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Relative Clauses in Andaandi (Nile Nubian)

Angelika Jakobi and El-Shafie El-Guzuuli*

1. Introduction

Relative clauses (hereafter abbreviated as RCs)¹ are used as attributive modifiers of noun phrases (nouns and pronouns). They are subordinate clauses since they are morphosyntactically dependent on the semanto-syntactic role of the modified noun phrase.

Typological studies show that languages vary in how RCs are formally treated.² As for the position of the RCs in relation to their head (i.e. the noun phrase modified by the RC), there are basically two types of RC constructions, one in which the RC follows its head and another one where the RC precedes its head. In Andaandi, as we will show in detail below, RCs commonly follow the head, i.e. RCs are postnominal. This position is common for other attributive modifiers (e.g. adjectives and quantifiers), too.

In some languages RCs take the same form as a main clause with a possible addition of a RC marker or a relative pronoun. RCs in Andaandi, however, neither take a relative pronoun nor a RC marker. The absence of a RC marker is a noteworthy feature since RCs in Taglennaa (also referred to as Tagle), a genetically related Kordofan Nubian language, are all characterized by the relative marker *-r* on the finite verb.³

In some languages, RCs resemble main clauses, in other languages, RCs and main clauses differ. In Andaandi, RCs differ from main

* We like to thank Gerrit Dimmendaal and Vincent van Gerven Oei for their constructive critique on this paper.

1 Abbreviations used: 1, 2, 3 - 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; A - Agent; ABL - ablative; ACC - accusative; AD - adessive; APPL - applicative; B - Beneficiary; COM - comitative; COP - copula; FUT - future; GEN - genitive; HUM - human; INCH - inchoative; INS - instrumental; IPF - imperfective; LNK - linker; LOC - locative; NEG - negation; P - Patient; PF - perfective; PL - plural; PRED - predication; PT1 - preterite 1 (*-kor*); PT2 - preterite 2 (*-s*); PTC - participle; R - recipient; RC - relative clause; S - Subject of intransitive clause; SG - singular; T - Theme.

2 DRYER, "Noun Phrase Structure," pp. 191-3.

3 IBRAHIM & JAKOBI, "The relative clause in Taglennaa."

clauses in not admitting preterite 1 forms marked by *-ko-r*. Rather, RCS behave like other subordinate clauses in employing the preterite 2 suffix *-s* when expressing past events.

Typological studies suggest that RCS often “do not fully resemble main/independent clauses and demonstrate some degree of nominalization.”⁴ This is true for RCS in Andaandi, too. Nominalization is realized by several means, for instance, by converting the relative clause into a participial construction. This device is restricted to RCS whose head represents an intransitive or transitive subject. In other RCS the inflected verb can take the plural suffix *-i*, which is otherwise found on nouns. Another feature attesting the nominalization of RCS is that they may optionally be marked by the suffix *-tirti* (SG) or *-tirtinci* (PL) when the head noun has an unknown human referent. These characteristics of nominalization will be considered in more detail below.

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2. Previous studies of RCS in Andaandi

Andaandi (also known as Dongolawi and Dongolese) is a Nubian language spoken in the Nile Valley of northern Sudan, roughly from the third cataract upstream until Ed-Debba on the large bend of the Nile. In previous studies, RCS in Andaandi have not received much attention.⁵ Armbruster does not use the term “relative clause,” rather he uses the term “adjective clause.”⁶ He recognizes that the adjective clause “occupies the same position in the sentence as the adjective; when used attributively it follows the noun it describes, explains or refers to.” This observation agrees with our view of RCS as attributive modifiers of noun phrases. Also we agree with Armbruster’s finding that an RC (or for that matter an adjective clause) “requires nothing to introduce it,” being “devoid of the introductory relative pronoun.”⁷ Similar to Armbruster’s term “adjective clause,” Massenbach uses the term attributive clause (“Attributsatz”).⁸ We agree with her description which says that these clauses often follow the noun like an attributive adjective. However, Massenbach does not strictly distinguish between relative clauses on one side and adverbial and complement clauses on the other. These latter are characterized by case markers attaching to the final verb of the sub-

4 NIKOLAEVA, “Relative Clauses,” p. 502.

5 As for the closely related Kunuz language, ABDEL-HAFIZ, “Focus Constructions in Kunuz Nubian,” discusses RCS in the context of focus constructions

6 ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar*, §6161.

7 *Ibid.*, §5406.

8 MASSENBACH, “Eine grammatische Skizze des Dongolawi,” pp. 304–5.

ordinate clauses.⁹ This is, as we will show below, not a characteristic of relative clauses.

Unlike Armbruster who ignores the suffix *-tirti*, Massenbach¹⁰ notes that a RC (or for that matter an “Attributsatz”) with an indefinite human referent is marked by that suffix. However, she does not mention that this suffix has a plural form, *tirti-nci* and that it is not attested on RCs whose heads are syntactic subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses (S or A).

Neither Armbruster nor Massenbach point out that there are several distinct relativization strategies and that the choice between them is determined by the semanto-syntactic role of the noun phrase modified by a RC. To show this is the aim of our paper.

3. Participles as modifiers of noun phrases

In Andaandi, noun phrases may be modified by RCs or participles (or participle clauses). The choice between these two strategies depends on the semanto-syntactic role of the noun phrase. As seen in exx. 1–7, noun phrases with the role of S (subject of intransitive clause) or A (subject of transitive clause) are modified by participles, but noun phrases with the role of P (object of transitive clause) or with more peripheral roles are modified by RCs. Since S and A are grammatically treated alike and P differently, this system of grammatical relations suggests a (nominative-) accusative alignment pattern.

3.1 Participles modifying S noun phrases

Participles typically have verb-like and noun-like characteristics. In Andaandi, participles resemble nouns, as they may take the nominal plural suffix *-i* (as in ex. 3) in agreement with the plurality of the modified noun phrase. As for their verb-like features, Andaandi participles are inflected for aspect, as they take either the perfective or the imperfective aspect marker, *-el* or *-il*, respectively. Moreover, participles modifying an S or A noun phrase can be intransitive or transitive, having one or two arguments, respectively. However, unlike fully inflected verbs, participles are non-finite verb forms, as they lack pronominal suffixes cross-referencing their syntactic subject.

In ex. 1 the intransitive participle *dab-el* modifies its syntactic subject S, *hanu*. Within the main clause, however, the syntactic subject of the transitive verb, *el-kor-i*, is represented by the 1st person singular pronoun *ay*, whereas *hanu dabel=gi* represents the ACC-marked object noun phrase.

9 JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Heterosemy of Case Markers and Clause Linkers in Andaandi (Nile Nubian).”

10 MASSENBACH, “Eine grammatische Skizze des Dongolawi,” pp. 304–5.

- 1 *ay hanu* [*dab-el*]=*gi* *el-kor-i*
 1SG donkey lose-PTC.PF=ACC find-PT1-1SG
 “I found the donkey that was lost”

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In ex. 2, the subject noun phrase *ogij* is modified by the intransitive participle clause in *kaa=r aag-il*.

- 2 *ogij* [*in kaa=r aag-il*] *am-beena-n*
 man this house=LOC live-PTC.IPF 1PL.GEN-uncle-COP.3SG
 “The man who lives in this house is my uncle” / “The man living in
 this house is my uncle”

In ex. 3, there is number agreement between the intransitive subject noun phrase, *adem-i*, and the modifying participle. This is shown by the plural marker *-i* on *masur-an-el-i*. The participle clause is extended by the noun *masur* “Egypt” with the role of Goal assigned to it by the directed motion verb *an* “go to.”¹¹

- 3 *adem-i* [*masur-an-el*]-*i* *wide taa-gor-an*
 person-PL Egypt-go.to-PTC.PF-PL return come-PT1-3PL
 “The people who went to Egypt have come back”

Ex. 4 represents a nominal predication involving the invariable predication marker *tannan*. The noun phrase *hanu* is modified by the participle *diyel*. The GEN-marking on the participle indicates that the modified noun phrase *hanu diyel=n* has the role of Possessor, the following noun, *bitaan*, having the role of Possessee.

- 4 *in tannan hanu* [*diy-el*]=*n* *bitaan*
 this PRED donkey die-PTC.PF=GEN child
 “This is the foal of the donkey that died”

3.2 Participles modifying A noun phrases

Apart from the intransitive subject S, the transitive subject A may be modified by a participle, too. In ex. 5, the unmarked noun phrase *ogij* represents the syntactic subject A of the transitive participle *goñ-el*. The noun phrase in *kaa=gi* represents the ACC-marked syntactic object of that participle.

¹¹ We assume that the motion verb *an* results from a semantic extension of the verb *an* “say” (which differs from the verb *e* “say,” see EL-GUZUULI, “The Uses and Orthography of the Verb ‘Say’ in Andaandi”). Apart from being a verb of saying and directed motion, *an* is employed as a derivational morpheme marking the inchoative, as seen in ex. 10. Unlike other motion verbs, the verb *an* is cliticized to the locational noun. Probably because of this construction, the noun does not take a locative case marker. This is also attested in exx. 16a–16c and 20b.

ogij [in kaa=gi goñ-el] am-beena-n 5
 man this house=ACC build-PTC.PF 1PL.GEN-uncle-COP.3SG
 “The man who built this house is my uncle”

Ex. 6 represents a nominal predication in which the proximal demonstrative *in-gu* “these” is identified with *ogj-i* by means of the invariable predication marker *tannan*. The perfective participle *joor-el-i* agrees in number with the noun phrase *ogj-i*, which represents the syntactic subject A of the modifying transitive participle. The ACC-marked noun phrase *bent-i=gi* represents the syntactic object P.

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in-gu tannan ogj-i [bent-i=gi joor-el]-i 6
 this-PL PRED man-PL date-PL=ACC harvest-PTC.PF-PL
 “These are the men who harvested dates”

Ex. 7 illustrates a transitive participle clause modifying A. As expected, the syntactic subject, *gur*, is unmarked and the syntactic object is represented by the ACC-marked *ambes=ki*. The whole participle clause *gur ambeski nugel* represents the ACC-marked object of the inflected transitive verb *jaan-ko-n* in the main clause.

am-baab gur [am-bes=ki nug-el]=gi 7
 1PL.GEN-father bull 1PL.GEN-brother=ACC butt-PTC.PF=ACC
jaan-ko-n
 sell-PT1-3SG
 “My father has sold the bull which has butted my brother”

Unlike S and A which are modified by participles or participle clauses, noun phrases having other semanto-syntactic roles are modified by RCS, as shown in the next section.

4. RCS modifying noun phrases

In the following we are first concerned with RCS relativizing noun phrases with the semanto-syntactic role of Patient (P). After that we will successively consider relativized noun phrases with peripheral roles such as Recipient/Beneficiary (R/B), Theme (T), Possessor, Accompaniment, non-human Location/Goal/Source, human Location/Goal, human Source, and Instrument.

In Andaandi, postnominal RCS are characterized by the following features:

- ▶ The head of a RC is shifted to the left, i.e. to the focus position.
- ▶ The head of the RC is outside of the RC.
- ▶ In focus position, the head nouns are unmarked for case.

- ▶ When the head of a RC has an unknown human referent the anaphoric suffixes *-tirti* (SG) or *-tirtinci* (PL) are optionally attached to the verb.
- ▶ When the head of a RC has a plural referent the suffix *-i* is attached to the verb. When the plural referent is unknown and human, the *i*-suffix may be replaced by *-tirti-nci*.
- ▶ When referring to a past event the verb of the RC requires the preterite 2 suffix *-s*, the preterite 1 suffix *-kor*¹² is not admitted in RCS.

4.1 RCS modifying noun phrases with the role of Patient

Exx. 8a and 8b represent nominal predications. The head of the RC, *kaa*, has the role of Patient. When comparing exx. 8a and 8b to the corresponding non-RC in ex. 8c one recognizes that the head of the RC has shifted to the left, thus taking the focus position. In this position the object noun phrase, *kaa*, precedes the subject noun phrase, *ar*. Another conspicuous feature of the relativized object is that it does not receive ACC-marking. It is solely syntactically marked by its position. Even if the predication is negated as in ex. 8b these characteristics are present.

8a *in tannan kaa [ar goñ-s-u]*
 this PRED house 1PL build-PT2-1PL
 ‘‘This is the house we have built’’

8b *in mun kaa [ar goñ-s-u]*
 this PRED.NEG house 1PL build-PT2-1PL
 ‘‘This is not the house we have built’’

Another difference between exx. 8a and 8b on the one hand and 8c on the other is that the RC verb, *goñ-s-u*, requires the preterite 2 suffix *-s*, whereas the verb of the main clause, *goñ-kor-u* is marked by the preterite 1 suffix *-kor*.

8c *ar in kaa=gi goñ-kor-u*
 1PL this house=ACC build-PT1-1PL
 ‘‘We have built this house’’

When the head of the RC refers to an unknown person (for instance, *ogij* ‘‘man’’ in ex. 9a) the suffix *-tirti* is optionally attached to the verb. Unless the verb ends in a nasal, *-tirti* is attached to it by means of the linker *-n* (glossed as LNK).

¹² The preterite 1 suffix *-kor* is composed of *-ko* and *-r*. It is realized in the 1st person singular as *-kori*, in the 2nd and 3rd person as *-kon*, in the 1st and 2nd person plural as *-koru*, and in the 3rd person plural *-koran*.

Because of its position after the finite verb of the RC, *-tirti* on first sight looks like a subordinator. However, *-tirti* differs from subordinators, as it has a singular and a plural form. This is not attested by any subordinators in Andaandi. As seen exx. 9a and 9b, the choice between the verbal suffixes, *-tirti* and *-tirti-nci*, depends on the number of the entity to which the head of the RC refers. Thus these suffixes can be identified as anaphoric devices signaling that the head of the RC has an unknown human referent.¹³ Therefore we suggest to gloss them as HUM. In RCs whose heads have a non-human referent, *-tirti* and *-tirti-nci* are not admitted, as seen in ex. 10. Outside of this grammatical context, *-tirti(-nci)* is used as a lexical noun whose meaning may be rendered in English by “master, owner.”¹⁴

ogij [*ay nal-s-i*]-*n-tirti* *ossi=ged daa-go-n* 9a
 man 1SG see-PT2-1SG-LNK-HUM foot=INS go.along-PT1-3SG
 “The man I saw was walking (on foot).”

ogj-i [*ay nal-s-i*]-*n-tirti-nci* *ossi=ged* 9b
 man-PL 1SG see-PT2-1SG-LNK-HUM-PL foot=INS
daa-gor-an
 go.along-PT1-3PL
 “The men I saw were walking (on foot).”

The optional selection of the suffixes *-tirti/-tirti-nci* is attested by exx. 9c and 9d. Although the RC heads *ogij* and *ogj-i* have human referents the suffixes *-tirti/-tirti-nci* are not required.

ogij [*ay nal-s-i*] *ossi=ged daa-go-n* 9c
 man 1SG see-PT2-1SG foot=INS go.along-PT1-3SG
 “The man I saw was walking (on foot)”

ogj-i [*ay nal-s-i*]-*n-i* *ossi=ged daa-gor-an* 9d
 man-PL 1SG see-PT2-1SG -LNK-PL foot=INS go.along-PT1-3PL
 “The men I saw were walking (on foot)”

When the head of a RC has a plural referent, as in 9d and 10, the verb of the RC takes a plural *i*-suffix (or optionally the *tirtinci*-suffix when the referent is additionally human). When the verb of the RC ends in a vowel, the *i*-suffix is attached to the verb by means of the linker *-n*. When the inflected verb ends in *-n* (which is the case with 2SG, 3SG, and 3PL), the *-i* suffix is directly attached to the verb, as seen in ex. 10.

13 This function of *-tirti/-tirtinci* is not accounted for in ARMBRUSTER'S *Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar*.

14 ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian: A Lexicon*, p. 200.

- 10 *koman-i* [*tir jaan-s-an*]-*i takkar-an-kor-an*
 shirt-PL 3PL buy-PT2-3PL-PL tight-INCH-PT1-3PL
 “The shirts which they bought became tight”

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We assume that the verbal *i*-suffix originates in the nominal plural suffix, as attested on *ogj-i* “men” (ex. 9d) and *koman-i* “shirts” (ex. 10), respectively. Apart from the *i*-suffix, the *tirti(-nci)*-suffixes also originate in nominal morphemes. This finding supports the claim that RCS exhibit “some degree of nominalization.”¹⁵

4.2 RCS modifying noun phrases with the role of Recipient or Beneficiary

Exx. 11 and 12 illustrate a ditransitive RC in which the indirect object with the role of Recipient R is relativized. When the R noun phrase, *šaafa*, is modified by the RC, *ay kiraygi tirsi*, R is shifted to the left so that it precedes the syntactic subject A, *ay*. In that position R is not case-marked.

- 11 *in tannan šaafa* [*ay kiray=gi tir-s-i*]
 this PRED child 1SG present=ACC give3-PT2-1SG
 “This is the child to whom I gave the present”

As the indirect object is human, the modifying RC may optionally be marked by *tirti*, see ex. 12.

- 12 *in tannan šaafa* [*ay kiray=gi tir-s-i*]-*n-tirti*
 this PRED child [1SG present=ACC give3-PT2-1SG-LNK-HUM
 “This is the child to whom I gave the present”

4.3 RCS modifying noun phrases with the role of Theme

In a ditransitive clause, the relativization strategy for the direct object noun phrase T (represented by *kade* in the following example) is basically the same as the one employed for the relativization of P and R/B. That is, T is shifted to the left, without taking a case marker, as seen in ex. 13a.

- 13a *in tannan kade* [*ay ann-een=gi jaan tir-s-i*]
 this PRED dress 1SG 1SG.GEN-wife=ACC buy APPL2/3-PT2-1SG
 “This is the dress that I bought for my wife”

As expected, in the corresponding non-RC (ex. 13b), the constituent order is A-B-T-V, that is, the unmarked syntactic subject A takes the clause-initial position. It precedes the ACC-marked Beneficiary noun phrase, *anneen=gi*, which, in turn, precedes the ACC-marked

¹⁵ NIKOLAEVA, “Relative Clauses,” p. 502.

Theme noun phrase, in *kade=gi*. The latter directly precedes the inflected verb in clause-final position.

ay ann-een=gi in kade=gi jaan tir-kor-i 13b
 1SG 1SG.GEN-wife=ACC this dress=ACC buy APPL2/3-PT1-1SG
 “I bought this dress for my wife.”

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When the T noun phrase has a plural referent, the verb of the RC is marked for plural by the suffix *-i*, as seen in ex. 13b.

in-gu tannan kade-nci [ay ann-een=gi 13C
 this-PL pred dress-PL 1SG 1SG.GEN-wife=ACC
jaan tir-s-i]-n-i
 buy APPL2/3-PT2-1SG-LNK-PL
 “These are the dresses that I bought for my wife.”

The preceding sections have shown that the relativization of the P, R/B, and T noun phrases has a recurrent pattern. They shift to the focus position thus preceding the RC and they are unmarked for case.

Unlike P, R/B and T noun phrases, the relativization of more peripheral noun phrases requires the presence of a personal pronoun in the RC. This pronoun is commonly known as “resumptive pronoun.”¹⁶ It functions as a placeholder for the relativized noun phrase and serves as a host for the case marker encoding the semantic-syntactic role of the relativized noun phrase.

4.4 RCs modifying noun phrases with the role of Possessor

When a noun phrase with a Possessor role is relativized, as *ogij* in ex. 14a, it shifts to the left of the RC without being GEN-marked. Inside the RC, however, the 3rd person pronoun *ter* is co-referential with the head of the RC. The pronoun agrees with the head noun in person and number. Due to the Possessor role of the head noun, *ter* is marked for genitive (*ter=n* being realized as [*tenn*] when followed by a vowel). This pronoun directly precedes the noun phrase having the role of Possessee, here represented by *ossi*.

in tannan ogij [tenn ossi bud-s-in]-tirti 14a
 this PRED man 3SG.GEN leg dislocated-PT2-3SG-HUM
 “This is the man whose leg was dislocated”

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 503.

In the corresponding non-relativized clause (ex. 14b) the Possessor noun phrase *ogij* is GEN-marked by the clitic =*n* thus linking *ogij* with the Possessee *ossi*.

- 82 14b *ogij=n ossi bud-buu-ko-n*
 man=GEN leg dislocate-STAT-PT1-3SG
 “The man’s leg was dislocated”

In ex. 15a the relativized Possessor noun phrase *kobid* shifts to the left. It is morphologically unmarked. In the RC the Possessor role of the head noun is resumed by the 3SG pronoun *ten*. The possessive noun phrase *ten jer* is coreferential with the possessive noun phrase *kobid=n jer* occurring in the non-RC, see ex. 15b.

- 15a *in tannan kobid [tir ten jer=ked teeb-s-an]*
 this PRED door 3PL 3SG.GEN back=INS stand-PT2-3PL
 This is the door behind which they stood (lit. “This is the door at whose back they stood”)

Apart from the locative =*r*, the instrumental case marker =*ged* may be employed to express certain locational notions. In 15a and 15b, =*ged* is used in connection with the body part term *jer* “back” expressing the spatial relation “behind.”

- 15b *tir in kobid=n jer=ked teeb-kor-an*
 3PL this door=GEN back=INS stand-PT1-3PL
 “They stood behind this door” (lit. “They stood at the back of this door”)

4.5 RCS modifying noun phrases with the role of Accompaniment

Ex. 16a illustrates a relativized noun with the role of Accompaniment, the unmarked head of the RC, *ogij*, shifting to the left. Within the RC, the 3SG pronoun *ter* is employed both as a placeholder for the head noun and as a host for the comitative case marker =*gonon*. The morpheme sequence *ter=gonon* is realized as [*tekkonon*].

- 16a *in tannan ogij [ay tek=konon dungula-an-s-i]*
 this PRED man 1SG 3SG=COM Dongola-go.to-PT2-1SG
 “This is the man with whom I went to Dongola”

Alternatively, as seen in ex. 16b, the RC may be extended by *-tirti* referring to the human head noun *ogij*.

in tannan ogij [ay tek=konon dungula-an-s-i]-n-tirti 16b
 this PRED man 1SG 3SG=COM Dongola-go.to-PT2-1SG-LNK-HUM
 “This is the man with whom I went to Dongola”

In the corresponding non-RC (ex. 16c) the role of Accompaniment is encoded by the comitative case marker =gonon which is attached to the noun phrase ogij. In this example, this noun phrase is in focus position and therefore shifted to the left.

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in ogij=konon ay dungula-an-kor-i 16c
 this man=COM 1SG Dongola-go.to-PT1-1SG
 “With this man I went to Dongola”

4.6 RCs modifying noun phrases with the role of non-human Location, Goal or Source

Relativized noun phrases with the role of Location, Goal, or Source shift to the left and do not take a case marker. Inside the RC, a resumptive person pronoun hosts the locative or ablative case markers. When the locative marker =r (allomorphs =ir, =do, =lo) is attached to the 3SG pronoun ter, the resulting complex morpheme is realized as [teddo]. In 17a, taga has the role of Location being encoded by the clitic =do on the person pronoun in the RC.

in tannan taga [ar ted=do ille=gi 17a
 this PRED threshing.floor 1PL 3SG=LOC wheat=ACC
 nuur-s-u]
 thresh-PT2-1PL
 “This is the threshing floor where we have threshed wheat”

In 17b, the head noun beled (a borrowing from Arabic) has the role of Goal assigned to it by the directed motion verb taar “come.” The Goal role is encoded by the locative marker on the resumptive pronoun ter. As attested by ogol=lo in exx. 17b and 17c, the locative marker =r may also encode adverbial expressions of time.

in tannan beled [ay ter=do ogol=lo 17b
 this PRED country 1SG 3SG=LOC before=LOC
 ta-a-s-i]
 come-PT2-1SG
 “This is the country to which I came before”

In the corresponding non-RC (ex. 17c) the locational noun phrase beled takes the LOC-marker.

- 17c *ay in beled=ir ogol=lo taa-gor-i*
 1SG this country=LOC before=LOC come-PT1-1SG
 “I came to this country before”

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In 17d, the head of the RC has the role of Source assigned to it by the directed motion verb *daa* “come (from).” The Source role is encoded by the ablative case marker *=rotoon* (glossed as ABL1) which is hosted by the 3SG resumptive pronoun *ter*. When *=rotoon* is cliticized to *ter* the morpheme sequence is realized as [*teddotoon*].

- 17d *beled [ar ted=dotoon daa-r-u] desen warr-in*
 country 1PL 3SG=ABL1 come-R-1PL very far-COP.3SG
 “The country from which we come is very far”

In the next section we will look at similar peripheral roles of nouns having human referents.

4.7 *rcs modifying noun phrases with the role of human Location or Goal*
 In ex. 18a, *doktoor-i* is the head of the RC, the role of Goal being assigned to it by the directed motion verb *juu* “go to.” As *doktoor-i* refers to a human being, the adessive case marker *=nar* is selected (rather than the locative *=r*). The clitic *=nar* is attached to the 3PL pronoun *tir* which agrees in person and number with the head noun *doktoor-i*. When *=nar* is attached to the 3PL pronoun *tir* the resulting compound morpheme is realized as [*tinnar*].

- 18a *in-gu tannan doktoor-i [ar malle tin=nar juu-r-u]*
 this-PL PRED doctor-PL 1PL all 3PL=AD go.to-R-1PL
 “These are the doctors to whom we all go”

Alternatively, in 18b the verb of the RC is extended by *-tirti-nci* reflecting the [+ human] referent of the head noun.

- 18b *in-gu tannan doktoor-i [ar malle tin=nar*
 this-PL PRED doctor-PL 1PL all 3PL=AD
juu-r-u]-n-tirti-nci
 go.to-R-1PL-LINK-HUM-PL
 “These are the doctors to whom we all go”

As expected, in the non-relativized clause the case marker *=nar* is attached to the noun phrase having the role of human Goal.

ar malle in doktoor-i=nar juu-r-u 18c
 1PL all this doctor-PL=AD go.to-R-1PL
 “We all go to these doctors”

4.8 Rcs modifying noun phrases with the role of human Source

Ablative 2 encodes the role of human Source. This semanto-syntactic role is represented by *taajir* “merchant” in 19a. When this noun phrase is relativized, the 3SG pronoun *ter* is inserted as a placeholder and as a host for the case marker =*nartoon*. The resulting morpheme sequence is realized as [*tennartoon*].

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in tannan taajir [ar ten=nartoon umbud=ki jaan-s-u] 19a
 this PRED merchant 1PL 3SG=ABL2 salt=ACC buy-PT2-1PL
 “This is the merchant from whom we have bought the salt”

In the corresponding non-RC, the ablative case marker =*nartoon* (ABL2) is directly attached to the noun phrase having the role of human Source.

in taajir=nartoon ar umbud=ki jaan-kor-u 19b
 this merchant=ABL2 1PL salt=ACC buy-PT1-1PL
 “We have bought the salt from this merchant”

4.9 Rcs modifying noun phrases with the role of Instrument

The relativization of noun phrases having the role of Instrument deviates from the patterns we have discussed so far. In ex. 20a, the relativized noun phrase *arabiyye-nci* has an Instrument role. The instrumental case marker =*ged* is found in the RC which is – strangely – hosted by the 3PL possessive pronoun *tin*,¹⁷ rather than by the 3PL personal pronoun *tir*. A phonological explanation is not available since we would expect the sequence *rg* in the unattested form **tir=ged* to be realized as [*tikked*] – analogous to *ter-gonon* being realized as [*tekkonon*], as seen in ex. 16a.

in-gu tannan arabiyye-nci [ar bi tin=ged] 20a
 this-PL PRED car-PL 1PL FUT 3PL.GEN=INS
urdi-an-d-u]
 Urdi-go.to-R-1PL
 “These are the cars with which we will go to Urdi”

17 According to MASSENBAACH, “Eine grammatische Skizze des Dongolawi,” p. 305, *tin* is a particle with an instrumental meaning (in German it may be rendered by “damit”). In the examples she gives, *tin* does not serve as host for =*ged*, as in ex. 20a and 21a, but rather represents an isolated item, the clitic =*ged* being attached to the verb of the RC or the noun phrase playing the role of Instrument.

In the corresponding non-relativized clause (ex. 20b), the *INS*-marked noun phrase has shifted to the left, i.e. to the focus position. In contrast to ex. 20a, the demonstrative *in* does not take the plural suffix *-gu*.¹⁸

- 86 20b *in arabiyye-nci=ged ar bi urdi-an-d-u*
 this car-PL=INS 1PL INT Urdi-go.to-R-1PL
 “With these cars we will go to Urdi”

The RC construction attested in ex. 20a also appears in ex. 21a. That is, *tin* is employed in the RC rather than the 3SG personal pronoun *ter* which we would expect in consideration of the relativized head noun having a singular referent. Thus there is no number agreement between *tin* and the relativized head noun. However *tin* functionally resembles the resumptive pronouns *ter* and *tir*, as *tin* is employed as host of the case marker reflecting the semanto-syntactic role of the head noun.

- 21a *in tannan kandi [ay tin=ged kusu=gi mer-s-i]*
 this PRED knife 1SG 3PL.GEN=INS meat=ACC cut-PT2-1SG
 “This is the knife with which I have cut the meat”

In the following ex. 21b, the noun phrase having the role of Instrument is represented by *kandi* “knife.” As this noun functions as head of a RC, it shifts to the left. Strangely, in the RC, the instrumental case marker *=ged* is not hosted by the resumptive pronoun *ter* but rather by the noun *kusu* “meat” although it has the role of Patient rather than the role of Instrument.¹⁹

- 21b *in tannan kandi [ay kusu=ged mer-s-i]*
 this PRED knife 1SG meat=INS cut-PT2-1SG
 “This is the knife with which I have cut the meat”

The corresponding non-RC illustrates the expected patterning of the case markers, with *=gi* on the Patient noun phrase and *=ged* on the Instrument noun phrase.

- 21c *ay kusu=gi in kandi=ged mer-kor-i*
 1SG meat=ACC this knife=INS cut-PT1-1SG
 “I have cut the meat with this knife.”

18 The question why the demonstrative does not take a plural marker requires further research.

19 According to Gerrit Dimmendaal (p.c.), the unexpected choice of the P noun phrase as host for the clitic case marker *=ged* shows that the positioning is not iconic. There is some other principle dominating the system, namely avoiding monosyllabic words, and so a host needs to be found. This probably has to do with preferred metrical structures in the language.

The RC construction illustrated in ex. 21b is also attested by the verb *jom* “hit” and the noun *wicciir* “stick,” as seen in ex. 22 where the *INS*-marker is hosted by the Patient noun phrase, *wel* “dog.”

in tannan wicciir [ay wel=ged jom-s-i]
 this PRED stick 1SG dog=INS hit-PT2-1SG
 “This is the stick with which I have hit the dog”

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Thus all examples of relativized noun phrases having the role of Instrument suggest that there are some constraints determining the role of the *INS*-marker to be hosted either by the Patient noun phrase or by *tin*. These weird constructions are not yet fully understood but a more thorough analysis is outside the scope of this paper.

5. Findings

This paper has focused on postnominal RCs, i.e. RCs following their head noun. The head noun is located outside the RC, therefore such RCs are said to be externally headed.

- ▶ Andaandi employs several relativization strategies whose selection is determined by the semanto-syntactic role of the head noun.
- ▶ Noun phrases having the core roles S and A are relativized – or rather modified – by participles.
- ▶ Noun phrases with the roles P, R/B, and T are relativized by shifting them to the left so that they appear in focus position. In this position they are unmarked for case. There is no resumptive pronoun in the RC.
- ▶ Except for noun phrases having the role of Instrument, peripheral noun phrases with the role of Possessor, Accompaniment, Location, Goal, and Source shift to the focus position where they are unmarked for case. In the RC, however, a resumptive pronoun is used that agrees in person and number with the head of the RC. This pronoun serves both as a placeholder for the head noun and as a host for the case marker encoding the role of the head noun.
- ▶ An even more complex strategy is required for the relativization of noun phrases having the role of Instrument. Such noun phrases are shifted to the left, to the focus position. They are unmarked for case. The RC may have two possible constructions. i) The morpheme *tin* – which looks like the 3rd person plural possessive pronoun – serves as host of the instrumental case marker =*ged*. ii) Alternatively, the case marker =*ged* is attached to the Patient noun phrase. These RC constructions are not yet fully understood and require further research.

Our overview over the successively more complex morphosyntactic devices involved in the relativization of core and peripheral noun phrases suggests that RC formation in Andaandi is sensitive to a hierarchy of grammatical relations. According to Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy,²⁰ noun phrases having a core relation to the verb are more accessible to relativization than noun phrases with peripheral relations. This is confirmed by the various relativization strategies attested in Andaandi.

Since our paper has been concerned with postnominal RCs, it leaves some questions open, for instance, whether Andaandi also has prenominal RCs and headless RCs. Another topic to be investigated in the future concerns the grammatical interplay between plural object marking and its absence in RCs.

20 KEENAN & COMRIE, "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar."

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