

Relative Clause Formation in the African Context: The Case of Swahili

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I Introduction

Relative clauses are a well-known device in the world's languages. Their major task is to modify a certain constituent of the main clause on which the relative clause is dependent. Kuteva & Comrie (2005) postulate four major types of relative clause formation which can be found cross-linguistically:

- **relative pronoun strategy** => case marked relative pronoun that indicates both the syntactic and semantic role of the head noun within the relative clause; an element or pronoun which simply indicates that a clause is a relative clause is not sufficient to postulate that a language is applying this strategy
- **non-reduction** => a) correlatives / b) head-internal / c) paratactic
 - a) full NP within the relative clause + (at least one) pronominal form in the matrix clause
 - b) full NP within the relative clause, no representation thereof in the matrix clause
 - c) the 'relative clause' does not differ from an ordinary declarative clause; it is loosely connected to a 'main clause'
- **pronoun retention** = > resumptive pronoun within the relative clause, whereas the term 'resumptive pronoun' applies only if this pronoun were ungrammatical or optional in an independent clause
- **gap** => no overt reference to the case of the head noun
(Problem: what if a language does not have 'case' as we understand this concept, e.g. African class languages?)

In languages such as English and German relative clauses are usually introduced by a relative pronoun that is related to its antecedent by agreement. As this agreement includes case, both languages can be counted among those using the relative pronoun strategy. See the following examples from English:

(1) a. The new [**doctor**]_{NOM.SG,} _____ comes from Denmark.
who_{NOM.SG} starts to work here tomorrow,

(2) a. I just met [**the doctor**]_{ACC.SG} _____
whom_{ACC.SG} the committee introduced yesterday.

b. I just met [**the doctors**]_{ACC.PL} _____
whom_{ACC.PL} the committee introduced yesterday.

In example (1) the relativized NP *doctor* is the subject of the matrix clause. Therefore, the case of the corresponding relative pronoun is nominative. The relativized NP *the doctor/s* in the examples under (2) is the object of the matrix clause, and thus, the relative pronoun is case-marked for accusative. The second agreement relation in English regards number (although this is not clearly visible from the relative pronouns). Let us now turn to the corresponding examples from German.

(3) a. Der neue [**Arzt**]_{NOM.SG.M,} _____ kommt aus Dänemark.
der_{NOM.SG.M} morgen hier zu arbeiten anfängt,

- b. Die neue [Ärztin]_{NOM.SG.F}, _____ kommt aus Dänemark.
die_{NOM.SG.F} morgen hier zu arbeiten anfängt,
- c. Die neuen [Ärzte]_{NOM.PL.M}, _____ kommen aus Dänemark.
die_{NOM.PL.M} morgen hier zu arbeiten anfangen,
- d. Die neuen [Ärztinnen]_{NOM.PL.F}, _____ kommen aus Dänemark.
die_{NOM.PL..} morgen hier zu arbeiten anfangen,
- (4) a. Gerade habe ich [den Arzt]_{ACC.SG.M} getroffen,
den_{ACC.SG.M} der Verwaltungsrat gestern vorgestellt hat.
- b. Gerade habe ich [die Ärztin]_{ACC.SG.F} getroffen,
die_{ACC.SG.F} der Verwaltungsrat gestern vorgestellt hat.
- c. Gerade habe ich [die Ärzte]_{ACC.PL.M} getroffen,
die_{ACC.PL.M} der Verwaltungsrat gestern vorgestellt hat.
- d. Gerade habe ich [die Ärztinnen]_{ACC.PL.F} getroffen,
die_{ACC.PL.F} der Verwaltungsrat gestern vorgestellt hat.

In addition to case and number agreement in German relative constructions includes gender.

In this talk, however, I will focus on relative clause formation in a non-European context. After a brief introduction about types of relative clauses in African languages in general I will discuss relative clause formation in Swahili, a highly important East African Bantu language spoken in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and beyond.

II Relative clause formation in African languages

According to Kuteva & Comrie (2005) only three of the above presented strategies can be found in African languages. These are correlative (subtype of the non-reduction strategy), pronoun-retention and, overall and most interestingly for this talk, gap. There is also at least one language known which makes use of the paratactic strategy: Koyaga, a language of the Manding-cluster. But this seems to be a remnant, as Bambara, a closely related Mande-language, uses a similar relative marker and has already undergone a grammaticalization process towards the correlative strategy.

Other aspects of relativization strategies observable in the African context involve nominalization of verbs, as, for example, in \$Ani (RV, pc): Dog being the beaten one (example!), the use of relative tense, which also occurs in questions and focus-constructions (e.g. in Hausa), as well as the use of optional particles marking the beginning and the end of a relative clause and thus "support" a strategy which basically involves a tonal changes of the NP preceding the relative unit (Ngas). As Swahili – according to Kuteva & Comrie (2005) – is among the languages using the **gap**-strategy, I will briefly come back to the central features of this type of relative clause formation.

- **gap-strategy:** => no overt reference to the case of the head noun

But by which means is a clause identified as a relative clause?

Three subtypes of the gap-strategy have been identified:

Covert (gap with zero relativization marker)

(e.g. Koyra, which uses a specific subordinate clause construction with a verbal suffix)

Chart I (compiled from Heine & Möhlig 1999 and Höftmann & Herms 1999[2005])

The concord system in Swahili											
cl	noun	adj.	poss.	other	Verbs						
					subj conc.		obj.conc.		rel.conc.		
					_C	_V	_C	_V	subj.	obj.	
1	m- mw-(a)	m- mw-(e)	w-	yu-	ni- u- a-	n- w- a-	-ni- -ku- -m-	-ni- -ku- -mw-	-ye-	-ye.m(w)-	
2	wa-	wa- w-(e)	w-	wa-	tu- m- wa-	tw- m- wa-	-tu- -wa- -wa-	-tw- -wa- -wa-	-o-	-o.w(a)-	
3	m- mw-(a)	m- mw-(e)	w-	u-	u-	w-	-u-	-u-	-o-	-o.u-	
4	mi-	mi- m-(i) my-(e)	y-	i-	i-	y-	-i-	-i-	-yo-	-yo.i-	
5	ji- j-(i) ∅	ji- j-(e)-	l-	li-	li-	l-	-li-	-li-	-lo-	-lo.li-	
6	ma- me-	ma- m-(e)	y-	ya-	ya-	y-	-ya-	-ya-	-yo-	-yo.ya-	
7	ki- ch-(u)	ki- ch-(e)	ch-	ki-	ki-	ch-	-ki-	-ki-	-cho-	-cho.ki-	
8	vi- vy-(u)	vi- vy-(u)	vy-	vi-	vi-	vy-	-vi-	-vi-	-vyo-	-vyo.vi-	
9	n- ∅ ny- ng' (cl1)	n- ∅ ∅ m-	y- w-	i- wa-	i- wa-	i- w-	-i- -m-	-i- -mw-	-yo- -ye-	-yo.i- -ye.m(w)-	
10	n- ∅ ∅ ng' (cl2)	n- wa-	z- w-	zi- wa-	zi- wa-	z- w-	-zi- -wa-	-zi- -wa-	-zo- -o-	-zo.zi- -o.wa-	
14	u-	m-	w-	u-	u-	w-	-u-	-u-	-o-	-o.w-	
10 / 6	m- ma-	n- ma-	z- y-	zi- ya-	zi- ya-	z- y-	-zi- -ya-	-zi- -ya-	-zo- -yo-	-zo.zi- -yo.ya-	
16 (loc)		pa-	p-	pa-	pa-	p-	-pa-	-pa-	-po-	-po.pa-	
17 (loc)		ku-	kw-	ku-	ku-	kw-	-ku-	-ku-	-ko-	-ko.ku-	
18 (loc)		mu-	mw-	mu-	mu-	mw-	-mu-	-mu-	-mo-		
15 (inf)	ku-	ku-	kw-	ku-	ku-	kw-	-ku-	-ku-	-ko-	-ko.ku-	

IV Relative clause formation in Swahili

Swahili has three major strategies used in the formation of relative clauses (for a detailed discussion see also Schadeberg 1989) . Two of these strategies are expressed within the verb, as can be seen in the morphological sequence structure illustrated above. The third one involves *amba*, which has been labelled 'relative pronoun' by some authors but whose status is in fact not totally clear yet.

Due to their particular characteristics the three strategies have been labelled – among other terms – “tensed relatives”, “tenseless relatives” and “*amba*-relatives”, respectively (Mohammed 2001:177ff.).

Strategy I: “tensed relatives”

As implied by the label “tensed”, in contrast to the “tenseless” strategy, this type of formation involves a tense/aspect marker. But different from the “*amba*-relatives” the class of markers to be used in strategy one is limited to Present Progressive, Future (-taka- instead of the usual -ta-), Past, and the general negation marker -si-. Thus, the basic elements that are necessary when using this strategy of relative class formation are:

subject (PRO or CL) – tense/aspect marker – relative – verbal base – final vowel

PRES.PROG	=>	-na-
FUT	=>	-taka-
PAST	=>	-li-
NEG	=>	-si-

but other slots, for example, the object slot or the slot for the derivational suffixes, may also be filled.

Let us first look at an example in which the antecedent of the relative clause is a human being and thus a member of noun class 1, e.g. *mwaliimu* ‘teacher’:

- (8) Mw-alimu a-na-ye-sem-a a-na-ka-a jira-ni.
CL1-teacher 3SG-PROG-REL.CL1-speak-INDIC 3SG-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
‘The teacher who is speaking is living next-door.’

If we now take another relative clause referring to a whole bunch of teachers (class 2 then) we get:

- (9) W-alimu wa-na-o-sem-a wa-na-ka-a jira-ni.
CL2-teacher 3PL-PROG-REL.CL2-speak-INDIC 3PL-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
‘The teachers who are speaking are living next-door.’

If we slightly modify the sentence and add an object we get:

- (10) Mw-alimu a-na-ye-ki-som-a ki-tabu
CL1-teacher 3SG-PROG-REL.CL1-OBJ.CL7-read-INDIC CL7-book
a-na-ka-a jira-ni.
3SG-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
‘The teacher who is reading the book is living next door.’

As shown above the future marker -taka- and the negation marker -si- can also occur in this type of relative clauses.

(11) Mw-alimu a-li-ye-ki-som-a ki-tabu
 CL1-teacher 3SG-PAST-REL.CL1-OBJ.CL7-read-INDIC CL7-book
 a-na-ka-a jira-ni.
 3SG-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
 'The teacher who read the book is living next door.'

(12) Mw-alimu a-taka-ye-ki-som-a ki-tabu
 CL1-teacher 3SG-PAST-REL.CL1-OBJ.CL7-read-INDIC CL7-book
 a-na-ka-a jira-ni.
 3SG-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
 'The teacher who will read this book is living next door.'

(13) Mw-alimu a-si-ye-ki-som-a ki-tabu
 CL1-teacher 3SG-NEG-REL.CL1-OBJ.CL7-read-INDIC CL7-book
 a-na-ka-a jira-ni.
 3SG-PROG-live-INDIC next-door-LOC
 'The teacher who does not read this book is living next door.'

Besides human beings members of all other noun classes can also be relativized. The strategy remains the same.

(14) Vi-tabu vi-taka-cho-wa-som-w-a na wa-nafunzi ...
 CL8-book CL8-FUT-REL.CL8-OBJ.3PL-read-PASS-INDIC by CL2-pupil
 'The books which will be read by the pupils....'

(15) m-shumaa u-li-o-wak-a
 CL3-candle CL3-PROG-REL.CL3-burn-INDIC
 'The candle which burnt...'

(16) n.gome i-na-yo-lind-w-a ...
 CL9.fortress CL9-PROG-REL.CL9-guard-PASS-INDIC
 'The fortress which is guarded...'

Although relative clauses in Swahili are mostly used to modify the subject, object relative clauses are although possible in the language. In these constructions the relative marker indicating the class to which the object belongs, is followed by the respective object concord marker or the object pronoun.

(17) n.yumba ni-li-zo-zi-on-a ...
 CL10.house 1SG-PAST-REL.CL10-OBJ.CL10-see-INDIC
 'The houses which I saw...'

(18) ki-su u-taka-cho-ki-nunu-a ...
 CL7-knife 2SG-FUT-REL.CL7-OBJ.CL7-buy-INDIC
 'The knife you will buy....'

(19) mw-anamke a-na-ye-ni-o-a ...
 CL1-woman 3SG-PROG-REL.CL1-OBJ.CL1-marry-indic
 'The woman he is marrying...'

Strategy II: "tenseless relatives"

Like in strategy I, strategy II is also manifested within the verbal complex. This time, however, the relative marker does not occur in an intermediate slot but verb-finally. Furthermore, this strategy does not involve any kind of tense or aspect marking. Its form simply is:

subject (PRO or CL) – verbal base – final vowel – relative₂

Due to the lack of any temporal specification this type of relative clause has also been labeled as "general relative" (Möhlig & Heine 1999:243; Ashton 1944[1971]:111, fn. 1). The main function of a verb which is relativized by means of this strategy is to qualify its antecedent or head and expresses something more general.

(20) A-fundish-a-**ye** ni mw-alimu.
3SG-teach-INDIC-**REL.CL1** AUX.be CL1-teacher
'He who teaches is a teacher.' / 'Whoever teaches is a teacher.'

German also: 'Wer lehrt, ist ein Lehrer.' => **Free relative!**

Besides, it has been argued that the function of this kind of relative clause is somehow adjective-like (cf. Mohammed 2001:181). Another notion conveyed by this form of relative clause is that the verbal action expressed is habitual. Sentences involving this strategy are usually translated in the present.

(21) Wa-tu w-engi wa-sem-a-**o** ki-swahili
CL2-person CL2-much 3PL-live-INDIC-**REL.CL2** CL7-Swahili
wa-na-ka-a Kenya.
3pl-prog-live-indic c19.Kenya
'Many people who speak Swahili are living in Kenya.' => 'Many people speaking Swahili are living in Kenya.' => 'Many Swahili speakers are living in Kenya.'

(22) mw-aka u-ja-**o** ...
CL3-year CL3-come-**REL.CL3**
'The year which comes....' => 'Next year'

"Tenseless relatives" can also refer to an object. The place of the object pronoun or concord marker remains unchanged.

(23) Mbwa w-angu ni-m-penda-**ye** ...
c19.dog c11-poss.pro.1sg 1sg-obj.1sg-love-**rel.cl1**
'My dog which I love....' => 'my beloved dog...'

If one wants to negate a "tenseless" relative clause, one has to apply the same strategy as with "tensed" relatives, that is, with the relative marker preceding the verbal base.

(24) Wa-tu wa-si-soma-**o**
CL2-person 3PL-NEG-read-**REL.CL2**
'People who do not read ...'

Strategy III: “*amba*-relatives”

Among the three ‘classical’ Swahili relativization strategies the one with *amba* is the least constrained and, in a way, the closest to what speakers of languages that make use of a relative pronoun are used to. What is meant is visible from the following examples.

(25) Ch-akula **amba-cho** u-me-ki-pik-a ki-ko ji-ko-ni.
 CL7-meal **AMBA-REL.CL7** 2SG-PERF-cook-INDIC CL7-be.LOC CL5-kitchen-LOC
 ‘The meal which you have cooked is in the kitchen.’

(26) Ma-gari **amba-yo** ya-na-pak-iw-a n.jia-ni
 CL6-car **AMBA-REL.CL6** CL6-PROG-park-PASSIV-INDIC CL9.path-LOC
 ni ma-gari ya baba w-enu.
 be.AUX CL6-car GEN.CL6 CL9.father CL1-POSS.PRO.1SG

Different from strategies I and II, relativization expressed by strategy III does not occur within the verb but is expressed by a relative “pronoun” that directly follows the NP it modifies. Attached to this “pronoun” – *amba* – is the respective relative marker that comes from the same class as the modified antecedent. A further difference concerns the tense/aspect marking: While strategy I allowed only three tenses to be expressed within the verb of the relative clause (and the “tenseless” strategy II allowed none), all tenses can be expressed when the *amba*-strategy is applied – which might, in fact, be one reason why this strategy has come into existence. In example (22) the tense marker is -me- (Perfect(ive)), which can only be expressed within the *amba*-relative construction. The same is true for a number of other tense markers, e.g. the habitual marker hu- or the “not yet” tense marker -ja- (for further details see Ashton 1944[1971]).

Object relativization is also possible with the *amba*-strategy.

(27) ni-me-vi-som-a vi-tabu **amba-vyo** ni-me-vi-nunu-a
 1SG-PERF-OBJ.CL8-read-INDIC CL8-book **AMBA-REL.CL8** 1SG-PERF-OBJ.CL8-buy-INDIC
 ‘I have read the books which I have bought.’

(28) m-tu a-me-m-salimu
 CL1-man 3SG-PERF-OBJ.3PL-greet
wa-geni **amba-o** a-me-mw-alik-a
 CL2-guest **AMBA-REL.CL2** 3SG-PERF-OBJ.3PL-invite-INDIC
 ‘The man has greeted the guests whom he has invited.’

As *amba*+REL as a rule immediately follows the NP it modifies, one can easily decide whether the head of the relative clause is the subject or the object of the matrix clause. Another characteristic of object relativization is the fact that the object concord marker – -vi- in (24) – as well as the object pronoun – -mw- in (25) – within the verb of the relative clause are obligatory.

As I have already pointed out, *amba*-relatives are in a way more familiar to us than the other two strategies. Besides their “relative pronoun-type” character they are identifiable more easily, which might be the reason why this strategy is preferred in certain contexts, for instance, when a sentence is longer and more complex (Ashton 1944[1971]:309f.).

(29) Wa-na-wez-a ku-chukua ma-sanduku ma-kubwa ma-kubwa,
 3PL-PROG-be able-INDIC INF-carry CL6-box CL6-huge CL6-huge
amba-yo sisi wa-tu wa-wili au wa-tatu
AMBA-REL.CL6 ABS.PRO.1PL CL2-person CL2-two or CL2-three
 ha-tu-wez-i ku-ya-inua.
 NEG-1PL-be able-NEG.PRES. INF-OBJ.CL6-lift
 'They are able to carry very huge boxes, which we two or three people are not able to lift.'
 (Ashton: 'They are able to carry huge boxes, which two or even three of us could not lift.')

The target of relativization in (26) is the object of the matrix clause, *ma-sanduku ma-kubwa*. This is clearly and unambiguously marked by *amba-yo*. The use of strategy I in the above sentence would render the sentence less clear, as the relative marker *-yo-* would have to appear within the verb of the relative clause, *kuweza*. Furthermore, it would require a change of the word order and force the complex subject NP of the relative clause, *sisi watu...*, to appear after the verb, which would – according to Ashton (1944[1971]:310) make the sentence very heavy:

(30) Wa-na-wez-a ku-chukua ma-sanduku ma-kubwa ma-kubwa,
 3PL-PROG-be able-INDIC INF-carry CL6-box CL6-huge CL6-huge
 tu-si-yo-wez-a sisi wa-tu wa-wili
 1PL-NEG-REL.CL6-be able-INDIC ABS.PRO.1PL CL2-person CL2-two
 au wa-tatu ku-ya-inua.
 or CL2-three INF-OBJ.CL6-lift

Another context that requires the use of *amba*-relatives is that of continuation (Ashton 1944[1971]:310):

(31) Ha-po kale n.chi ya Uganda
 DEM.REF-CL16 past times CL9-country GEN.CL9 Uganda
 ha-i-kuw-a na wa-tu ila m-moja,
 NEG-CL9-have-INDIC CL2-person except for CL1-one
amba-ye a-li-it-w-a Kintu.
AMBA-REL.CL1 3SG-PAST-call-PASS-INDIC Kintu.
 'Once upon a time the country of Uganda had no inhabitants except one, who was called Kintu.'
 (Ashton: 'Long ago the country of Uganda had no inhabitants except one, who was called Kintu.')

The above sentence is the (proto-)typical opening of a tale or story, and the relative clause introduced by *amba-ye* is appositive rather than restrictive. In fact, this seems to be one crucial characteristic of this type of relativization: It is used in non-defining or non-restrictive contexts. The example in (31) would be perfect without the information provided by the relative clause, as it contains additional but no necessary information. This given, let us briefly come back to the example in (30). Here the same is true: The information conveyed by the relative clause is additional information, but not necessary for the information given in the matrix clause, namely that there are some people who are able to carry very huge boxes.

The assumption that *amba*-relatives are used when a relative clause is a non-restrictive one is confirmed by the third type of context in which this type – according to Ashton – has to be used, that is, when the Swahili construction corresponds to an English equivalent that makes use of a preposition:

(32) Wa-li-fik-a katika bustani, amba-yo n.dani
 3PL-PAST-reach-INDIC to CL9-garden AMBA-REL.CL9 CL9-interior
 y-ake m-na ma-ua ya
 CL9-POSS.PRO.3SG be with CL6-flower GEN.CL6
 kila rangi.
 every CL9.colour
 'They came to a garden, the interior of which was with flowers of all colours.'
 (Ashton: 'They came to a garden, in which were flowers of every colour.')

Here, too, the information in the relative clause is additional information. This is further confirmed by the head of the relative clause which is indefinite: a garden.

Ashton furthermore mentions that *amba*-relatives are used in indentificational sentences with *ni* (1944[1971]:311). However, as these contexts are not restricted to the use of the *amba*-relative, I will leave it aside and briefly address to further issues: Other instances of relativization and further use of relative particles.

IV Other instances of relativization

Constructions which have been closely associated with relative clauses are clefts. The central characteristics of such a construction are the deletion of a nominal element in an ordinary matrix clause and its re-appearance in a clefted sentence. The former matrix clause then suffices as a relative clause. See the following examples from English and French:

(33) We forgot my father's birthday.
 => It was my father's birthday which we forgot.

(34) Lui est venue.
 => C'est lui qui est venue.

Mohammed (2001:186f.) provides a corresponding example from Swahili:

(35) Wewe ni m-tu tajiri.
 ABS.PRO.2SG be.AUX CL1-person rich
 'You are a rich person.'
 => A-li-ye m-tu tajiri ni wewe.
 3SG-be.AUX-REL.CL1 CL1-person rich be.AUX ABS.PRO.2SG
 'It is you who is rich.'

Other instances which can be interpreted as cleft constructions involve *ndio*, which is in the lexicon simply translated as 'these are they' (cf. Höftmann & Herms: 1999[2005]). I assume that it is a cleft the translation of which has to be modified according to the context in which it occurs. Furthermore, it can be segmented into *ndi* + the corresponding relative marker of the NP targeted by the cleft process.

The following example is taken from the Bible (Jo. 1,9) (Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatiifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika msemu yva Kiswahili, see References). Here, *ndi-o* means 'it is'.

- (36) Ndi-o mw-anga wa kweli
 It is-REL.CL3 CL3-light GEN.CL3 CL9.truth
u-na-o-mw-angaz-a kila m-tu,
 CL3-PST-REL.CL3-OBJ.3SG-elucidate-INDIC every CL1-person
 tena ndio (mwanga wa kweli) u-li-o-kuw-a
 furthermore it is CL3-PST-REL.CL3-come into existence-INDIC
 u-ki-ja u-limwengu-ni
 CL3-SIM-come CL3-world-LOC
 'It is the light of truth which elucidates every person; furthermore, it is the light which came into existence, when it came into the world.'

The above example shows the *-o* of *ndio* corresponds to the relative marker of the relativized NP *mwanga wa kweli*: both belong to class 3. As one can see in the second part of (33), the clefted NP can even be omitted. It is also possible that there is no (overt) NP in the clefted part at all, as shown in (34) (2. Thess. 2,14) (*Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika msemu yva Kiswahili*, see References).

- (37) Ha-ya ndi-**yo**, a-li-**yo**-wa-it-i-a
 DEM.PROX-CL6 it is-REL.CL6 3SG-PST-REL.CL6-OBJ.2PL-call to-APPL-INDIC
 'These are the things to which he called you.'

Although there is no (overt) NP, it is nonetheless clear to which noun class it has to belong: both the demonstrative and the relative marker attached to *ndi* are marked for noun class 6 – as is the relative marker in the relative clause.

At a first glance, example (37) contradicts what I have said earlier (quoting Ashton) with regard to *amba*, namely, that contexts involving a preposition require this strategy. But as the verb in the above sentence contains an applicative derivational suffix, it seems to be an exception to this rule.

The *ndi*+REL cleft construction is highly productive and can be found in many contexts.

V Further use of relative particles

As can be seen in Chart I, the so-called locative classes – 16, 17 and 18 – also have a concord marker expressing relative. These are *-po-*, *-ko-*, and *-mo-*, respectively. These concord markers are associated with special functions (see, among others, Mohammed 2001:191, 194 and Ashton 1944[1971]:168f.). While *-po-* expresses the “relative of time” (‘when’) and also of place (‘where’, ‘at which’, etc), cf. Ashton 1944[1971]:168), *-ko-* and – to a lesser and very restricted degree – *-mo-* are used to express the “relative of place”. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- po-* as “relative of time”
 (38) A-li-**po**-ya-on-a hay-o ma-kundi ya
 3SG-PAST-REL.CL16(TIME)-OBJ.CL6-see-INDIC CL6-DEM.REF CL6-group GEN.CL6
 wa-tu a-ka-pand-a m-lima-ni, ...
 CL2-person 3SG-CONSEC-climb up-INDIC CL3-mountain-LOC
 'When he saw that (mentioned) group of people, he climbed up the mountain ...'
 (Mt. 5,1) (*Biblia ndio Maandiko Matakatifu yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika msemu yva Kiswahili*, see References).

-*po-* as “relative of place”
 (39) Tu-me-pa-on-a pa-le a-li-po-pigan-a
 1PL-PERF-OBJ.CL16-see-INDIC CL16-DEM.DIST 3SG-PAST-**REL.CL16**(PLACE)-fight-INDIC
 na simba.
 with CL9.lion
 ‘We have seen that place where he fought with a lion.’
 (Ashton 1944[1971]:168)

-*ko-* as “relative of place”
 (40) K-ote k-ote tu-li-ko-tazam-a
 CL16-all CL16-all 1PL-PAST-REL.CL17(PLACE)-look-INDIC
 tu-ka-on-a wa-tu.
 1PL-CONSEC-see-INDIC CL2-person
 ‘In every direction where we looked we saw people.’
 (Ashton 1944[1971]:168)

The last particle I want to draw your attention to is *-vyo*, the relative marker of class 8. Besides relativizing an NP it is also used to express the “relative of manner” in a broader sense (cf. Ashton 1944[1971]:169). See the following example:

(41) Kwani ndi-vyo, wa-li-vyo-wa-fukuz-a wa-fumbuaji
 For ndi-REL.CL8 3PL-PAST-**REL.CL8(MANNER)**-OBJ.3PL-chase-INDIC CL2-prophet
 wa-li-o-wa-tanguli-a.
 3PL-PAST-REL.CL2-OBJ.3PL-come first-INDIC
 ‘For it is how they chased the prophets who came first (before you).’ / ‘For it is this manner in which they chased the prophets who came first (before you).’

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