

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN MADA

By
RHILA EZEKIEL AHMADU

A Project submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Translation
Studies.

DECEMBER - 2001

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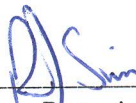
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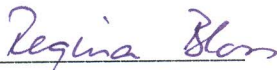
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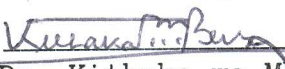
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Student's Declaration

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN MADA

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

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

(Signed) _____
Rhila Ezekiel Ahmadu

December, 2001

ABSTRACT

In the process of Mada New Testament translation, there was a debate on several occasions during the testing and reviewing process as whether to include some grammatical particles in the translation or not. Some of these particles were relative clause markers. To some people, whenever such particles are left out, the reading in the language does not flow naturally for them, but when used, an addition of linguistic flavour is inferred immediately. On the other hand, to some people, the use of such particles prolongs sentences and so makes the reading not easy for those who are new readers in the mother tongue. It is on the basis of this argument that I have the interest to do some studies on relative clause in Mada. The aim of the studies is to establish the different relative clause markers and their roles in the spoken grammar of this language.

To achieve this goal, I have taken ten recorded stories told by different people and some short written ones by others of the same dialect and of the same language to use as my data for the study. However, I have just included only two of such stories as samples. It is my desire to come out with a paper that would provoke other Mada people to do a better work on the subject that would result in solving the problem.

To my parents

Yamu Rhila Zenyan
and
Tasela Yamu

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am indebted to many people for their cooperation and assistance in one way or another to the success of this paper.

To God be the glory for the golden opportunity given to me and my family to serve him and for bringing me so far to this point of my study which has brought about writing this paper.

My profound gratitude go to my supervisor, Dr. Ronnie Sim for his advice, encouragement, correction and patience in proof reading of my scripts and to Dr. Regina Blass being my second reader and for the knowledge of discourse analysis gained from her. I must also thank all the professors that I have so far learned from them, especially Dr. & Mrs. George L. Huttar.

I must also thank my organisation, Nigeria Bible Translation Trust and all our donors for sending us to this training, for bearing the burden of our being in this institution and to Mr. & Mrs. Danjuma Gambo who made our dream become reality.

As we stayed away from home, it would not have been easy to have a settled mind and concentrate in our studies if nobody

had taken the pain of looking after our old parents back home. Therefore, I must thank Mr. & Mrs. Norman Price, Mr. & Mrs. Ezekiel Fonren, Rekiya Audu, Pastor Yanda Jene, Regina Jonathan and Joshua Rhila. I thank them on behalf of my family for their love and every support.

If there is any time that my family has very much missed me since we came to NEGST, it is when writing this paper. I acknowledge their patience and endurance in a very high degree. Similarly, I must thank my old mother who is missing the whole family for these two years of being away from her.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASP	aspect
AVP	agent verb patient
bec	because
CC	complement clause
CF	contrastive focus
CNT	continuous tense
COMP	complementiser
COND	conditional marker
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative pronoun marker
DO	direct object
FUT	future tense marker
HRC	headless relative clause
IDO	indirect object
INT	interrogative pronoun marker
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
N	noun
NEG	negative marker
nom	nominalisation
NP	noun phras

NRRC	non restrictive relative clause
NPre1	noun phrase relativised
(\emptyset)	gap strategy marker
OBL	oblique
pl	plural
POSS	possessor
PP	prepositional phrase
Pre	preposition
pron	pronoun
REL	relativiser
RC	relative clause
RCs	relative clauses
RM	relative marker
S	sentence
sg	singular
SVO	subject verb object
SUB	subject
V	verb
VO	verb object
VP	verb phrase

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 The people and their geographical location

Mada refers to both a people that lives in the Nasarawa State of central Nigeria and to the language they speak. In this work, Mada will usually refer to the language, except for some special references made to the people. The Mada language group is one of the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria with a population of about 100,000 speakers (Grimes 1996,189-190).

1.1.2 Language classification

Mada is classified under Platoid sub-division of Benue-Congo sub-family of Niger-Congo (Grimes, 189-190).

1.1.3 Dialects

Mada has four major dialects each with sub-dialects (Rhila 1996,2): "Kwǎ (Mada west dialect), Tǎ (Mada north dialect), Lě (Mada east dialect) and Tē (Mada central and south dialects)". The degree of intelligibility between these dialects is about 90%. John Bendor-Samuel (1989,364) and

Crozier & Blench (1992,78) group Mada into two, "Northern Mada and Western Mada." The data used in this work are taken Grammatically, Mada is a head initial marking language with a constituent order of subject, verb, and object (S V O) or what Payne calls "agent verb and patient" (A V P) word order typology. Morphologically, Mada is predominately an isolating language so that morphological derivations are quite few and insignificant in the language. Concerning the writing system, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols are being used. It has five tones, four are from the central dialect which is used as the reference dialect in Mada orthography and of which the writer is a native.

1.1.4 Language use.

Being one of the minority languages in Nigeria, Mada is used in inter-personal communication for sentimental purpose during traditional ceremonies, in the home, in the farm, for local church services, and trading in local markets which involve Mada speakers. Not much literature development has been done in this language. The only literacy material published in Mada are: the New Testament, Alphabet chart, and Notes on its orthography. However, there is a 30 minutes oral magazine program twice a week and a 15 minutes daily local news broadcast on Nasarawa State Radio.

1.1.5 Features of Mada language

The Mada language has five tones namely; high (/), mid (ū), low (ù), rising (ǔ), and falling tone (û). Four of these are marked except high tone. Therefore, any Mada word in this work that is not marked should be read with a high tone.

1.2 Research prospectus

1.2.1 Thesis statement

The relative clause plays a very important role in many languages, and this more so in Mada. But so far, as far as I know, this feature of the language has not been described. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to address this lack.

1.2.2 Objective

This research intends to describe the types and nature of relative clauses in Mada and when, where and how they occur in the language. Secondly, the researcher seeks to investigate the function(s) of relative clauses in Mada discourse.

1.2.3 Significance

Since no grammatical material is available in this language, the present work may serve as a stimulation for more detailed work on the subject in the future.

1.2.4 Sources of data

The data used in this write up are based on two narrative texts as found in the Appendix. The writer also draws on his personal experience and native speaker knowledge as an additional source.

1.2.5 Organisational structure

The work is organised into four chapters. Chapter one gives the general background of the people and the language, research prospectus and related literature reviewed. Chapter two is a brief overview of the basic syntax of the language. Chapter three gives a general description and discourse functions of relative clauses in Mada, while chapter four contains the summary and conclusion of the work.

1.3 General literature review

As earlier mentioned, there is no grammatical work done on Mada, and so there is not any work available on the relative clause. However, what linguists have written in this subject in various languages around the world can be used as basis for comparison with any language work of the same subject.

1.3.1 Definition

Trask (1993,238), 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.

This is to say that relative clauses serve as adjectives because they function as nominal modifiers in the clauses. According to the same author, "some languages employ quite different expressions in accomplishing the same purpose." This process of forming a relative clause is what the linguists call "relativisation."

1.3.2 Classification

In (Payne 1997,325), four pertinent characteristics of relative clauses are described. These are:

- 1) The relative clause where the head is the noun phrase (NP) that is modified by the relative clause.
- 2) The restrictive relative clause which is the relative clause by itself.
- 3) Non-relative clause, where the relativiser is the morpheme or a particle that sets off the restricting clause and
- 4) A relativised noun phrase which is the element of which the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head noun.

Different types of relative clauses are identified. Payne (1997,326) explains how "the position of the relative clause with respect to the head and the way in which the NPrel is

expressed play a very important role in establishing a typology of relative clauses." According to the same author, the positions of relative clauses are classified as:

Prenominal relative clauses are clauses which occur before the head noun, (2) postnominal relative clauses are those which occur after the head, (3) internally headed relative clauses are those in which the head occurs right within the relative clause, and (4) headless relative clause are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify.

These types of relative clauses would be employed later to observe the same in Mada.

According to Keenan (1985,144), "in verb-medial languages of SVO, postnominal Relative clauses (RCs) are the overwhelming norm and are the dominant or most productive form." For Payne (1997,326), the "postnominal relative clauses are said to be more common in languages which are dominantly VO in main clauses constituent order." However both agree that the postnominal are the common type of relative clause.

Payne (1997,331) and Comrie (1981:140) have also identified the major strategies used in relativisation. The first strategy is what they call 'gap strategy.' This is used in languages that have a fixed word order, where a gap remains when one particular grammatical element is deleted from its required grammatical position. In this case, there will be a

gap in the subject position if the NPrel is a subject, and the same will happen to an object if the NPrel is an object. The second strategy is called 'pronoun retention,' in which the head noun is coded by a pronoun. The third strategy is called, 'relative pronoun.' In this type, the pronoun occurs clause-initial indicating the head. The fourth type of strategy is what Comrie (1981,140) calls "'non-reduction' where the head noun appears in full, unreduced form in the embedded sentence in the normal and, or with the normal case marking for a noun phrase expressing that particular function in the clause.

1.3.3 Examples of relative clauses from English

On the grammatical elements that can be relativised (Payne 1997,335) gives the following examples of gap and pronoun retention in standard written English.

- 1a. I hate the alligator that \emptyset ate Mildred. (SUB)
- b. I hate the alligator that Mildred saw \emptyset . (DO)
- c. I hate the alligator that Mildred threw the ball to \emptyset (IDO)
- d. I hate the alligator that Mildred rode on \emptyset . (OBL)
- e. I hate the alligator that Mildred is bigger than \emptyset (OBL)
- d. I hate the alligator whose teeth are huge. (POSS)

These English examples are going to be of great help as they help me to observe some grammatical elements in relation to relative clauses in Mada.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 An overview of Mada independent clauses

To understand how relativisation occurs in Mada, it is helpful first to have an overview of the features of some classes of simple independent clauses on the basis of morphology and syntax.

2.1.1 Morphology

Mada is predominately an isolating language whereby a verb or a noun stands on its own. The only morphological features noted so far are seen in noun class. The examples that we find below are those in which the plural words are affected by change of tone on the nouns, prefix and suffix marking. The examples shown in (2a)-(2c) are plural words marked by prefixes while (2d) and (2e) indicate plural form by tonal changes.

Singular	Plural
(2a) kē	mèkè
house	houses

(b) cūn	mēcùn
chief	chiefs
(c) nē	mēnē
person	people
(d) krì	krī
yam	yams
(e) nzār	nzàr
hoe	hoes

The examples below show morphological suffixes ywē 'your' marking 2nd person singular possessive and ywē 'his' marking 3rd person singular possessives. Corresponding to the singular word kpān 'friend,' the plural is formed by a partial reduplication on the root word. See the following examples.

Singular	Plural
(3a) kpānywē	kpēkpānywē
friend(sg)-your	friend(pl)-your
'Your friend'	'Your friends'

(b) kpānywē	kpēkpānywē
friend(sg)-his	friend(pl)-his
'His friend'	'His friends'

The possessive plurals of 2nd and 3rd person singular, 1st person singular and plural, 2nd and 3rd person plural possessives are formed by partial re-duplication of the root word kpān 'friend,' but the possessive pronouns stand isolated as they do not occur as suffixes in the language. They also stand as personal pronouns, while ywē and ywē never do. See the examples given below.

Singular	Plural
(4a) kpān nggē	kpēkpàn nggē
friend(sg)-my	friend(pl) my
'My friend'	'My friends'
(b) kpān gyē	kpēkpàn gyē
friend(sg) your(pl)	friend(pl) your(pl)
'Your friend'	'Your friends'
(c) kpān tē	kpēkpàn tē
friend(sg) our	friend(pl) our
'Our friend'	'Our friends'

(d) kpān	bə	kpōkpàn	bə
friend(sg)	their	friend(pl)	their
'Their friend'		'Their friends'	

2.2. Syntax

2.2.1 Constituent word order

A simple independent clause in Mada consists of a noun phrase, followed by a verb phrase and an object that indicate subject, verb and object (SVO) structure. The examples below show constituent word order of simple independent clauses.

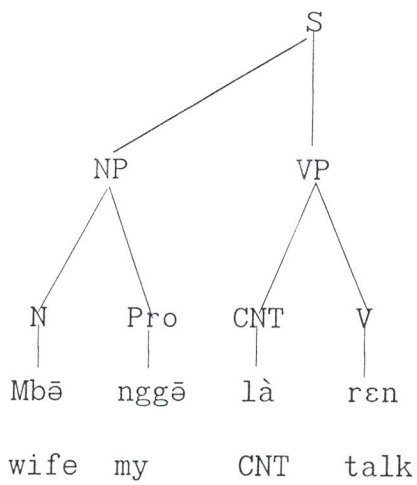
2.2.2 Intransitive clauses

- (5a) Mbē nggē là rɛn.
 wife my CNT talk
 'My wife is talking.'

See the label of the following words as given according to their constituents and represented with a 'tree diagram' illustrated in diagram 2.1.

(((Mbē) (nggē)) (là)) (rɛn))

(((wife) (my)) ((CNT) (talk)))



Tree Diagram 2.1

(b) Vēn nggā là rō.

child my CNT play

'My child is playing.'

2.2.3 Transitive clauses

(6a) Mbā nggā re lā.

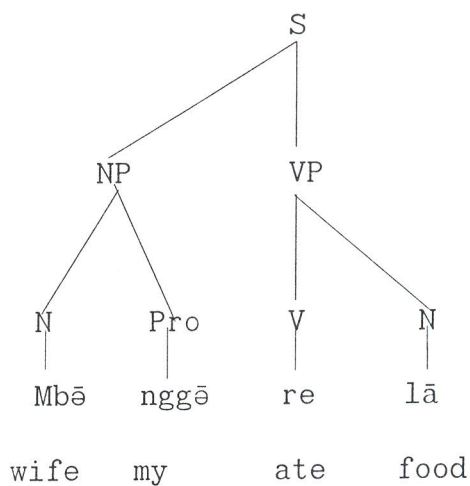
wife my eat(PT) food

'My wife ate food.'

See the constituent label and tree diagram 2.2

((Mbā)(nggā))((re)(lā))

((wife)(my))((ate)(food))



Tree Diagram 2.2

(b) Zāngyǎr nggē lə blā takədā.

brother my FUT read book

'My brother will read a book.'

2.2.4 Ditransitive clauses

(7a) Kpakè gya krī Blāren .

Kpakè dug yams Blāren

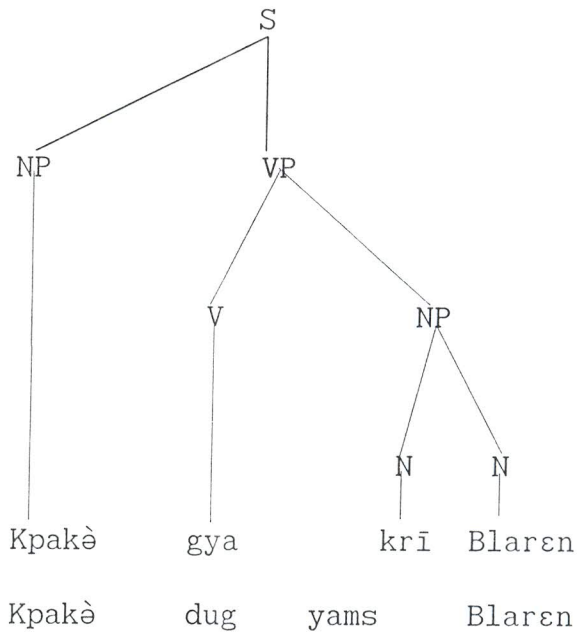
'Kpakè dug Blāren's yams.'

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Below is the label of the constituent word order of a ditransitive clause and its tree diagram in figure 2.3.

((Kpakè)((gya)((krī)(Blāren))))

((Kpakè)((dug)((yams)(Blāren))))



Tree Diagram 2.3

(b) Baro tar gūgu bē mgbāntē.

Baro shot goat with stone

'Baro shot a goat with a stone.'

2.2.5 Negative clauses

Mada simple sentences are usually negated by placing three negative markers, one, either for indicative or imperative occurs before the verb and the other occurs in clause final. The three negative markers are quite different particles in form but the same in function. The pre-verbal negative markers la is used for indicative mood, while kàdè is used for imperatives. The clause final negative marker yo is used for all types of sentences.

See the examples given below where (8a and b) are the indicative negative clauses while (c) shows the imperative.

(8a) Yàmù la rèn yo.

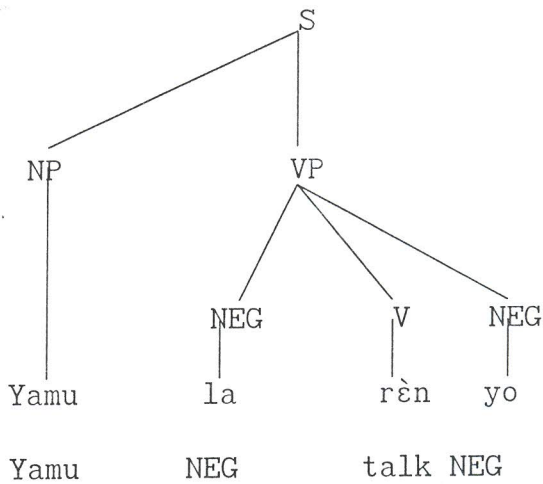
Yàmù NEG talk NEG

'Yàmù did not talk.'

Below is the label and a tree diagram for an intransitive negative clause.

((Yàmù)((la)(rèn))(yo))

((Yàmù)((NEG)(talk)(NEG)))



Tree Diagram 2.4

(b) Mbēnya lə la rē lā yo.

Mbēnya FUT NEG eat food NEG

'Mbēnya will not eat food.'

(c) Kàdè rè lā yo.

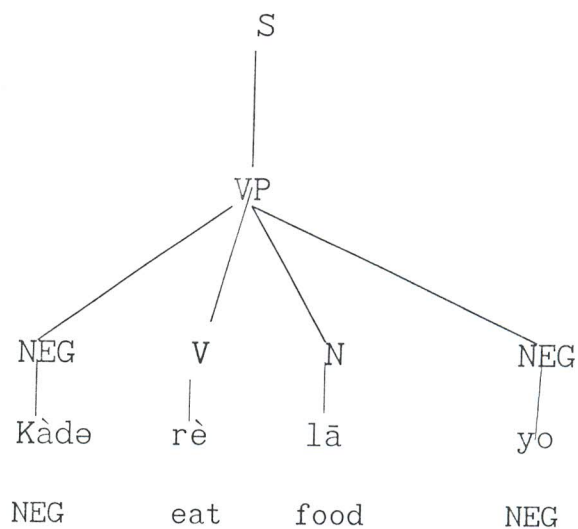
NEG eat food NEG

'Do not eat food.'

Below is the label for negative imperative clause and its tree diagram 5.

((Kàdè)(rè)(lā)(yo))

((NEG)(eat)(food)(NEG))



Tree Diagram 2.5

2.2.6 Demonstrative indicative clauses

According to Crystal, a demonstrative is a, "form whose chief function is to distinguish one item from other members of the same class. These can be use alone as pronouns or with nouns as determiners." Mada has grammatical particles that indicate such features. The examples in (9a-g) show both singular and plural demonstrative particles for human and non-human that are used as determiners for near and far identification.

(9a) Wānmē sē vēn nggē.

DEM COP child my

'This is my child.'

(b) Wānmūn sē vēn nggē.

DEM. COP child my

'That is my child.'

(c) Bānmē sē nywen nggē.

DEM. COP children my

'These are my children.'

(d) Bānmūn sē nywen nggē.

DEM. COP children my

'Those are my children.'

(e) Yè̄mē sē kē nggē̄.

DEM. COP house my

'This is my house.'

(f) Yāmē sē məkē nggē̄.

DEM. COP houses my

'These are my houses.'

(g) Yēmūn sē məkè nggē̄.

DEM. COP houses my

'Those are my houses.'

From the above examples, (a)-(d) are human determiners. They have different forms of particles that can distinguish between singular and plural items from others of both near and far distances. Non-human determiners are distinguished by change of tones.

Examples in (10a-h) below show that demonstrative question words occur clause final in contrast to demonstrative indicative clauses and every clause has a grammatical category that occurs clause final.

(10a) Wānmē sē nggwǒn?

DEM COP who?

'Who is this?'

(b) Wānmūn sē nggwǒn?

DEM COP who?

'Who is that?'

(c) Bānmē sē bē nggwǒn?

DEM COP they who?

'Who are these?'

(d) Bānmūn sē bē nggwǒn?

DEM COP they who?

'Who are those?'

(e) Yèmē sē nēnggyě?

DEM COP what?'

'What is this?'

(f) Yèmūn sē nēnggyě?

DEM COP what?

'What is that?'

(g) Yēmē sē nənggyè?

DEM COP what?

'What are these?'

(h) Yēmūn sē nənggyè?

DEM COP what?

'What are those?'

2.2.7 Interrogative content clauses

Mada interrogative content clauses are cleft sentences with the interrogative particles mostly occurring clause initial. Below are some examples of interrogative clauses.

(11a) Sē nggwǒn tse wè?

COP who beat you(sg)?

'Who has beaten you?'

(b) Sē rənggyě gu tse wè?

COP why he beat you

'Why did he beat you?'

(c) Sē mbētan gu tse wè?

COP when he beat you?

'When did he beat you?'

(d) Sē sēsənàn gu tse wè?

COP how he beat you?

'How did he beat you?'

(e) Sē nēnggyě wē nan gu?

COP what you did him?

'What did you do to him?'

(f) Sē wāntan ənywī bə ngwur wè?

COP DEM(sg) inside them beat you(sg)?

'Which of them beat you?'

(g) Sē bāntan ənywī bə tse gyè?

COP DEM(pl) inside them beat you(pl)?

'Which of them beat you?'

(h) Yètan ənywī gūgu mē sē mēwē?

DEM(sg) inside goats these COP yours (pl)?

'Which of these goats is yours?'

(i) Yētan ənywī gūgu mē sē mēwè?

DEM(pl) inside goats these COP yours(pl)?

'Which of these goats are yours?'

The structural differences between (h) and (i) above is change in tone on demonstrative and possessive pronouns. Singular demonstrative pronoun takes low and high tones and then the possessive pronoun takes low and mid tones. In contrast, singular demonstrative pronoun takes mid and high tones while the possessive pronoun takes mid and low tones.

In location content interrogative clause, the interrogative particle occurs in clause final position. See the examples below.

(12a) Gu sē ywè?

he COP where?

'Where is he.'

(b) Gyē là ywē ywē?

you(pl) CNT go where?

'Where are you going?'

2.2.8 Complement clauses

Payne (1997,313) defines a prototypical complement clause as "a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause." He defines matrix clause as "one that has another clause as one of its core arguments." According to (Givon 1980,246) as quoted in Payne (1997,314), "typical

matrix verbs for finite complements are verbs of utterance and cognition." This definition fits Mada complement clauses as the following examples show.

A verb of saying

(13a) Blaren dan de Kamu gya gu krī.

Blaren said COMP Kamu dug him yams.

'Blaren said that Kamu dug his yams.'

A verb of cognition.

(b) Blaren tsə de Kamu gya krī.

Blaren knows COMP Kamu dug yams

'Blaren knows that Kamu dug yams.'

A verb of perception

(c) Blaren ngrən de Kamu gya krī.

Blaren saw COMP Kamu dug yams.

'Blaren thought that Kamu dug yams.'

A verb of volition

(d) Blaren fə de nē Kamu gyà krī.

Blaren wanted COMP let Kamu dig yams

'Blaren wanted Kamu to dig yams.'

From the examples given in (13a-f) above, it is found that the Mada complement particle is de. This same complement particle is used in finite and non-finite complement clauses in all their tenses, moods, and aspects. Unlike English in which the same complement particle can be used in another grammatical function as in relative clause, the Mada complementiser particle is used for only complement clauses.

This chapter gives us general idea of the different grammatical categories in Mada's simple independent clauses. It is very clear that Mada is predominately an SVO or AVP constituent word order and grammatically isolating. This overview of the language prepares readers to understand on how relativisation occurs in this language as discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Relative Clause

The previous chapter gives us general idea of the different grammatical structures of Mada's simple independent clauses. I will use this background to consider relative clauses in the language. In this chapter, I will pay special attention to different strategies used, the grammatical elements that can be relativised, using some of the grammatical structure previously noted, and to see the discourse functions of the relative clauses in the language.

3.1.1 Relative clause strategies

As noted in chapter two above, for languages with SVO constituent order, "postnominal relative clauses RCs are the overwhelming norm and are the dominant or most productive form" as pointed out by (Keenan 1985,144). Mada being an SVO language in main clause constituent order and predominantly isolating grammatically, its relative clauses occur after the head noun or a noun phrase. The whole of this chapter pays special attention to such grammatical feature in the language. Like many languages, Mada uses several different strategies in relativisation.

3.1.2 Headed Strategy

According to (Comrie 1981,140), "headed relative clauses are those which use the noun reduction type strategy." This is to say that the head noun which is the referent precedes the relative head. In this case, the head is not necessarily a noun, but can be a free standing or bound pronoun head. The examples below in (14) and (15) are taken from a narrative text in appendix 1. In these examples, we have relative clauses of subject in (14) and direct and indirect objects in (15a and b). Each of these examples are labelled and presented in tree diagrams as samples. The words in brackets within the clauses are relative markers that can be optional and would not affect the meaning intended.

(14) Nē (wān) là gèr vānggā... (SUB)

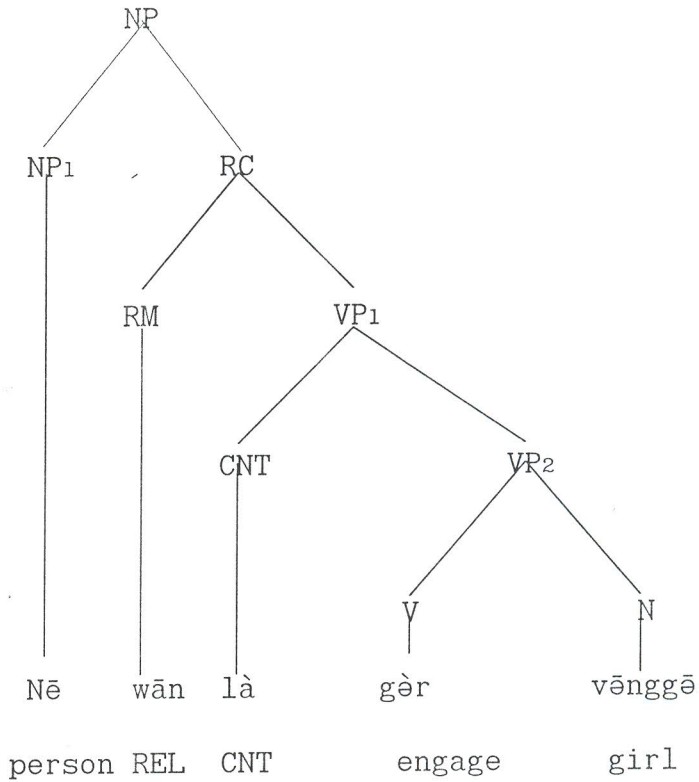
person (REL) CNT engage girl

'The person (who) engages a girl...'

Below is a label and tree diagram of the above relative clause.

((Nē)((wān)((là)((gèr))(vōnggē))))

((person)((REL)((CNT)((engage))(girl))))



Tree Diagram 3.1

(15a) Vōnggē (wān) bə là ban sər.... (DO)

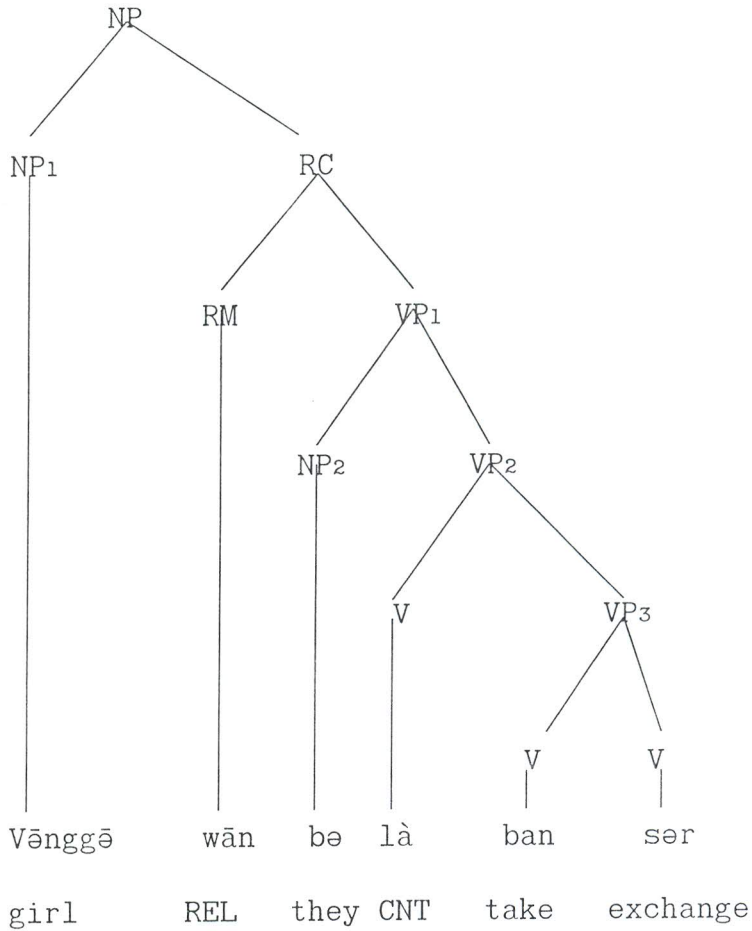
girl (REL) they CNT take exchange

'The girl (who) is given in exchange....'

Below is a Label a and tree diagram for direct object relative clause.

((Vēggē)((wān)((bē)((là) ((ban)) (sēr))))))

((girl)((REL)((they)((CNT)((take))(exchange))))))



Tree Diagram 3.2

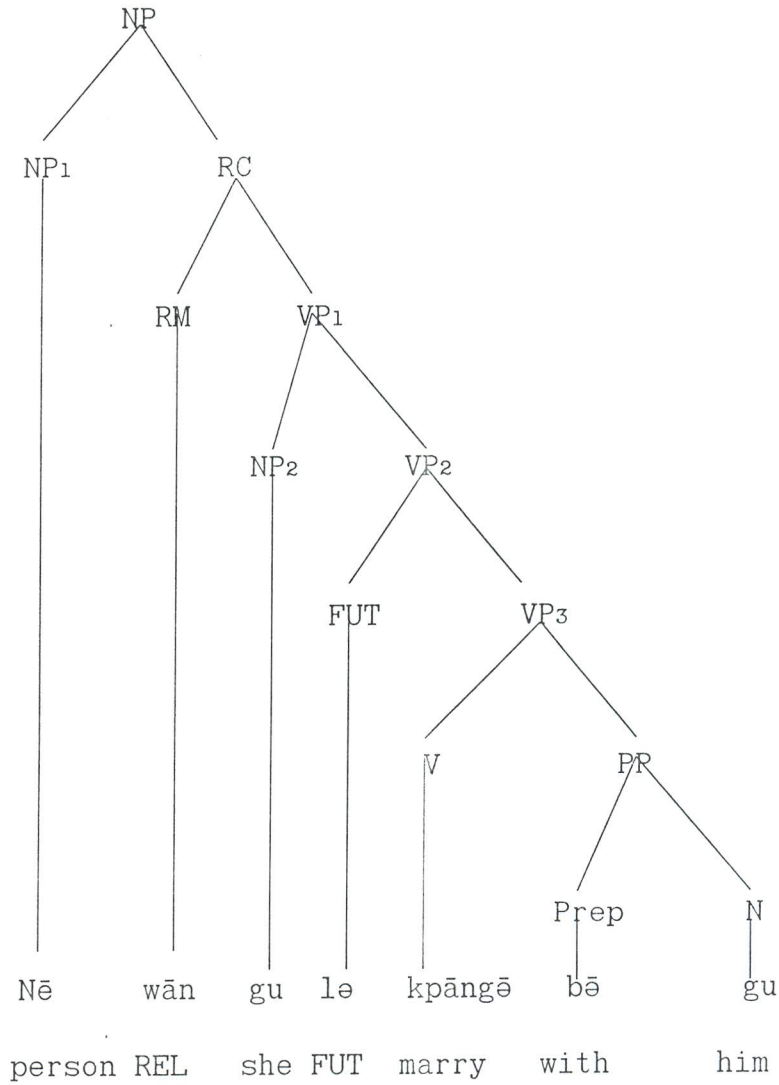
(b) Nē (wān) gu lə kpān ngē bē gu. (IDO

person (REL) she FUT tie marriage with him

'The person whom she is going to marry.'

Below is a label and a tree diagram for indirect object relative clause.

((Nē)((wān)((gu)((lə)((kpāngē)((bē)(gu))))))((person)((REL)((she)((FUT)((marry)((prep)(him)))))))



Tree Diagram 3.3

(16) Vəlɔn (wān) mbē kpə gu nzār sē lanywē. (OBL)

man (REL) woman received his hoe COP husband-her

'The man whom the woman received his hoe is her

husband.'

- (17) Vēlon (wān) nzār gu mbē kpə sē lanywē. (POSS)
 man (REL) hoe his woman received COP husband-her
 'The man whose hoe the woman received is her husband.'

The above illustrations given in Mada show that all the grammatical categories relativised have the head noun or noun phrase plus a relative clauses modifying them, and all of them are in postnominal position. The relative particle can be optional. So far, the relativiser wān functions for human noun headed clauses. The example below shows yè as relativiser of non-human noun phrases subject that can be relativised. This example is also taken from the narrative text in appendix 1. The example also shows that an unborn child is considered non-human.

- (18) Nē nēmān sē vūn kī (yè) sē nèn zwē
 person some ASP catch thing (REL) COP belly keep
 nywên bə.
 children them
 'Some people used to engage the unborn girls for their children.'

The relative particle, wān can also be used for relative clause for associative and benefactive grammatical elements and yè is used for instrument, location and time grammatical

elements. Some times the low tone on non-human relativiser changes to mid tone depending on its noun head. See (19) and (20) for examples on the use of wān and (21)-(23) for yē as relative clause particles. The clauses in (19a) and (20a) are not relative clauses as compared to (19b) and (20b).

Associative relativisation

(19a) Tě vēn là kùr bē gu.

father child CNT sleeps with him

'The father of the child sleeps with.'

(b) Tě wān vēn là kùr bē gu.

father REL child CNT sleeps with him

'The father (who) the child sleeps with.'

Benefactor relativisation

(20a) Nggē nryun vēn lā.

I cooked child food

'I cooked food for a child.'

(b) Vēn wān nggē nryun gu lā sē vēn nggē.

child REL I cooked him food COP child mine

'The child for whom I cooked food is mine.'

With the absence of relative particle in (19a) and (20a), the meanings communicated are ambiguous as no entities are not given or identified. (19a) can have two interpretations. It could mean a father that sleeps with his child, or a father that his child sleeps with. Therefore the presence of relative particle in (19b) gives the correct interpretation of the relationship between entity in focus and so is not optional. Example (20b) has shown a front shift on the constituent which signals a focus of an entity. More of this analysis will be given under discourse function in 3.3.2.

Instrument relativisation

(21) Nzār (yē) nggē gya krī sē mēnggè.

hoe (REL) I dug yams COP mine

'The hoe with (which) I dug yams is mine.'

Relativisation of location

(22) Tswē (yē) gu là sòn mān rε nkòn.

place (REL) he CNT stays there far way

'The place (where) he stays is far.'

Relativisation of time

- (23) Mkpān (yē) gu nyè nānrēn màn tē sē re lā
 time (REL) he came yesterday then we CNT eat food
 'The time (which) he came yesterday we were eating
 food.'

Unlike in (19b) and (20b) where the presence of the relativisers are obligatory for identification of the relationship between the entities, the presence of such particles in (21a)-(23a) are not obligatory. The meanings communicated in these clauses are clear and are the same as those in (21b)-(23b).

All the examples given so far only show relativisation of singular noun phrases. (24b & 25b) below are examples of plural forms for human and non-human types of relativisation as compared to the singular nouns in (24a & 25a).

- (24a) Mbē (wān) rε nzār nē lanywē.
 woman (REL) bought hoe gave husband-her
 'The woman (who) bought a hoe for her husband.'

- (b) Mbèmbē (bān) rε nzār nē lēlon bē.
 women (REL) bought hoe(pl) gave husband their
 'The women (who) bought hoes for their husbands.'

(25a) Kē (yē) nggē me sē nggōn yə.

house (REL) I built COP big it

'The house (that) I built is big.'

(b) Mèkè (yè) nggē me sē nggòn nggòn yē.

houses (REL) I built COP big big them

'The houses (that) I built are big ones.'

The above relative clauses in (24) and (25) indicate two different relativisers for singular and plural in human relative clauses. The presence of relative particles in both singular and plural in (24) are obligatory for correct identification and disambiguity. The particle wān is used for singular and bān for plural noun phrase in (24a and b). For non-human, the difference is only in tone. In (25a), the singular relativiser yē takes a mid tone while the plural relativiser particle yè for noun phrase in (23b) takes low tone. However, this morphological change is not regular. This change seems to alternate; sometimes yē as the mid tone marks singular or plural and yè marks singular or plural phrase. See the illustrations in (26-27) below.

(26a) Nggǎgyū (yè) tan nggē nyər kyu.

dog(sg) (REL) bit me teeth died

'The dog (that) bit me is dead.'

(b) Nggagyū (yē) tan nggē nyər tsu.
 dog(pl) (REL) bit me teeth died
 'The dogs (that) bit me are dead.'

(27a) Kəkē (yè) gu là wò sē kəkla yā.
 chicken (REL) he CNT tend COP white it.
 'The chicken (that) he keeps is white.'

(b) Kəkē (yē) gu là wò sē kəkla yə.
 chicken(pl) (REL) he CNT keep COP white them
 'The chickens (that) he keeps are white.'

(28a) Krì yè gu nē nggè sē nggòn yā
 yam(sg) REL He gave me COP big it.
 'The yams which/that he gave me are big.'

(b) Krī yē gu nē nggē sē nggòn nggòn yə.
 yam(pl) REL he gave me COP big big them
 'The yams which he gave me are big.'

The above examples in (26a and b) show that the change of tone yē to yè in one syllable is connected systematically to the change of tone on the preceding noun head. In two syllable words, the same change is connected systematically to the change of the first syllable as shown in example (27a and b)

above. However, some words do not confirm to this grammatical phenomena as shown in example (26a and b).

3.1.3 Headless Strategy

As defined by (Payne 1997,328), "The headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that 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." Payne further states that, "some languages use headless relative clauses whenever specific reference to head is clear and the relative pronoun specifies as clearly as needed." Similar headless relative clause strategy functions in Mada. Compare the examples of (a) with (b) in (29) and (30) below.

(29a) Mōnē (bān) gya nggē krī sē nywēnywē.

people (REL) dug my yams COP children-your

'The people (who) dug my yams are your children.'

(b) Bān gya nggē krī sē nywēnywē.

REL dug my yams COP children-your

'Those (who) dug my yams are your children.'

(30a) Nē (wān) gya nggō krī lə ngrēn.

person (REL) dug my yams FUT see

'The person (who) dug my yams will see.'

(b) Wān gya nggō krī lə ngrēn.

REL dug my yams FUT see

'Who dug my yams will see.'

In (29a) and (30a), we have head noun phrases while (29b) and (30b) are headless relative clauses which do not affect the general sense and meaning of the clauses.

Like English and other languages, Mada can use headless relative clause when the head noun is non-specific. See the following examples. (Example (31) is taken from Appendix 2)

31. Nēnè la shāmān (wān) lə dan tō kī nēmān yē

somebody NEG present (REL) FUT tell we things some REL

bān sēsè sè nan yo.

those past ASP do NEG

'There is nobody present who can tell us certain things that people were doing in the past.'

- (32) Nənè (wān) gya nggē krī mē lə ngrēn.
 somebody (REL) dug my yams this FUT see
 'whoever dug my yams will see.'

On the other hand, unlike English where sometimes headed or "headless relative clauses are hard to distinguish from complement clauses in form, but are distinct at least at the semantic level" (Payne 1997, 329), there is a distinction between the two both in form and meaning in Mada. Below is an example of a headless relative clause (HRC) and a corresponding complement clause (CC) in Mada.

- (33a) RC. Kì yè Gyànkòn nan là te gu gì.
 thing REL Gyànkòn did CNT make him cry.
 'What Gyànkòn did makes him to cry.'

- (b) CC. De sē anrèn Gyànkòn wān nan kì mē gu là
 COMP COP bec. Gyànkòn REL did things this he CNT
 gì.
 cry
 'That it is because Gyànkòn is the one who did this
 thing that makes him to cry.'

The form and semantic meaning are clearly distinguished. (33a) shows that Gyànkòn's action has made someone to cry. But (33b)

shows that it is not what he did, but for the fact that he is the one who did it that makes someone to cry.

3.1.4 Restricting and non-restricting strategy.

According to (Comrie 1981,138), "one of the distinctions that has attracted considerable attention by linguists is that between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in English." He describes a restrictive relative clause as "that which delimits the potential referents of the noun phrase, specifically the one that is being referred to, using the relativiser 'that.' For non-restrictive relative clause, he says that the English uses, 'who, which, or whose, whom indicated orthographically by commas.'" The following examples are given to show the differences between the restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in English.

(34a) RRC. The man that I saw yesterday left this morning.

(b) NRRC. The man, who had arrived yesterday left this morning.

In trying to observe these same clauses in Mada, I have found out that there are no distinctions between the two. This is probably because Mada uses only one relativiser for human relations and one for non-human relations. See the illustrations in (35a and b) below.

(35a) RRC. Vēlon (wān) nggē ngrēn gu nānrēn doglò mē.
 man (REL) I saw him yesterday got-up today
 'The man (that) I saw yesterday left today.'

(b) NRRC. Vēlon (wān) nyè nānrēn doglò mē.
 man (REL) came yesterday got-up today
 'The man (who) came yesterday left today.'

As already shown in 3.1.1, the same relativiser is used for direct object, indirect object, oblique and the possessor. Therefore, it looks as if Mada makes no distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Both are grammatically and semantically the same in meaning.

3.1.5 Gap and pronoun retention strategies

(Payne 1997, 330) describes gap strategy as "a conspicuous leaving out a position where the NPrel would have been if it were overtly expressed". On the other hand, he describes pronoun retention as "a strategy whereby a pronoun explicitly refers to the grammatical relation of the NPrel by its position, its forms or both, is retained within the relative clause." Pronoun retention in the relative clause is a more common phenomena in Mada than gap strategy. The six examples given, below human head nouns show that it is only in (36a) which is a subject relativised clause that shows a gap

strategy, while (36b-f) which are direct object, indirect object, oblique, and possessive relative clauses show pronoun retention.

(36a) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) là nan Gbarki ndu (∅). (SUB)
 I saw woman (REL) CNT do Gbarki work
 'I saw the woman (who) is working for Gbarki.'

(b) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) Gbarki là nan gu ndu. (DO)
 I saw woman (REL) Gbarki CNT do her work
 'I saw the woman (whom) Gbarki is working for.'

(c) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) Gbarki kan kējī nē gu. (IDO)
 I saw woman (REL) Gbarki gave money gave her
 'I saw the man (whom) Gbarki gave money to.'

(d) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) vēn sòn ɛ gōn gu. (OBL)
 I saw woman (REL) child sit on back her
 'I saw the woman on (whose) back a child sits.'

(e) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) Gbarki sē nggon mwōn gu. (OBL)
 I saw woman (REL) Gbarki COP big pass her
 'I saw the woman (that) Gbarki is bigger than her.'

(f) Nggē ngrɛn mbē (wān) tu gu ru gwa. (POSS)

I saw woman (REL) head her makes snakes

'I saw the woman (whose) hair are gray.'

The examples below show gap and pronoun retention strategies for non-human head nouns relativised. Here too the subject is the only grammatical element that has gap strategy, while direct object, indirect object, oblique and possessive clauses have pronoun retentions.

(37a) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) kan Gbarki tāgyōn (∅). (SUB)

I saw horse (REL) gave Gbarki threw-down

'I saw the horse (that) threw Gbarki down.'

(b) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) Gbarki ngwur yè. (DO)

I saw horse (REL) Gbarki beat it

'I saw the horse (which) Gbarki beat.'

(c) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) Gbarki fa gēga sū yè. (IDO)

I saw horse (REL) Gbarki cut grass put it

'I saw the horse (that) Gbarki cut grass for.'

(d) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) Gbarki ngun sa yē gōn. (OB)

I saw horse (REL) Gbarki climbed sit it back

'I saw the horse on (which) Gbarki climbed.'

(e) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) nyī sē nggòn mwōn yè. (OB)

I saw horse (REL) elephant COP big pass it

'I saw the horse (which) an elephant is bigger than.'

(f) Nggē ngrɛn nyàn (yè) nyər yē sē nggɔn nggɔn. (POSS)

I saw horse (REL) teeth it COP big big

'I saw the horse (whose) teeth are big.'

The above Mada illustrations in both (36) and (37) show that Mada relative clauses predominately use pronoun retention strategy except when the head noun is in the subject position.

All the Mada examples seen so far show that all grammatical elements can be relativised confirm Keenan and Comrie's hypothesis as quoted in (Payne 1997,334), that "no language allows relativisation on subjects and indirect objects but not on direct objects using a single strategy." Also, the above examples in (36a) and (37a) show a gap strategy while (36b-f) & (37b-f) show pronoun retention strategies. The relativisation of all the Mada positions on the hierarchy, have also confirmed their conclusion that in any given language, "if one position on this hierarchy is relativisable, all other positions to the left will also be relativisable though not necessary with the same strategy." Therefore, with both the human and non-human illustrations of gap and pronoun

retention strategies presented above, the Mada relativisation hierarchy falls into the universal diagram given in (Payne 1997, 336) as shown below.

Subject > Dir. Object > Indir. Object > Oblique > Possessor

3.2 Relativisation particle and other particles in Mada.

3.2.1 Relativiser and complementiser

According to (Payne, 337), often the relativiser is the same as a complementiser. Mada is one of the languages that may prove to be different in this case as it has two distinct particles. The following illustrations show the different particles used for relative clauses and for complement clauses.

(38a) RC. Mbē (wān) là fò Gbarki.

woman (REL) CNT looking Gbarki

'The woman (who) is looking for Gbarki.'

(b) CC. Mbē be dan de là fò Gbarki.

woman they said COMP CNT look Gbarki

'The woman they said that is looking for Gbarki.'

(c) RC. Mbē (wān) Gbarki là fò gu.

woman (REL) Gbarki CNT look her

'The woman that Gbarki is looking for.'

(d) CC. Mbē bē dan de Gbarki là fò gu.

woman they said COMP Gbarki CNT look her

'The woman they said that Gbarki is looking for.'

The above four clauses in (38), show that the particle used as relativiser is wān while the one used as a complementiser is de with no resemblance between them. The same is true in the case of other position that can be relativised as well as those that can be complementised in Mada.

3.2.2 Relativiser and focus particle

Focus in Mada is expressed by clefting and a relative particle. In the SVO constituent order, the cleft particle (copula) occurs clause initial, while the relative particle occurs in medial position between the noun phrase and its referential clause. This is in the case of subject, object and instrument contrastive focus. See (39) below.

(39a) Tě nggē ngun nyī bē zū.

father my killed elephant with gun

'My father killed an elephant with a gun.'

(b) Sē tǎ nggē (wān) ngun nyī bē zū.

COP father my (REL) killed elephant with gu

'It is my father (who) killed an elephant with a gun.'

(c) Tǎ nggē bē Gbarki (bān) nglwe nyī.

father my with Gbarki (REL) killed elephants

'It is my father and Gbarki (who) killed elephants.'

(d) Sē tǎ nggē bē Gbarki (bān) nglwe nyī.

COP father my with Gbarki (REL) killed elephants

'It is my father and Gbarki (who) killed elephants.'

Note that the cleft particle used for focus is exactly the same for singular and plural, but the relative particles differ. These differences in relative particles agree with those of the singular and plural relative clause particles earlier illustrated in 3.1.1 This is the same in the case of object and instrument contrast focus. The following clauses in (40a and b) are singular and plural objects while (40c and d) are singular and plural instruments relativised.

(40a) Sē nyī gyèr (yè) tǎ nggē ngun bē zū.

COP elephant(sg one) (REL) father my killed with gun

'It is an elephant (that) my father killed with a gun.'

(b) Sē nyī ywā (yē) tě nggē nglwe bē zū.

COP elephant(pl two (REL) father my killed with gun
'It is elephants (that) my father killed with a gun.'

(c) Sē zū (yè) tě nggē ngun nyī bē yē.

COP gun(sg) (REL) father my killed elephant with it
'It is with a gun (that) my father killed an elephant.'

(d) Sē zu (yē) tě nggē nglwe nyī bē yə.

COP gun(pl) (REL) father my killed elephants with them
'It is with guns (that) my father killed elephants.'

3.2.3 Relativiser and nominalisation particle

Nominalisation is another grammatical process that uses the same relative particle in Mada. The relativiser particle wān is used together with a verb to form an agent nominalisation that refers to a specific type of occupation. The clauses below in (41a and c) are examples of some action clauses (AC) and while (41b and d) show agent nominalisation (AN) strategies.

(41a) Tě nggē là dō. (AC)

father my CNT farm

'My father is farming'

(b) Tě nggē sē wān dō. (AN)

father my COP REL farm

'My father is farmer.'

(c) Gyarne ywe tswē nryān nan. (AC)

Gyarne went place hunt meat

'Gyarne went hunting.'

(d) Gyarne sē wān nryān nan. (AN)

Gyarne COP REL hunt meat

'Gyarne is a hunter'

The other two nominalisation strategies in Mada that use the relative particle are the manner and instrument grammatical elements. Both use the non-human yē as relative particles plus the copula cleft particle to form manner nominalisation (MN) and instrument nominalisation (IN) . See the examples below.

(42a) Sē nan (yè) gu nan nggē ka gu dōn. (MN)

COP MN (REL) he do I left him left

'It is his manner (that) made me leave him.' .

(b) Yèmē sē kī (yè) far pōmpān. (IN)

DEM COP thing (REL) cut tin

'This is a tin cutter.'

This nominalisation process distinguishes the function of a word as a noun rather than a verb. Below are more examples on nominalisation to explain the function of the relativiser in the clauses.

(43a) Tě nggē ywe tswē nryān nan. (action)

father my went place hunt meat

'My father went hunting.'

(b) Tě nggē sē wān nryān nan. (agent nom.)

father my be REL hunt meat

'My father is a hunter.'

(44) Nggē far mgbenrīn bē kī (yè) far pōmpān.

I cut rope with thing (REL) cut tin

'I cut a rope with tin cutter.'

The examples given in (43) and (44) show that the relative particles have affected the action words so that they do not longer function as verbs, but instead function as noun forms. The examples in (43) can be described as; REL + verb + object

= noun (hunter). Similarly, example (44) gives us a clearer understanding of how the same word far behaves as a verb as well as a noun in the same clause. This can be described as REL + verb + Object = noun (tin cutter). In this example, we see far 'cut' used as a verb, but the second meaning expresses it is a noun class. A tin cutter being a foreign word in Mada, a descriptive phrase is used which must involve a verb and a relative pronoun to give a noun function to communicate the message intended.

3.2.4 Relativiser and demonstrative pronouns

Taking a close observation at the demonstrative pronouns for declarative and interrogative words in 2.2.6, it is noted that there is a partial resemblance between the relativiser and demonstrative pronouns in Mada. The demonstrative pronouns used for humans resemble the relativiser used for human head nouns in form. The same is true of demonstrative pronouns and relative particles for non-human. Some examples are given below.

(45a) Wānmē sē gu (wān) gya nggē krī.

DEM(sg) COP he (REL) dug my yams

'This is he (who) dug my yams.'

(b) Bānmē sē bə (bān) gya nggē krī.

DEM(pl) COP they (REL) dug my yams

'They are the one (who) dug my yams'

(c) Yēmē sē krì (yè) gu gya.

DEM(sg) COP yam (REL) he dug

'This is the yam (that) he dug.'

(d) Yēmē sē krī (yē) gu gya.

DEM(pl) COP yams (REL) he dug

'These are the yams (that) he dug.'

It is clearly seen that, the demonstrative pronoun wānmē used for a singular human entity resembles the relativiser wān that is also used for human head noun singular object or subject. Bānmē, a demonstrative pronoun used for human plural also resembles the relative particle bān used for plural entities in a relative clause. The same is true of the non-human demonstrative pronoun. Yēmē used for singular with its correspondent relative clause particle yè and yēmē used for plural with its correspondent relative clause particle yē. So mē seems to be a suffix added to a relative particle to form a demonstrative pronoun.

3.2.5 Relativiser and interrogative pronouns

Like English and other languages, Mada also has certain interrogative pronouns which partially resemble relative clause particles in forms such as those shown in 2.2.7. The following examples illustrate such resemblance.

(46a) Wāntan ɛnywī mēnē mē (wān) ngwur wè?

INT(sg) inside people these (REL) beat you(sg)?

'Which one of these people beat you?'

(b) Bāntan ɛnywī mēnē mē (bān) gya gyē kri?

INT(pl) inside people these (REL) dug you(pl) yams?

'Which among these people dug your yams?'

(c) Yètan ɛnywī gūgu mē (yè) sē mèwē?

INT(sg) inside goats these (REL)(sg) COP yours(sg)

'Which of these goats is yours?'

(d) Yētan ɛnywī gūgu mē (yē) sē mēgyè?

INT(pl) inside goats these (REL)(pl) COP yours(pl)?

'Which of these goats are yours?'

The resemblance between the interrogative pronouns and relative clause particles are seen both in the singular and plural forms. It is also interesting to note that human and non-human interrogative pronouns and relative clause resemble

each other. tan seems to be another Mada morpheme added to a relative particle giving an interrogative pronoun resembling the relativiser in the clause.

From the different descriptions given in this chapter, it is clear that Mada uses four different strategies in its relativisation process which are headed, headless, gap and pronoun retention strategies. Like English and other languages, Mada relativisation particles are used to mark focus and, a nominalisation process and are phonologically similar to demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. However, knowing how relativisation is done, is not enough if we do not know why such a grammatical feature exists in the language. The next section pays attention to its function(s) in the discourse analysis.

3.3 Discourse function of relativisation in Mada.

3.3.1 Identification of an entity

Since there is no difference between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in Mada as earlier shown in 3.1.3, the relative clause modifies the head which it identifies and so serves to identify an entity. Consider examples (47a and 47b) below.

(47a) Vēlon nyə mē mbrècē.

man came this morning

'The man came this morning.'

(b) Vēlon (wān) gya nggē krī nyə mē mbrècē.

man (REL) dug my yams came this morning

'The man (who) dug my yams came this morning.'

To a Mada hearer of the utterances in (47a) the meaning communicated is ambiguous as no entity is identified but the presence of the relative clause in utterances (47b) makes it clear by being specific. This later clause serves to delimit the potential referents of the man who left this morning. The relative clauses are essential here because the speaker assumes that the sentence in (47a) does not provide the hearer with sufficient information to identify the entity in question, so leaving the hearer to ask the question of which man being talked about. Therefore, the relative clauses, wān gya nggē krī 'who dug my yams' in (47b) is an added information that gives the hearer identification of the entity.

3.3.2 Noun phrase function

"The headless relative clauses refer to the noun phrase that they modify which are not identified." (Payne 1997, 326).

Therefore, the headless relative clauses serve as the subject referring in the clauses. Mada also uses headless relative clauses whenever the specific references to the heads are clear to the hearer at a given context. This is to say that the speaker can use the headless relative clause if the head noun is already known to his hearer and so avoids repetition. See the illustrations in (48) below.

(48a) Mēnē (bān) gya nggē krī mē sē nywenywē.
 people (REL) dug my yams this COP children-his
 'The people (who) dug my yams are his children.'

(b) Bān gya nggē krī sē nywenywē.
 REL dug my yams ASP children-his
 'Those who dug my yams are his children.'

For the speaker to use sentence (b) it is assumed that the hearer knows the context available in sentence (a), in which the speaker does not need to make further reference to the noun head in order to be clear. Since the speaker's intention for making utterance in (b) is to increase the knowledge of the addressee in this context, he does not need to say things the addressee knows already, but communicates things which lead to the right interpretation in respect to the principle of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995,184). Similarly, the

headless relative clauses in Mada serve as the subject to non-specific head nouns. Consider the illustrations below.

(49a) Wān gya nggē krī mē lə ngrēn.

REL dug my yams this FUT see

'The one who dug my yams will see.'

(b) Nkinē (yè) nan gu mē, tē lə tsə yè.

anything (REL) do him this, we FUT know it

'Whatever has happened to him, we shall know it.'

In both (a) and (b) above, it is shown that the subject and object of the clauses are not known to the speaker and so nobody can hold him responsible for an accusation of theft in the case of (a) or for harming somebody in the case of (b) because he is not directing his utterance to any specific person in question. Therefore, such utterances are ambiguous and unidentifiable.

3.3.3 Topic focus

Crystal (1992,156) describes topic as "a given information that is already supplied by the previous linguistic context in contrast with new information, which has not previously supplied, which is also called comment." In the same book, (139), Crystal describes focus as, "An element in a sentence

which the speaker wishes to draw special attention to."

English uses capital letters on a word to show focus in a clause. Sometime it uses a relativiser to show that difference.

As earlier shown in 3.2.2, Mada uses relative particles and cleft or copula in topic focus but not capital letters. The utterances in (50) & (51) below give us answers to the questions of who did what and what was done.

(50a) A. Sē nggwǒn (wān) ngun nyī?

COP who (REL) kill elephant?

'Who killed an elephant?'

(b) B: Sē Kyune (wān) ngun nyī nānrēn.

COP Kyun (REL) killed elephant yesterday

'It is Kyune (who) killed an elephant yesterday.'

(51a) A: Sē nōnggyě (yè) Kyūnē ngun?

COP what (REL) Kyūnē kill?

'What did Kyūnē kill?'

(b) B: Sē nyī (yè) Kyune ngun nānrēn.

COP elephant (REL) Kyune killed yesterday

'It is an elephant that Kyune killed yesterday.'

In (51b), the speaker's focus is on the subject. This can be regarded as front shifted, to occur immediately after the cleft particle and preceding the relative particle. But in answering the question of what was killed, the position of the object is front shifted, occurring after cleft particle, and also preceded by a relative particle.

3.3.4 Contractive focus

(Payne 1997, 268) says that contrastive focus asserts; "a) the correct identity of the entity involved, according to the perception of the speaker and b) the proposition of the entity that the addressee thought had the role, in fact did not."

Like topic focus, contrastive focus in Mada is also done through the functions of the cleft sē 'be verb' and wān 'who' used for both subject and object for human relative clauses and yè 'which/that' for non-human, but with a contrastive particle kya 'instead' which is not used by topic focus. In both (52) and (53) below, we have a conversation between speakers (A) and (B) where (B) wants to correct the wrong impressions held by (A). In (52), the contrastive focus is on the subject while (53) is on the object.

(52a) A: Gbarki là gèr Mbēgyār.

Gbarki CNT engage Mbēgyār

'Gbarki is engaging Mbēgyār.'

(b) B: Sē Baro kya (wān) là gèr Mbēgyār.'

COP Baro CF (REL) CNT engaging Mbēgyār

'It is Baro instead (who) is engaging Mbēgyār.'

(53a) A: Mbēren sē mbē (wān) Gbarki là gèr.

Mbēren be woman (REL) Gbarki CNT engage

'Mbēren is woman (who) Gbarki is engaging.'

(b) B: Sē Mbēgyār kya (wān) Gbarki là gèr.

COP Mbēgyār CONT (REL) Gbarki CNT engage

It is Mbēgyār instead (who) Gbarki is engaging.

As in topic focus where the speaker's focus is on the subject or object, the entity has a front shift and precedes by a cleft particle and a relative particle, this is true of the contrastive focus, but then the contrastive focus is preceded by a particle kya 'instead' which is then preceded by a relative particle. The absence of kya can make the utterance ambiguous, either to be interpreted as a topic or contrastive focus.

It is possible that relative clause in a Mada may have more functions than what has been discovered so far. But based on the observation of the two narrative texts that serve as the primary data used for this write-up, and from my personal knowledge as a native speaker of the dialect of the language described, the above functions are what have so far manifested. A larger corpus in this language may reveal more grammatical functions of the relative clauses than this.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Summary and conclusion

4.1.1 Summary

The bulk of this research lies in chapter two and three. Chapter two gives an overview of some grammatical structures in Mada in the area of syntax. This provides the readers a useful background for understanding relative clauses in relationship to other grammatical relations in the language. Chapter three is the main concern of the work. It describes various grammatical elements that can be relativised, the different strategies used and some comments on the discourse functions of relative clauses in Mada.

As mentioned earlier in 1.2.1, this grammatical feature has not been described in Mada and so what this paper contains is an attempt to look into the subject. Therefore, the conclusions made so far are tentative and subject to correction. However, it is evident that relative clause is one of the common grammatical features in spoken Mada. It has also been observed that Mada forms relative clauses on different grammatical elements. Based on this observation, the following conclusions are made.

4.1.2 Conclusions

1. Mada being predominantly an SVO language, its relative clauses are postnominal, i.e. the relative clause modifiers occur after the head noun of the clause in the case of headed relative clause.

2. The occurrence of relative particles in Mada as shown in the two appendices seems to be prominent in the spoken communication. The examples given in this paper have shown that it is only in few grammatical elements such as in associative, benefactor, and the headless strategy that the relative particles are obligatory and the rest are optional, but would not affect the meaning intended if they were to be omitted. However, the two texts given by two different people have shown that the particles are very much being used in oral communication.

3. As far as the data available for this work is concerned, Mada does not make a distinction between a restricting and a non-restricting relative clauses, both having the same form and meaning.

4. The examples given have also shown that Mada uses four strategies in relativisation namely; headed, headless, pronoun retention, and gap strategy.

5. Concerning headless relative clause, the head is deleted and replaced by a relative particle and a generic particle is used when the head noun is not specific. See the examples in (3.1.2).

6. Unlike other languages, e.g., English where sometimes headed or headless relativisers are hard to distinguish from complement particles but can only be distinguished at semantic level, Mada has distinction between them both in form and grammatical meaning.

7. The human and non-human examples given, gap and pronoun retention strategies of relativisation have shown that pronoun retention is a more common phenomenon than the gap strategy. All the grammatical position, except the subject, show pronoun retention. This may be due to the fact that Mada pronouns sometimes function as definite articles.

8. For discourse functions, the relative clauses serve for the following:

(a) They convey background information in order to access new information communicated.

(b) The cleft and relative particles are used to bring emphasis on the topic for which more information can be inferred from ambiguous clauses.

(c) The morphological change of tone on the relativiser both in singular and plural forms is predominately determined by the tone on the head noun they refer to.

(d) Similar resemblance is shown between relative particles and demonstrative words of far and near distances. The same is true of some interrogative pronouns.

(e) Relative particles and other discourse particles together play an important role in topic and contrastive focus in the meaning that they communicate to the hearer.

(f) The relative particles are also used in a nominalisation process and are phonologically similar to demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

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Appendix 1

Sər Mbē Bē Gèr Mbē Yè Sèsè

'Exchange and paying of dowry for wife in the past'

- (1) Sèsè bān Mada sə sē bē nkōn ywā yē bə sə
Past those Mada ASP be with way two REL they ASP
zwē mān dè sə kpān ngē.
follow there CONJ ASP tie married

' In the past, Mada had two ways of getting married.'

- (2) Nkōn ywā yēmē sə sē sər mbē bē gèr mbē.
Way two them-this ASP be exchange wife with pay woman
'The two ways were by exchange of women and paying of dowry.'

- (3) Sər mbē sē nkōn yē nē là ban zāngyēywē
Exchange woman be way REL person CNT take sister-his
vēnggē lwe kē nē nē nēmān dè kpē zāngyěr
girl carry to give person some CONJ receive sister
nē gu mūn te mbēywē.
person him that make woman-his

'Marriage by exchange was a way in which a person gives his
sister to another man and takes that person's sister to be his
wife.'

(4) M̀̀gba s̀̀e d̀̀e r̀̀ v̀̀ngg̀̀e ẁ̀n b̀̀e l̀̀a b̀̀an s̀̀er

Whether be heart girl REL they CNT take exchange

kp̀̀enỳ̀n k̀̀e ỳ̀e la kp̀̀enỳ̀n b̀̀e l̀̀el̀̀on ǹ̀e ẁ̀n b̀̀e l̀̀a

agrees or it NEG agrees with man person REL they CNT

lwe gu k̀̀e ǹ̀e gu yo, ỳ̀e s̀̀e gu kp̀̀aki ǹ̀e gu kp̀̀an

carry her to give him NEG, it be her must let her tie

ng̀̀e b̀̀e ǹ̀e gu.

marriage with person him

'Whether the girl who is given in an exchange for marriage loves the person to whom she is going to be married or not, it is compulsory for her to marry him.'

(5) V̀̀ngg̀̀ gu m̀̀e la s̀̀e b̀̀e nỳ̀u ỳ̀e gu l̀̀e k̀̀a

Girl she this NEG COP with mouth REL she FUT refuse

k̀̀i ỳ̀e t̀̀eỳ̀ẁ̀e d̀̀e dan et̀̀u gu yo.

thing REL father COND say about her NEG

'The girl has no right to refuse what the father has decided about her.'

(6) M̀̀ǹ̀e b̀̀em̀̀e, l̀̀e la ywan nkiǹ̀e ǹ̀em̀̀an ỳ̀e t̀̀u

People them_this FUT NEG pay anything some REL head

mb̀̀emb̀̀e b̀̀e nz̀̀o yo.

women them again NEG

'These people will not pay any dowry again.'

(7) Mkpān nēmān vēnggē wān bē là ban kē sēr lē la
 Time some girl REL they CNT take to exchange FUT NEG
 tse nē wān gu là ywē kē kpān ngē bē gu yo.
 know person REL she CNT go to tie marriage with him NEG
 'Sometimes the girl to be exchanged in marriage would not know
 the person whom she is going to marry.'

(8) Nē .wān dègba tè zangyě vēnggē yo, krěywē dè sē
 person REL COND make sister girl NEG, uncle COND COP
 bē mēnggē nēmān gu là kan gyēr nē vēn zāngyèywē
 with girls some he CNT turn one give child brother-his
wān gu lē kpē sēr mbē zwè nkəywē.
 REL he FUT receive Exchange woman put himself
 'A person who does not have a sister, if his uncle has some
 daughters, he can give one of them to him to exchange for a
 wife.'

(9) Ө tswē nēmān, mēnē sē nan ndu yē gèr mbē mwōn
 In place some, people ASP do work REL pay woman pass
 sēr mbē.
 exchange woman
 'In some places, exchange in marriage was more rampant than
 paying dowry.'

- (10) Gèr mbē nènàn sē sē kēde sēr mbē anrèn yē
 Paying woman also ASP be like exchange woman because it
 la sē sē nē wān dǎr nē dè kpenyèn bē
 NEG ASP COP person REL heart person COND agrees with
 gu anrīn gu sē kpān ngē bē gu yo.
 him before she ASP tie marriage with him NEG
 'Paying of dowry was similar to exchange in marriage because it
 was not only the person loved that he could be married to.'

- (11) Kēnēmān, mkpān mbē nē dè kāsē sē lwe nēn
 Sometimes, time woman person COND still be carry belly
 mēnrīn nē nēmān sē vūn kī yè sē nēn zwè
 before person some be catch thing REL be belly put
 nywen bē mâ mkpān mbē gu mē lē nyē ngrin.
 children them till time woman she this FUT come born
 'Sometimes, when a woman is seen with a pregnancy, before she
 gives birth, some people used to propose an unborn child as a
 wife from the family.'

- (12) Dè sē vēn vēnggē wān mbē gu mē nyē ngrìn, gu
 COND COP child girl REL woman she this come born, she
 lē nyē sē mbē vēn wān tēywē vūn zwè gu.
 FUT come COP woman child REL father-his catch put him
 'If this woman gives birth to a girl she becomes a wife to the
 child whose father had first proposed her.'

(13) Vɛn dè cɛ mvē, tete gu là dan gu de
 Child COND grow already fathers him CNT tell him that
 wānmē sē lanywē kē sē mbēywē.

this COP her-husband or be woman-his

'Once the child is grown up, the parents would just show him
 his wife or her husband.'

(14) Nē dè ngrɛn kē nē bān là nan ndu nggān

Person COND see house person REL CNT do work great

kē te kī nggān, gu lə fò gu lə gbō mbē e

or make thing great, he FUT look he FUT take woman in

kè yemē

house it-this

'Whenever someone sees a family that works very hard or are
 rich, he would like to marry from it.'

(15) Gèr mbē yè sèsè la sè sē bē kājī yo.

Paying woman REL past NEG ASP COP with money NEG

'Paying dowry for a wife in those days was not with money.'

(16) Sē gūgu kyame yē bē sē gēr mbē bē yē.

COP goats only REL they ASP paying woman with them

'It was only goats that were used for payment of dowry.'

(17) Nē wān dè là gèr mbē, gu là lwe gūgu
 person REL COND CNT paying woman, he CNT carry goats
 tso kē nē tete vēnngē gu.
 twelve to give fahters gilr she
 'The person proposing a wife pays twelve goats to her parents.'

(18) Nē wān dè te vēn vēlon nènàn, gu là kpē gūgu
 Person REL COND make child male also, he CNT receives
 yē bē dē lwe nyē yē tù vēnggē gu, gu là
 REL they COND carry come REL head girl his, he CNT
 lwe yē ywē kē gèr mbē zwè zēywē nènàn.
 carry them go to pay woman put child-his also
 'Whenever a person with a male child collects dowry that was
 paid for his daughter, he uses it to pay for wife for his son.'

(19) Ө tswē nēmān, yē la sē sē gūgu kyame yē bē sē
 In place some, it NEG ASP COP goats only REL they ASP
 ywan yē tù vēnggē yo.
 pay REL head girl NEG
 'In some places, it was not only goats that were used to pay
 for dowry.'

(20) Nē dè ywan gūgu krè nze, gu là sùr bekyèn
 Person COND pay goats finished - he CNT boils beans
 dè sùr nan sū mǎn nggān nènàn dè lwè kē nē
 CONJ boils meat put there great also CONJ carry to give
 bān kè bē vēnggē.

those house they girl

'After paying the goats, the person cooks beans and a lots
 of meat and takes it to the parents of his proposed wife.'

(21) Bān nēmān sē san begbī nènàn nē bē yē tū mbē.

Those some ASP mix termite also give them REL head woman

'There are those that used to prepare termites also as part of
 payment for wife.'

(22) Ө tswē nēmān, bē là nε gèntē nènàn anrīn bē

In place some they CNT dance harp also before they

sē gbō vēnggē nē bān gēr gu.

ASP take girl give REL propose her

'In some places, the people proposing a wife used to perform
 traditional dance using harps before the wife was given to
 them.'

(23) Ǿ tswē nēmān, yə sē kpaki nənè wān dè gər

In place some, it COP must someone REL COND proposing

mbē là nan kī yēmē kūkwār anrīn bē là kan

woman CNT do things it-these all before they CNT turn

mbē nə gu.

woman give them

'In some places, it was compulsory for the person proposing

a wife to do all these things before she is given to him.'

(24) Bān Mada nēmān la sē nan kī yēmē kūkwār

Those Mada some NEG ASP do things it-this all

anrīn bē sē kpē mbē bē yo.

before they ASP receive woman them NEG

'Some of Mada people were not doing all these before their

wives was given to them.'

(Story told by Ta'aziya Monren)

Exchange and payment of dowry in Mada

(1) In the past, Mada had two ways of getting married. (2) The two ways were by exchange of women and paying of dowry. (3) Marriage by exchange was a way in which a person gives his sister to another man and takes that person's sister to be his wife. (4) Whether the girl who is given in an exchange for marriage loves the person to whom she is going to married or not, it is compulsory for her to marry him. (5) The girl has no right to refuse what the father has decided about her. (6) These people will not pay any dowry again. (7) Sometimes the girl to be exchanged in marriage would not know the person whom she is going marry. (8) A person who does not have a sister, if his uncle has some daughters, he can give one of them to him to exchange for a wife. (9) In some places, exchange in marriage was more rampant than paying dowry. (10) Paying of dowry was similar to exchange in marriage because it was not only the person loved that he could be married to. (11) Sometimes, when a woman is seen with a pregnancy, before she gives birth, some people used to propose an unborn child as a wife from the family. (12) If this woman gives birth to a girl she becomes a wife to the child whose father had first proposed her. (13) Once the child is grown up, the parents would just show him his wife her or her husband. (14) Whenever someone sees a family that works very hard or are

rich, he would like to marry from it. (15) Paying dowry for a wife in those days was not with money. (16) It was only goats that were used for payment of dowry. (17) The person proposing a wife pays twelve goats to her parents. (18) Whenever a person with a male child collects dowry that was paid for his daughter, he uses it to pay for wife for his son. (19) In some places, it was not only goats that were used to pay for dowry. (20) After paying the goats, the person cooks beans and a lots of meat and takes it to the parents of his proposed wife. (21) There are those that used to prepare termites also as part of payment for wife. (22) In some places, the people proposing a wife used to perform traditional dance using harps before the wife was given to them. (23) In some places, it was compulsory for the person proposing a wife to do all these things before she is given to him. (24) Some of Mada people were not doing all these before their wives was given to them.

Appendix 2

Mōnē Bān Sē Nci Bān Mgbènjyε

'People who are friends of the Gwanje people.'

- (1) Mōnē bān Mgbènjyε sē nci gyēr bē bē sē
People those Mgbenjyε COP friends one with them COP
bān Rēnzē bē bān Kpēndār bē bān Njìdā bē
those Rēnzē CONJ those Kpēndār CONJ those Njìdā CONJ
bān Ncò bē bān Njungbān.
those Acho CONJ those Anjagwa

'The people that were friends to Gwanje people are Ancho,
Renzε, Kwandar, Anjida and Anjagwan.'

- (2) Nkōn yē bān Mada sē nan dè sē sē nci gyēr sē
way REL those Mada be do CONJ ASP COP friend one be
bān dē ngun cē, bē là fēr nan ye nē
those COND kill leopard, they CNT fetch meat it give
nkpeywè.
each other

'The way Mada make friendship with one another is by sharing a
leopard's meat.'

(3) Mkpān yē mēnē dē kan nkpeywè te nci gyēr
 time REL people COND gave themsselvse make friends one
 gbān nēmān dē ngun cē, bē là gyo nkyen mēnē
 group any COND kill leopard they CNT call rest people
bān bē sē nci gyēr dè là ngwur yē gìgyèr dè
 those they be friends one CONJ CNT skin it together CONJ
 kan nan yē gē nkpeywè.

give meat it share themselves.

'Once people have become friends, any of the families that kills
 a leopard, calls all who have become their friends ana together
 they skin it and share the meat.'

(4) Mkpān yē bē dè là ngwur cē yē, gbān bān
 Time REL they when CNT skin leopard it family REL
 dē te ntàn cē yēmē bē, yē là sē bē kpaki
 COND make skin leopard it-this hole it CNT COP them must
 nē bē ywan gūgu.

let them pay goat

'Whenever they are skinning the leopard, if any of the families
 makes a hole on its skin it (that family) must pay a gaot.'

(5) Mkpān yē gbān bān ngun cē yēmē le tò, ntàn
 Time REL family REL kill leopard it-this FUT pour skin
 yē, bē là nan mè dè gyo nkyen gbēgbu kūkwār
 it they CNT make wine CONJ call rest families all

yè sē nci gyēr nyē gān yēmē.

REL COP friends one come feast it-this

'The time that family who has killed the leopard would pour libation on its skin, they would make wine and call all their friends to the feast.'

(6) Mkpān yē gbān nē nēmān dē nyē, bē là nyē

Time REL family people any COND come they CNT come

te mē jun nē gu wān ngun cē yē dè cwon

fetch wine put person he REL kill leopard it CONJ praise

gu sōn.

him name

'The time that any these family friend would come, it would fetch wine and put into the mouth of the person who ha killed the leopard and praise him.'

(7) Yē sē ənēmē yē nkycn mēnē bān sē nci bē kūkkwār

It COP so REL rest people REL COP freinds them all

lē nyē nan bē nē gumē.

FUT come do with person him-this

'It is like this that the rest of people all who are their friends would come and do to this person.'

(8) Sē ə mkpān yēmē yē be là ywar nē wān ngun
 COP in time it-this REL they CNT crown person REL kill
 cē yə nggù.

leopard it feather

'It is at this time that they crown the man who has killed the
 leopard.'

(9) Mōnē zwē gbègbàn bān sē nci bān ngun cē yə
 People follow family REL be friend REL kill leopard it
 là lwe nggù zwē tutu dè nyə ywar nē gumē.
 CNT carry feather follow head CONJ come crown person him-
 this

'Each people according their families who are friends to the
 family that has killed the leopard would bring a feather and
 crown the person who has killed it.'

(10) Bānmē lə lwe mēbē nyə, dè bānmūn lwe mēbē nyə
 These FUT carry their come CONJ those carry their come
 dè wānmē kàn mēgu ywar gu dè wānmūn kàn mēgu
 CONJ this give his crown him CONJ that give his
 ywar gu nènàn
 crown him also.

'These family will come with their own feather and those family
 will come with their own this person will crown him with his
 and the other will crown him with his.'

(11) Mkpān yē bē dē ywar nē gumē nggù yə
 Time REL they COND crown person him-this feather it
 krɛ, dè mēnē bān sē nci gyēr mē là kyun
 finish, CONJ people REL be friends one this CNT gather
 dè bwar rɔ man gbù yè bē là nan gān yə
 CONJ jubilet dance there town REL they CNT do feast it
 mān.

there

'Once they have finished crowning the person, all the people who
 have become friends will jubilate and dance in the village
 where they have the feast.'

(12) Mkpān yē mēnē là te rɛn yē bē lə bwar,
 Time REL people CNT make talk REL they FUT jubilet
 gbègbàn mēnē bān lwe nggù nyə mē, lə kan
 families people REL carry feather come this FUT give
 nggù gyèr son ə ndèvān kè nē wān ngun
 feather one put on roof house person REL killed
 cē yə.

leopard it

'At the time that the people are preparing to jubilate, each
 group of the people will fix a feather on the roof of the house
 of the person who has killed the leopard.'

(13) Mènē . bēmē lə bàn mkpān dè rō dè sē kan
 People them-this FUT take time CONJ dance CONJ be then
 zān ywe gbūgbu bē dè yə lə sē krê gān yə
 scattered go towns they CONJ it FUT be end feast it
 'These people will take time dance and then leave for their
 villages and that will be the end of the feast.'

People who are friends of Gwanje people

(1) The people that were friends to Gwanje people are Ancho, Renze, Kwandar, Anjida and Anjagwan. (2) The way Mada make friendship with one another is by sharing a leopard's meat. (3) Once people have become friends, any of the families that kills a leopard, calls all who have become their friends and together they skin it and share the meat. (4) Whenever they are skinning the leopard, if any of the families makes a hole on its skin it must pay a goat. (5) The time that family who has killed the leopard would pour libation on its skin, they would make wine and call all their friends to the feast. (6) The time that any family would come, it would fetch wine and put into the mouth of the person who has killed the leopard. (7) It is like this that the rest of people all who are their friends would come and do to this person. (8) It is at this time that they crown the man who has killed the leopard. (9) Each people according their families who are friends to the family that has killed the leopard would bring a feather and crown the person who has killed it. (10) These families will come with their own feather and those family will come with their own this person will crown him with his and the other will crown him with his. (11) Once they have finished crowning the person, all the people who have become friends will jubilate and dance in the village where they have the feast.

(12) At the time that the people are preparing to jubilate, each group of the people will fix a feather on the roof of the house of the person who has killed the leopard. 13. These people will take time dance and then leave for their villages and that will be the end of the feast. (14) There is nobody present who can tell us other things that people in the past were doing.

Rhila Ezekiel Ahmadu

Background

Marital Status: Married

Birth: 1959

No. of Children: 5

Education

1982-1985 Theological College of Northern Nigeria, Bukuru-Jos
Diploma in Theology.

1988-1991 University Jos, Jos, Nigeria
B. A. Religious Studies
Thesis: The Growth of Evangelical Church of Christ
in Nigeria: A Case Studies of Mada Regional
Church Council.

2000-2002 Evangelical Graduate School of Theology
Master of Arts in Translation Studies (Candidate)
Project: Relative Clause in Mada.

Experiences

1985-1988 Teaching: Ayu Pastor College, Nigeria.

1991-1992 Pastoring, Church Local Overseer.

1991-2000 Bible Translation.

Interests

Gardening, reading, counseling, volleyball, and joking