinary definite personal pronouns which occur in simple

declarative sentences. In Kiembu relative pronouns show agreement in noun class

with the head, but do not code the grammatical case of NP_{rel}. Relative pronouns are

related in form to demonstrative pronouns. There is a three way distinction in

Kiembu between demonstratives: 'that$_1$' referring to things which are near or within

sight of the speaker and the addressee), shown in example (38); 'that₂' referring to

things which are far away or out of sight of the speaker and the addressee, illustrated

in (39); and 'this', which refers to entities in a close distance from the speaker, shown

in (40):

(38) mŭndŭmŭka   ŭcio
      woman   that (nearby)
      'that woman (near)'

(39) mŭndŭmŭka   ŭŭrĩa
      woman   that (far away)
      'that woman (far away)'

(40) mŭndŭmŭka   ŭyŭ
      woman   this
      'this woman'

The relative pronoun resembles the demonstrative pronoun that₂, referring to things

in a far distance, but, unlike the demonstrative pronoun, it has a short vowel:

(41) mŭndŭmŭka   [ŭrĩa   um-ĩte   Kanthŭnthŭma]
      woman   REL   come-PST   Kathuthuma
      'the woman who came from Kathuthuma'

The table below shows the Kiembu relative pronouns and demonstratives with the

corresponding noun classes.

Table 3. Demonstratives and the relative pronoun

Noun class	Noun Prefix	'this'	'that₁ (near)'	that₂ (far away)	Relative pronoun 'that'
1	mũ	ũyo	ũcio	ũũrĩa	ũrĩa
2	a	aya	acio	aarĩa	arĩa
3	mũ	ũyũ	ũcio	ũũrĩa	ũrĩa
4	mĩ	ĩno	ĩyo	ĩĩrĩa	ĩrĩa
5	ĩ	rĩrĩ	rĩu	rĩĩrĩa	rĩrĩa
6	ma	mama	mau	maarĩa	marĩa
7	gĩ/kĩ	ĩno	icio	ĩĩrĩa	ĩrĩa
8	ici	ĩno	icio	ĩĩrĩa	ĩrĩa
9	n	ĩno	ĩyo	ĩĩrĩa	ĩrĩa
10	N	ĩno	icio	ĩĩrĩa	ĩrĩa
11	rũ	rũrũ	rũũ	rũũrĩa	rũrĩa
12	ka	gaka	kau	kaarĩa	karĩa
13	tũ	tũtũ	tũũ	tũũrĩa	tũrĩa
14	ũ	ũyo	ũcio	ũũrĩa	ũrĩa
15	kũ	gũkũ	kũũ	kũũrĩa	kũrĩa
16	va	vatu	vau	vaarĩa	varĩa
17	gũ	gũkũ	guo	ũũrĩa	ũrĩa

The relative pronoun agrees with the head noun in noun class. In (42) using the

relative pronoun *ũrĩa* is not grammatical because it does not agree with the noun

ngui, which belongs to noun class 9. The corresponding relative pronoun has to be

ĩrĩa (43):

(42) *Ngui   [ũrĩa   mvere ĩvĩndĩ] ĩava.
     CL9.dog   CL1 or 3.REL   I gave bone   is here
     'The dog which I gave a bone to is here.'

(43) Ngui   [ĩrĩa   mvere ĩvĩndĩ] ĩava.
     CL9.dog   CL9.REL   I gave bone   is here
     'The dog which I gave a bone to is here.'

The relative pronoun occurs leftmost in the clause, immediately after the head noun.

It does not combine with prepositions or postpositions used independently. In (44) *na*

'with' is the preposition marking *mũndũmũka* 'woman'. In (45) when *mũndũmũka* is

moved to the front, the preposition does not move with it, but takes a pronominal

element, forming a resumptive pronoun. This expresses the NP$_{rel}$ in the relative

clause:

(44) Nĩ-nĩ-ra-thi-ĩre   na   mũndũmũka thoko-rĩ.
     IP-1SG-PST-go-PRF   COM woman   market-LOC
     'I went to the market with a woman.'

(45) Mũndũmũka   [ũrĩa nĩ-ra-thi-ĩre   thoko-rĩ   na-ke]
     CL1.woman   REL   1SG-PST-go-PRF   market-LOC   with-CL1

     nĩ   mũkũrũ.
     COP   old
     'The woman with whom I went to the market is old.'

The phenomenon that resumptive pronouns in Kiembu co-occur with relative pronouns is not common in other languages, since it is usually a relativizer (a null complementizer) that appears with resumptive pronouns. However, there are languages, for example English, where the resumptive can be compatible with relative pronouns (Prince 1990, 7b, cited in Suñer 1998, 339):

(46) some of the same judges [who we told THEM that if you mess with John Africa…]

In (46) the resumptive pronoun *them* must appear in the embedded clause because the required dative marker is absent (Suñer 1998, 339). In Kiembu, relative pronouns are only marked for noun class, but not case, therefore the use of the resumptive pronoun is necessary to express the oblique case. Furthermore, in Kiembu pied-piping is not allowed (47), and thus only the resumptive pronoun strategy (along with the use of the relative pronoun) is available for obliques:

(47) * Mũndũmũka [na   ũrĩa   nĩ-ra-thi-ĩre   thoko-rĩ]
        CL1.woman   COM   REL   1SG-PST-go-PRF   market-LOC

       nĩ   mukuru.
       COP   old
       'The woman with whom I went to the market is old.'

4.3.2 Gap Strategy

Relative clauses that are formed with the gap strategy have no element in the restrictive clause which expresses the grammatical relation of NP_{rel}. In English such clauses as *the students I saw, the man I gave the money to*, etc. illustrate this sort (Keenan 1985, 153).

Gapping is not very common in postnominal relative clauses. In addition, NP_{rel} is more likely to be gapped if it is the subject or direct object, than when it is a possessor.

In Kiembu, when there is a separate direct object in the sentence, the presence of the object marker is not obligatory on the verb (although it may be added for emphasis). This means that when the direct object is relativized, the verb may not carry an object marker. Relativizing the direct object does not necessarily need a relative pronoun, it is optional (49)-(50) :

(48) Nì-r-òn-ìrè   ngui   ĩgoro.
     1SG-PST-see-PRF   dog   yesterday
     'I saw a dog yesterday.'

(49) Ngui   [ĭrĩa   ní-r-ón-íré   ĩgoro]   ĩava.
     dog   REL   1SG-PST-see-PRF   yesterday   is here
     'The dog that I saw yesterday is here.'

(50) Ngui   [ø   ní-r-ón-íré   ĩgoro]   ĩava.
     dog   1SG-PST-see-PRF   yesterday   is here
     'The dog that I saw yesterday is here.'

In (50) the NP$_{rel}$ *ngui* has been gapped. Apart from this gap, nothing indicates NP$_{rel}$ in the relative clause (except the difference in tone, see section 4.4). It should be noted, however, that the relative pronoun is not always optional when relativizing the direct object. If the omission of the relative pronoun resulted in two nouns immediately following each other, the relative pronoun cannot be left out (53).

(51) Kamau nì-w-òn-ìrè   Njeri.
      Kamau 3SG-HV-see-PRF   Njeri
      'Kamau saw Njeri.'

(52) Njeri [ũrĩa   Kamau   ón-íré]   aĩava.
      Njeri REL   Kamau   see-PRF   is here
      'Njeri whom Kamau saw is here.'

(53) *Njeri [Kamau   ón-íré]   aĩava.
       Njeri Kamau   see-PRF   is here
       'Njeri whom Kamau saw is here.'

4.3.3 Resumptive Pronoun Strategy

The use of personal (resumptive) pronouns is very common in postnominal relative clauses (Keenan 1985, 154). In Kiembu, when relativizing the possessor, the resumptive that is used in the relative clause is not a personal but a possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun agrees with the head noun in gender and number. (The resumptive pronoun is in bold face.)

(54) Ni-ni-r-on-a   kaana   [karĩa   ngui   ĩ-ra-r-ĩre
     IP-1SG-PRES-see-FV   CL12.child   CL12.REL   dog   3SG-PST-eat-PRF

     irio   **ciako]**.
     food   CL12.POSS
     'I see the child whose food the dog ate.'

(55) Mũndũmũka   [ũrĩa   kaana   **gake**   m-on-ire]   nĩ
     CL1.woman   CL1.REL   child   CL1.POSS   1SG-see-PRF   COP

     mwarwamaitu.
     my sister
     'The woman whose child I saw is my sister.'

When the possessor is relativized, headless relatives employ possessive pronouns as

resumptive pronouns to express the relativized position in the clause. The possessive

pronoun agrees with the head noun in noun class.

(56) Kàànà   **gàkè**   nì   kàrùàrù.
     child   CL12.POSS   COP   sick
     'His child is sick.'

(57) [úríá   kááná **gáké**   kárúárú]   àìàvà.
     REL   child   CL12.POSS sick   is here
     'The one whose child is sick is here.'

4.4   Special Verb Morphology

In Kiembu the morphology of the verb in the relative clause differs from that of the

independent clause. The tone on the verb changes from low tone to high tone in the

relative clause (59):

(58) Mũndũrũme   à-rà-ù-k-ìrè   ĩgoro.

      man   3SG-PST-come-PERF   yesterday

      'The man came yesterday.'

(59) Mũndũrũme   [ũrĩa   ú-rá-úk-ìrè   ĩgoro]   aĩava.

      man   REL   3SG-PST-come-PERF   yesterday   is here

      'The man who came yesterday is here.'

The subject pronoun in class 1 has a different form when it is in the relative clause.

Examples (58)-(59) above show that the subject prefix *a-* changes to *u-* in the relative

clause. In noun classes different from 1, the subject prefix remains the same (60)-

(61):

(60) Ìrìmù   rì-rà-úk-ìrè   ìgòrò.

      giant   CL5-PST-come-PRF   yesterday

      'The giant came yesterday.'

(61) Ìrìmù   [ríríá   rírá-úk-ìrè   ígóró]   rìàvà.

      giant   REL   CL5-PST-come-PRF   yesterday   is here

      'The giant who came yesterday is here.'

This phenomenon exists in Kiembu in the remote ('yesterday') past tense; see the

above mentioned examples in (58)-(59). It is also found in a different type of past

tense, which is used to express general truths or statements (62)-(63).

(62) Jane   a-um-ite   Kanthũnthũma.

      Jane   3SG-come-PST   Kathuthuma

      'Jane came from Kathuthuma.' (=she was brought up there)

(63) Jane   [ũrĩa   um-ite   Kanthũnthũma]   aiava.
     Jane   REL   come-PST   Kathuthuma   is here
     'Jane who came from Kathuthuma is here.'

The prefix *nĩ-*, which is glossed as IP (initial prefix), is a copula, commonly prefixed to affirmative verb forms in the indicative and conditional moods. Its allomorph *nd-* marks negative sentences (Childs 2003, 104). The copula *nĩ* is never used in an adverbial, participial or relative clause (Barlow 1951, 34), see the example in (65):

(64) Ni-tu-ra-mw-on-ire   ĩgoro.
     IP-1PL-PST-him-see-PRF   yesterday
     'We saw him yesterday.'

(65) [Urĩa   tu-ra-mw-on-ire   ĩgoro]   aĩava.
     REL   1PL-PST-him-see-PRF   yesterday is here
     'The one whom we saw yesterday is here.'

The copula *nĩ* may be prefixed to adjectives. In this case too, it will be deleted in the relative clause:

(66) Kaana   gake   **nĩ**   karũaru.
     child   CL5.POSS   COP   sick
     'His child is sick.'

(67) [Urĩa   kaana gake   karũaru]   aĩava.
     REL   child CL5.POSS   sick   is here
     'The one whose child is ill is here.'

If there is no initial prefix on the verb in the independent clause, the verbal form in the relative clause will be the same, except the tone (see section 4.4) (68)-(69):

(68) Keritu   kà-ùm-ìte   Kanthũnthũma.
      CL12-small girl   CL12-come-PST   Kathuthuma
      'The small girl came from Kanthunthuma.'

(69) Ni-ni-r-on-ire   keritu   [karia ká-úm-ítè
      IP-1SG-PST-see-PRF   CL12-small girl   REL   CL12-come-PST

      Kanthũnthũma].
      Kathuthuma
      'I saw the small girl who came from Kathuthuma.'

4.5 Relativized NP Positions in Kiembu

The question of which position in a language can be relativized is not independent of the relative clause forming strategy used. Other things being equal, more positions can be relativized if resumptive pronouns are used in the NP$_{rel}$ position than if they are not. Some languages are very generous in their relative clause forming possibilities, and some are very limited. Kiembu belongs to the former group, being able to relativize many grammatical positions.

4.5.1 Subject Relativization

In Kiembu the subject position is relativized by the relative pronoun strategy. The relative pronoun cannot be omitted in this case (72). The relative pronoun agrees with the head noun in noun class:

(70) Mũndũrũme   à-rà-ùk-ìrè   ĩgoro.
      man   3SG-PST-come-PERF   yesterday
      'The man came yesterday.'

(71) Mũndũrũme   [ũrĩa ú-rá-úk-ìrè   ĩgoro]   aĩava.
     man   REL   CL1-PST-come-PERF   yesterday   is here
     'The man who came yesterday is here.'

(72) * Mũndũrũme [ú-rá-úk-ìrè   ĩgoro]   aĩava.
     man   CL1-PST-come-PERF   yesterday   is here
     'The man who came yesterday is here.'

4.5.2 Direct Object Relativization

Direct objects are usually not marked on the verb when there is a separate object in the sentence. The verb in the relative clause is not marked for the object either. When there is no separate object, it is obligatorily marked on the verb in independent clauses. However, even when the object is marked on the verb, it will be deleted in the relative clause when relativizing direct objects, as is seen in (73)-(74). Therefore nothing in the relative clause expresses NP_{rel} syntactically, except a gap (76). The presence of the relative pronoun is optional.

(73) Nì-rà-mw-òn-ìrè   ĩgoro.
     I-PST-him-see-PRF   yesterday
     'I saw him yesterday.'

(74) [ũrĩa   ní-r-ón-ìrè   ĩgoro]   aĩava.
     REL   I-PST-see-PRF   yesterday   is here
     'The one that I saw yesterday is here.'

(75) Nì-r-òn-ìrè   ngui   ĩgoro.
     I-PST-see-PERF   dog   yesterday
     'I saw a dog yesterday.'

(76) Ngui   [ní-r-ón-íré   ø   ĩgoro]   ĩiava.
      dog   1SG-PST-see-PERF   yesterday   is here
      'The dog that I saw yesterday is here.'

4.5.3 *Indirect Object Relativization*

Direct and indirect objects are not distinguished morphologically in Kiembu. It is

only the word order which distinguishes between them (indirect objects precede

direct objects in the sentence). Indirect objects and direct objects are expressed on the

verb by the same pronouns:

(77) Nĩ-ra-**mũ**-ve-re   nyina   ĩgoro.
      1SG-PST-CL1-give-PRF   mother   yesterday
      'I gave him to his mother yesterday.'

(78) Nĩ-ra- **mũ**-ve-re   irio   ĩgoro.
      1SG-PST-CL1-give-PRF   food   yesterday
      'I gave him food yesterday.'

In the relative clause the object marker does not appear, as we have seen in 4.5.2.

Therefore we cannot talk about indirect object relativization. Indirect objects are

relativized as direct objects instead, but by using the relative pronoun strategy,

instead of the gap strategy (79)-(80). The presence of the relative pronoun is optional.

(79) Nì-nì-rà-vè-rè   mwana   irio   ĩgoro.
      1SG-PST-give-PRF   child   food   yesterday
      'I gave the child food yesterday.'

(80) Mwana [ũrĩa ní-rá-vé-rè   irio] aĩava.
     child   REL   1SG-PST-give-PRF   food   is here
     'the child which I gave food yesterday is here'

4.5.4 Oblique Relativization

4.5.4.1 Accompaniment

In Kiembu the oblique of accompaniment may be marked by a preposition in the

independent clause. When it is relativized, a resumptive pronoun is used, consisting

of the preposition and the noun class agreement marker, which agrees with the head

noun:

(81) Nĩ-ra-thi-ĩre   na   mũndũmũka   thoko-rĩ.
     1SG-PST-go-PRF   COM   woman   market-LOC
     'I went to the market with a woman.'

(82) Mũndũmũka   [ũrĩa   nĩ-ra-thi-ĩre   thoko-rĩ   **na-ke]**
     CL1.woman   REL   1SG-PST-go-PRF   market-LOC   with-CL1

     nĩ   mũkũrũ.
     COP   old
     'The woman that I went to the market with is old.'

The resumptive can also appear immediately after the verb in the relative clause. The

presence of the relative pronoun is optional.

4.5.4.2   Locative

In independent clauses locatives may be expressed by the use of an obligatory

locative suffix on the noun:

(83) Kĩũra   gĩkaraga   majĩ-rĩ.
      frog   stays   water-LOC
      'The frog stays inside the water.'

(84) Ni-ra-ndik-ire   riitwa riake karatathii-ri.
      I-PST-write-PRF   name   his   paper-LOC
      'I wrote his name on a (piece of) paper.'

Sometimes the use of a locative suffix is optional, not obligatory:

(85) Ng'ombe   irĩ   mũgũnda-rĩ / mũgũnda.
      cows   COP   garden-LOC / garden
      'The cows are in the garden.'

When the use of the locative suffix is optional, there are two possible ways to

relativize the locative oblique position. The independent clause is in (86):

(86) Nì-nì-rà-mw-òn-ìrè   nyomba / nyomba-ri ĩgoro.
      IP-1SG-PST-him-see-PRF   house / house-LOC   yesterday
      'I saw him in the house yesterday.'

In (87) the locative suffix is marked on the head noun, hence there is no need for any

additional oblique case marking inside the relative clause:

(87) Nyomba-ri   [ĩrĩa   ní-rá-mw-ón-ìrè]   hĩĩ   kũraca.
house-LOC   REL   1SG-him-see-PRF   COP.SG   far
'The house which I saw him in is far away.'

However, when the head noun is not marked for the oblique case, as in (88), the use

of a resumptive is necessary:

(88) Nyomba [ĩrĩa   ní-rá-mw-ón-ìrè   **a-rĩ**]   hĩĩ   kũraca.
      house   REL   1SG-him-see-PRF   CL1-COP   COP.SG   far
'The house which I saw him in is far away.'

The resumptive pronoun *arĩ* consists of the copula *-rĩ* used in statements and

questions where the predicate expresses locality, and the third person singular subject

pronoun *a-*, which agrees with the direct object pronoun *-mw-* 'him' of the verb

nĩmwonire 'I saw him'. The word *arĩ* does not actually agree with the head noun in

noun class (this function is fulfilled by the use of the relative pronoun *ĩrĩa* instead),

but provides the locative case that *ĩrĩa* on its own cannot express.

     However, the presence of the relative pronoun is not obligatory, which means

that the resumptive itself is sufficient for the connection between the head and the

relative clause:

(89) Nyomba [ní-r-ón-ìrè   keritu   **ka-rĩ**]
     house   1SG-PST-see-PRF   CL12.small girl   CL12-COP

nĩ   nene.
COP   big
'The house in which I saw the small girl is big.'

4.5.4.3 Goal

When relativizing the oblique 'goal', a resumptive pronoun consisting of a preposition and a pronominal element is used, which agrees in noun class with the head noun. In (91) and (92) the pronominal element is the third person singular personal pronoun.

(90) Ni-a-ra-thi-ĩre   **gwa**   Kamau.
     IP-3SG-PST-go-PRF   to   Kamau.
     'He went to Kamau.'

(91) Kamau [ũrĩa ú-rá-thí-ìrè   **gwa-ke**]   aĩava.
     Kamau REL   3SG-PST-go-PRF   to.3SG   is here
     'Kamau whom he went to is here.'

The relative pronoun is optional:

(92) Kamau [ú-rá-thí-ìrè   **gwa-ke**]   aĩava.
     Kamau 3SG-PST-go-PRF   to.3SG   is here
     'Kamau whom he went to is here.'

4.5.4.4 Instrument

The instrument in the independent clause in Kiembu is expressed by the use of the preposition *na*. In the relative clause a resumptive pronoun is used, consisting of the preposition *na* itself and a pronominal element, which marks the noun class of the head noun (94). The presence of the relative pronoun is optional (95):

(93) Nĩ-nd-em-ire   mũtĩ   na   kaviũ.
  IP-1SG-cut-PRF   tree   COM   CL12.knife
  'I cut the tree with a knife.'

(94) Kaviũ   [karĩa nd-em-ire   mũtĩ   **na-ko**]   nĩ   kaũgĩ.
  CL12-knife   REL   1SG-cut-PRF   tree   with-CL12   COP   sharp
  'The knife that I cut the tree with is sharp.'

(95) Kaviũ   [nd-em-ire   mũtĩ   **na-ko**]   nĩ   kaũgĩ.
  CL12.knife   1SG-cut-PRF   tree   with-CL12   COP   sharp
  'The knife that I cut the tree with is sharp.'

4.5.4.5 Manner

The oblique of manner is usually expressed by a prepositional phrase in the independent clause. In the relative clause there is a resumptive pronoun, which expresses NP$_{rel}$. The resumptive consists of the preposition and a pronoun, agreeing with the head noun in noun class. The presence of the relative pronoun is optional.

(96) Nĩ-u-ra-nya-muk-ire   na   gĩ-keno   kĩnene.
  IP-3SG-PST-me-receive-PRF   with   CL7-joy   big
  'He received me with great joy.'

(97) Gi-keno   [kĩrĩa   a-ra-nya-muk-ĩre   **na-kio**]
  NCL7-joy   REL   3SG-PST-me-receive-PRF   with-NCL7

  kĩrarĩ   kĩnene.
  was   great
  'The joy with which he received me was great.'

4.5.4.6 Benefactive

The oblique of benefactive in the independent clause may be expressed by the preposition *kwĩ* 'for'. In the relative clause a resumptive pronoun is used. The resumptive pronoun consists of the preposition *kwi* and a pronominal element which

expresses the noun class of the head noun. The presence of the relative pronoun, which marks the relative clause, is optional (100).

(98) Maũndũ mama monthe   maĩ kwĩ Jane.
     things   DEM all   are for Jane
     'All these things are for Jane.'

(99) Jane   [ũrĩa maũndũ   mama monthe   maĩ **gwĩ [1]-ke**]
     Jane   REL things   DEM all   are for-CL1

aĩava.
is here
'Jane for whom all these things are is here.'

(100) Jane   [maũndũ   mama monthe   maĩ **gwĩ-ke**]   aĩava.
      Jane   things   DEM all   are for-CL1   is here
      'Jane for whom all these things are is here.'

4.5.5 Genitive (Possessor) Relativization

When relativizing possessors, a resumptive pronoun is used, which consists of a possessive pronoun and the noun class marker (102) and (104).

(101) Nì-nì-r-òn-ìrè   kaana   wa   mũndũmũka ĩgoro.
      IP-1SG-PST-see-PRF   CL12.child of   woman   yesterday
      'I saw the woman's child yesterday.

---

[1] The change of *kwi* into *gwi* is due to a phonetic principle known as Dahl's Law, according to which if [k] is followed by another [k] in the next syllable, it becomes [g] (Barlow 1951, 9).

(102) Mũndũmũka [ũrĩa mwana **wake** ní-r-ón-ìrè] nĩ
    CL1.woman REL child CL1.her 1SG-PST-see-PRF COP

mwarwamaitu.
my sister
'The woman whose child I saw is my sister.'

(103) Ngui nĩ-ra-r-ĩ re irio cia kaana.
   dog 3SG-PST-eat-PRF food CL12.of CL12.child
   'The dog ate the child's food.'

(104) Kaana   [karĩa ngui ĩ-ra-r-ĩ re   irio **ciako**].
   CL12.child REL dog 3SG-PST-eat-PRF food CL12.POSS
   'the child which the dog ate the food of'

The position of the possessive phrase can be next to the relative pronoun, or at the end of the relative clause. The sentence in (102) may be changed to:

(105) Mũndũmũka [ũrĩa ní-r-ón-ìrè mwana **wake**] nĩ
   CL1.woman REL 1SG-PST-see-PRF child CL1.POSS COP

mwarwamaitu.
my sister
'The woman whose child I saw is my sister.'
Similarly, (104) may be changed to:

(106) Kaana [karĩa irio ciako ngui ĩ-ra-r-ĩ re] kaĩava.
   CL12.child REL food CL12.POSS dog 3SG-PST-eat-PRF is here
   'The child which the dog ate the food of is here.'

The forms of the possessive pronoun *wa* in (101) and *cia* (103) vary according to the noun class the possessor belongs to. The resumptive pronoun agrees in noun class with the head noun (the possessor).

The presence of the relative pronoun is obligatory, if the head noun is immediately followed by another noun.

(107) * Mũndũmũka   [mwana   **wake**   mũnini]   aĩava.
      CL1.woman   child   CL1.POSS   small   is here
      'The woman whose child is small is here.'

Otherwise the relative pronoun is optional:

(108) Mũndũmũka   [ni-r-on-ire   mwana **wake**]   nĩ
      CL1.woman   1SG-PST-see-PRF   child CL1.POSS   COP

      mwarwamaitu.
      my sister
      'The woman whose child I saw is my sister.'

4.5.6 *Object of Comparison (OCOMP's) Relativization*

In Kiembu the position of the object of comparison can be relativized by using the resumptive pronoun strategy with the relative pronoun, which is obligatory and which varies by the noun class of the head noun. The conjunction word *kwĩ* 'than' is used alongside the adjective which does not vary in form according to the degree of comparison (i.e. *nene* can mean 'big', 'bigger' or 'the biggest' according to the context). The resumptive pronoun in the relative clause consists of the word *kwĩ* and a pronominal element which expresses the noun class of the head noun:

(109) Kamau   nĩ   mũ-nene   kwĩ   mũndũrũme.
      Kamau   COP   CL1-big   than   man
      'Kamau is bigger than the man.'

(110) mũndũrũme   [ũrĩa   Kamau   nĩ   mũ-nene   **gwĩ-ke**]
      CL1-man   REL   Kamau   COP   CL1-big   than-CL1
      'the man that Kamau is bigger than'

(111) *mũndũrũme   [Kamau   nĩ   mũ-nene   **gwĩ-ke**]
      CL1-man   Kamau   COP   CL1-big   than-CL1
      'the man that Kamau is bigger than'

(112) Irimũ   nĩ   nene   kwĩ   kerĩtu.
      giant   COP   CL5-big   than   girl
      'The giant is bigger than the girl.'

(113) kerĩtu   [karĩa irimũ   rĩ   nene   **gwĩ-ko**]
      CL7.girl REL   CL5.giant   COP   big   than-CL7
      'the small girl that the giant is bigger than'

(114) *kerĩtu   [irimũ   rĩ   nene   **gwĩ--ko**]
      CL7.girl   CL5.giant   COP   big   than-CL7
      'the small girl that the giant is bigger than'

4.5.7 Summary

Kiembu being an SVO language forms postnominal relative clauses. The relative

clause is often introduced by a relative pronoun, which is related to demonstrative

pronouns in the language.

The verb in the relative clause is distinguished from that of the independent

clause by special verbal morphology, i.e. high tone is used instead of low tone on the

verb; the *nĩ* copula disappears in the relative clause; the third person singular subject pronoun is often omitted or it changes from *a-* to *u-*.

The relativized position (NP$_{rel}$) is represented by three main means: the relative pronoun strategy, the gapping strategy and the resumptive pronoun strategy. It is possible to relativize most grammatical positions in Kiembu, including the subject, the direct object, different kinds of oblique positions, such as accompaniment, locative, goal, instrument, manner, benefactive; the genitive (possessor) and the OCOMPs (object of comparison) positions. Indirect objects are not distinguishable grammatically from direct objects, therefore we cannot talk about indirect object relativization as such. However, the way of relativizing direct objects differs somewhat from the way in which indirect objects can be relativized. While direct objects can be relativized using the gap strategy and the relative pronoun strategy, indirect objects can only be relativized with the relative pronoun strategy.

Having exclusively postnominal relative clauses, Kiembu rarely uses the gap strategy. It is only attested when relativizing the direct object position.

All obliques can be relativized by the use of resumptive pronouns. Resumptives in Kiembu often consist of a preposition, to which a pronominal element is attached. It is interesting to note that while many Bantu languages employ applicatives on the verb to promote obliques into a higher (subject or object) position

to enable relativization, Kiembu does not do this. Resumptive pronouns are often used together with relative pronouns when relativizing oblique positions. It is optional to use the relative pronoun when relativizing any oblique position. The presence of the relative pronoun is optional as well as obligatory (depending on different sentence structures) when relativizing the genitive (possessor) position, and obligatory when relativizing the lowest, OCOMPs (object of comparison) position. In the case of locative relativization, it is interesting to note that both resumptive and relative pronouns take part fully in expressing NP_{rel} in the relative clause, i.e. when the resumptive pronoun is optional, the relative pronoun is obligatory, and vice versa.

CHAPTER 5
THE KEENAN AND COMRIE NOUN PHRASE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY (AH)

The NP accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977; first presented in 1972) is based on a cross-linguistic survey of relative clause formation in about fifty languages. According to this, every language may have several relative clause strategies (distinct ways of forming relative clauses). Among these strategies there is a primary relativization strategy, which may be restricted as to which NPs could be relativized or, in other words, which NPs were accessible to relativization. Other relativization strategies might exist to relativize NPs inaccessible to the primary strategy. Keenan and Comrie made some fairly strong universal generalizations about this, described as follows (Keenan - Comrie 1977, 66):

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

(OCOMP means 'object of comparison')

If an NP on the accessibility hierarchy is accessible to relativization in a language, then all NPs higher on the hierarchy are also accessible to relativization.

5.1 Distinguishing between Relative Clause Strategies

Keenan and Comrie have chosen two criteria for determining when two strategies are different. The first concerns the way the head NP and the restricting clause are distinguished at the surface, and the second concerns how NP$_{rel}$ is indicated.

A) In the first case two relative clauses are considered to be formed by different strategies if the relative position of the head NP and the restricting clause differs. There are three possibilities: postnominal, prenominal or internal relative clause strategies.

B) In the second case two relative clauses are considered to be formed from different strategies if one presents a nominal element in the restricting clause, which explicitly expresses which NP position is being relativized. They refer to this as [+case] RC strategy. For example, the English strategy that forms *the girl who John likes* is not case-coding since *who* can be used as well if the role of the head NP in the restricting clause is different, e.g. *the girl who likes John* [−case] RC strategy) (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 65). In addition to the use of relative pronouns, case can be coded by the presence of resumptive pronouns or prepositions in the relative clause.

5.2 The Hierarchy Constraints

There are certain conditions on the hierarchy called Hierarchy Constraints (HCs) (Keenan 1977, 67), such as:

A language must be able to relativize subjects.

According to this, there is no language which is unable to relativize subjects.

Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH).

Unrelativizable NPs can be systematically promoted to higher positions on the AH, where they can be relativized.

This states that a language is free to treat adjacent positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy as the same, but it cannot "skip" positions. Thus, if a given strategy can apply to both subjects and locatives, it can also apply to DOs and IOs.

Strategies that apply at one point of the AH may cease to apply at any lower point.

Thus each point of the Hierarchy is a possible cut-off point for any strategy that applies to a higher point. The possibility of relativizing (with a primary strategy) decreases as we go down the AH.

5.3   The Kiembu data - Summary

Based on the criteria of Keenan and Comrie for distinguishing relative clauses strategies, we can state that Kiembu has both postnominal [+case] and postnominal [−case] strategies. [+case] strategies are those which present an element in the restrictive clause, through which the relativized position can be recovered.

In Kiembu the relative pronoun strategy is a [−case] strategy, because

although the relative pronoun does mark noun class, thus it agrees with the head

noun, it does not mark case, so the same relative pronoun can be used for subject,

object, etc., relativization. The gap strategy is also a [−case] strategy for obvious

reasons. The resumptive pronoun strategy in contrast is a case marking strategy, thus

it is [+case]. According to this, the Kiembu relative clause forming strategies are the

following (Table 4):

Table 4. Relative clause forming strategies in Kiembu

	SU	DO	IO	Loc	BEN	GOAL	INST	MAN	ACC	OCOMP	GEN
Postnom [−case]	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Postnom [+case]	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Observing the NP Accessibility Hierarchy and the Hierarchy Constraints in the light

of the Kiembu data, we can see that Kiembu supports both. Kiembu meets the first

Hierarchy Constraint, according to which any language must be able to relativize

subjects. The subject position is indeed relativizable in Kiembu. It should be noted,

however, that the subject position seems to be slightly more restricted than the direct

object position in terms of relativization, since there are two different strategies for

direct objects to be relativized (the relative pronoun and the gap strategy), while for subjects there is only one, i.e. the relative pronoun strategy.

The second constraint says that any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the Hierarchy. We can see from Table 4 that the [−case] strategy operates on a continuous segment on the higher end of the Hierarchy, including the subject, direct object, indirect object and one oblique position. The [−case] strategy covers the relative pronoun strategy for subject relativization, the gap strategy and relative pronoun strategy for direct object relativization. In the table I marked the indirect object with a + sign, because although indirect objects are not different morphologically from direct objects, they do differ in the strategies they use, as indirect objects can only be relativized by the relative pronoun strategy. The [+case] strategy covers mainly the resumptive pronoun strategy, with using obligatory relative pronouns in the genitive and OCOMPs positions, and optional relative pronouns higher up the hierarchy. The locative position is on the borderline between the [+case] and [−case] strategies in relativization, in that when the resumptive pronoun is optional, the relative pronoun strategy is obligatory, and vice versa. According to the third Hierarchy constraint, strategies that apply at one point of the Hierarchy may cease to apply at any lower point. The oblique of locative is a cut off point in that to the right from these positions the relative pronoun strategy as a

primary strategy ceases to operate, and it becomes a secondary strategy alongside the

resumptive pronoun strategy.

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