



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**RELATIVE CLAUSE IN BORNA**

**BY**

**TSEHAY MENGESHA**

**JANUARY 2011  
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

**RELATIVE CLAUSE IN BORNA**

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**APPROVED BY: BOARD OF EXAMINERS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*This thesis deals with description of the structure of relative clause in Bòrná. Concerning the ways of relativization of Bòrná, there is a controversy as to whether the relative pronoun is used or not. According to Lamberti (1993), elements like /tsó, tsú, tsúwoótsí, iruwó, iruú, iruwoótsí, ettuwó, ettuú, ettuwoótsí/ are relative pronouns in Bòrná and implies relative pronoun strategy. Whereas, Bikila (2003) and Felming (1976) maintained that /-ts/ is a relativizer.*

*But the position of the present study is like Bikila (2003) and Felming (1976) claim /ts/ is a relativizer, the element is portmantu that encodes relativity of the verb and past tense. The language employs pro in situ, pronoun retention and gapping strategy. The pro in situ strategy occurs in postnominal subject and direct object relativization. The prenominal subject and direct object relativization employs gapping strategy. The rest of the positions like indirect object, oblique complement and possessor position apply pronoun retention strategy. Based on the position of the RC with respect to head noun, Bòrná RC has a prenominal, postnominal and headless type of relative clause. Bòrná has no restrictiveness marker of structure of relative clause. That is, the meaning of the relative clause is not restricted or non-restricted by either formal or distributional change. In connection to these, Keenan and Comrie (1977)'s five accessibility hierarchy: subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique complement and possessor position relativizations Bòrná covers all the accessibility hierarchy positions.*

*The function of adjectives and the RC is similar in Bòrná; both can function as headless, prenominal and postnominal. In the language, negative relative verb drops tense marker and add negative suffix /-á/. /-á/ is a portmantu morpheme that negates verbs in present, past and future tenses and encodes relativity of the verb.*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
BEN	Benefactive
COM	Commutative
COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copula
DEC	Declarative
e/∅	Empty
F	Feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HN	Head noun
IMPERF	Imperfective
INS	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
MAL	Maleficiary
M	Masculine
MC	Matrix clause
NEG	Negative
NOMI	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
NPrel(RN)	Relativized noun
NRRC	Non- Restrictive Relative Clause
NP	Noun phrase
OSV	Object subject verb

OBL	Oblique case
OBJ	Objective
O	Object
PERF	Perfective
PST	Past
PL	Plular
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PRESH	Present Habitual
RC( Srel)	Relative Clause
REL	Relativizer
RELP	Relative pronoun
RELN	Relational
RM	Relative marker
RRC	Restrictive Relative Clause
RV	Relative verb
S	Subject
SOC	Source
SOV	Subject object verb
SG	Singular
1SG	First person singular
SUF	Suffix
2SG	Second Person singular
3SGM	Third Person singular masculine
3SGF	Third Person singular feminine
TNS	Tense
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
*	Ungrammatical phrase (sentence)

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to give a descriptive account of relative clauses in one of the Omotic languages of Ethiopia: Bòrná. The study explores the types of relative clause; accessibility hierarchy; and ways (strategies) of relativization. While identifying these various strategies, relative verb interaction with tense, aspect and voice in the negative and affirmative structures are discussed. The present chapter offers an overall introduction to the language and its people.

### 1.1. The People and the Language

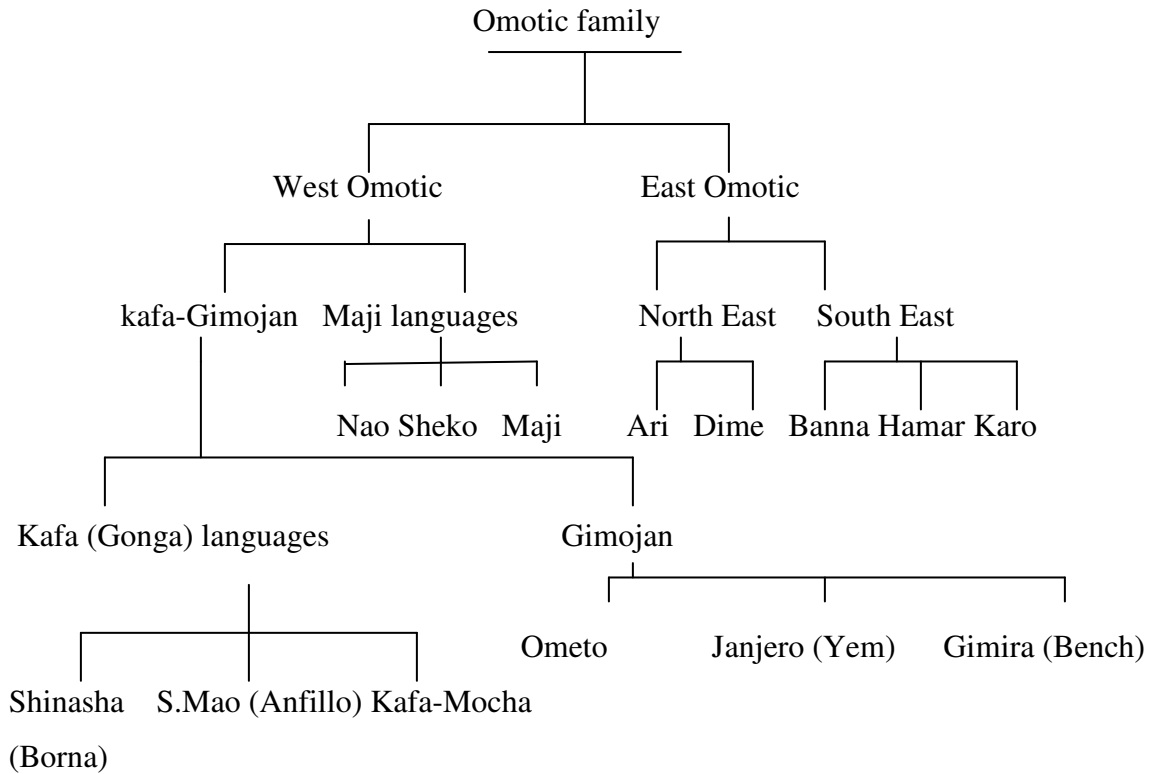
The majority of Bòró<sup>1</sup> are Christians, and farming is their main occupation. The Bòrná has about 62,000 native speakers according to the 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia.

According to Binyam and Tsehay (2010), Bòrná is predominantly spoken in Benishangul Gumuz Mettekel Zone: *Debati, Dangur, Wenbera* and *Bullen*. The areas where this research is conducted are about 550 kilometers in the west of the capital, Addis Ababa.

Fleming (1976) divides Omotic language family mainly into two branches. These are East Omotic and West Omotic. Shinasha belongs to West Omotic. East omotic contains Aari, Dime, Banna, Hamar and Karo. West Omotic branches into Kafa-Gimojan and Maji languages. As its name indicates, Kafa-Gimojan branches into Kafa and Gimojan languages. The Gimojan Branch consists of three groups. Shinasha (Borna) is grouped in Kafa (Gonga) Branch with S. Amo (Anfillo) and Kafa Mocha. It is the only Gonga language north of Abay River.

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<sup>1</sup> Bòró is the name given to the speaker of Bòrná language. Shinasha is the name for the people and the language by Amhara. The present study uses Bòrná instead of Shinasha.



Omotic language family (Fleming 1976)

The language has two dialects: Tari-Bora “lowland Bora” and Gayi-Bora “Highland Bora”. The two dialects are mutually intelligible. Tari-Bora is mainly spoken in the lowlands of the districts *Bullen* and *Debati*, while Gayi-Bora is generally spoken in the highlands of *Dangur* and *Wenbera*. The present study is based on data collected from Tari-Bora dialect which is spoken in *Bullen* and *Debati* because the researcher is the speaker of this dialect and his family is resently located in *Debati* which is in the neighborhood of *Bullen*.

The self-name of the people is Bòrá, and their language Bòrná. But some scholars and neighboring people use different names to refer to the language. The Oromo use the term Dangabo which originates from the place name Dangab and Sinicho- originally to mean burning pepper and the Amhara use the term Shinasha which means thousand and thousand. The scholar Plazikowsky-Brauner (1950, 1970) named the language as Schizzo and Schinascha. Bòrná is chosen in this study rather than Shinasha for the reason that it is people self-name for the language.

Since 2009, the language is being used in primary school education grade level one-three in 7 centers as a medium of instruction and as a subject in 28. Beginning 2010, Bòrná is among the languages that are used in the teacher training college of Gilgelbeles.

## **1.2. The Objective of the Study**

The main objective of the thesis has to explore and describe of the structure of relative clauses in Bòrná.

The specific objectives of the study are to describe in Bòrná:

- the types of relative clause
- accessibility hierarchy
- the ways of relativization
- relative verb interaction

## **1.3. Significance of the Study**

The result of this study will make the following practical contributions:

- It will expand the knowledge of relative clause in the language.
- It will contribute to the further classification of Kafa languages.
- It will help as a springboard for further researchers who are interested in similar topic.
- It will serve for preparation of dictionaries, teaching materials, and other related pedagogical materials for those who are interested in preparation of teaching materials of learning the language.

## **1.4. Methodology**

The main sources of data collection are both introspection and informants. As the researcher is the native speaker of the language, introspection is the first source of data collection. Next, for the sake of validation, clarification and multitude observation; the writer has consulted other native speakers of the language as informants. The informants are namely, Moreda Guritso and Muleta Melka who are both about 65 years old and live in Debatu Wereda. The two language

consultants speak a little Amharic and Oromo and they are native speakers of Bòrná. The data are collected during two field trips to Metekel zone. Data have been elicited, recorded and analyzed. The data is mainly taken from naturally occurring texts. Finally, earlier studies on the language and some related languages have also been consulted and surveyed; and different types of books of syntax and online sources were reviewed to get a better understanding on relative clauses.

## 1.5. Statement of the Problem

Some attempts of linguistic research have been made on Bòrná language. Fleming (1976), Lamberti (1993) and Bikila (2003) are studies which give some information on relative clause of Bòrná. The entire previous works do not give an in depth account of relative clauses in Bòrná. In addition, there may miss representation of elements regarding structure of relative clause in these works.

The current study attempted to use the real data and explore the real elements in relative clause. Therefore, this study describes the relative clause structure in detail. It deals with types of relative clause, an accessibility hierarchy, the ways of relativization and relative verb interaction in the language.

## 1.6. Basic Question

The researcher raised the following questions and it is assumed that the present study answered the questions:

- Are /*tsó*, *tsú*, *tsúwoótsí*, *iruwó*, *iruú*, *iruwoótsí*, *ettuwó*, *ettuú*, *ettuwoótsí*/ relative pronouns in the language?
- Is the position of the relative clause only postnominal?
- Is /*ts*/ relativizer?
- When the language does employ gapping?
- What are the other strategies employed in RC construction?

## 1.7. Previous Studies

Bòrná like many other Omotic languages is little known. And some efforts have been made to write on different grammatical aspects of Bòrná by people like Erottanelli (1941), Plazikowsky-Brauner (1950, 1970), Fleming (1975, 1976), and Fekadie Baye (1988). Rottland (1990) has done a sketch of the morphology. Ashenafi (1989) described the structure of Shinasha NP using an X – bar theory. Tsehay (2005) have tried to describe the verb complement in Shinasha. An article by Binyam and Tsehay (2010) investigates and describes various ways of showing person agreement in the language.

Lamberti (1993) produced a full grammar of the language. Bikila (2003) investigated Shinasha relative clause. In passing, Bikila (2003) identified the gapping strategy and the relativiser suffix /-ts/ as relative clause marking strategies in Bòrná. Fleming (1976) and Bikila (2003) findings are similar in that both categorized the element /-ts/ as relative clause marker. Lamberti (1993), on the other, claimed that the language has seven relative pronouns. In the past tense, indicative sentence subject suffixes such as /-tsó/ for masculine, /-tsú/ for feminine and /-tsúwoótsí/ for plural are used as relative pronouns. However, the relative pronouns are not regular through out distinct tense. To Lamberti (1993), relative pronoun becomes /-iruwó/ for masculine, /-iruú/ for feminine and /-iruwoótsí/ for plural; and /-ettuwó/ for masculine, /-ettuú/ for feminine and /-ettuwoótsí/ for plural in present and future in non-past tense, respectively. Lamberti (1993) also stated that relative pronoun in negative construction are different from indicative ones. Therefore, the discrepancy between Fleming (1976) and Bikila's (2003) findings on one hand and Lamberti (1993) on the other hand regarding the ways of relativization has made the present researcher curious to look into the Bòrná relative clause again.

Ashenafi and Wedekind (1990) have outlined the tonal system of Bòrná. They found two contrasting tones: high and low. Tones are marked with accent marks and a macron (using the letter a as a base): high tone: á, low tone: à. The phonology of Shinasha is described by Gabre Bizuneh (1986).

**Table 1 Gebre's (1986) Phoneme Chart along with some Ashenafi's (1989) modification**

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveodental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b p	d t			g k	ʔ
Implosive			ɗ		k'	
Ejective	p'	t' s'		tʃ'		
Affricate			ts	tʃ		
Fricative		f	z s	ʃ		h
Nasal	m		n	ɲ		
Trill			r			
Lateral approximant			l			
Semi-vowel	w			y		

Vowels

Short			Long	
i	ɨ	u	ii	uu
e	ə	o	ee	oo
	a		aa	

Ashenafi (1989) found out the phonemes: /ts/, /ɨ/, /ɗ/ and /ə/ in the language. Lamberti, states that [ə] is an epenthetic vowel.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ON RELATIVE CLAUSE

#### 2.1. Definition of Relative Clause

According to Culicover (1976), Keenan (1985), Plamer (1994), Stockwell (1977) and Lehman (1986), relative clause is subordinate or dependent clause and is nominal modifier. A subordinate clause, like independent clause, contains both subject and verbs; a subordinate by itself does not express a complete thought. Consequently, subordinate clause cannot stand alone as a complete sentence i.e., it is not independent sentence. The entire subordinate relative clause functions in a sentence just like a single-word adjective. Like a single-word adjective modifies noun or pronoun.

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 78), the relative clauses contain within their structure an anaphoric element whose interpretation is determined by the antecedent. This anaphoric element may be overt or covert. In the covert case relative clause is marked by the presence of one of the relative words who, whose, which, etc. this type of clause is called WH relatives. In non-WH relatives the anaphoric element is covert, a gap, and this class is then subdivided into **that relatives** and **bare relatives** depending on the presence or absence of **that**.

On the basis of the above definitions, I prefer to conclude that a RC is a dependent clause that is used as a modifier of head noun and the overt or covert anaphoric element's interpretation is determined by antecedent in a noun phrase.

#### 2.2. Structure of relative clause

According to Payne (1997), the constituents of relative clause are:

- The head noun (HN)
- The relative clause (RC)
- The relativized noun phrase (NPrel)
- The relativizer (REL)

The relativized NP is the coreferent to the head noun with in relative clause. The head noun is modified by the relative clause. The relativizer (REL) is a morpheme or particles that signal the relative clause. The relative clause is modifier clause. Let us consider the following English example.

**1) *The man [who killed a lion]***

In (1), ‘the’ is determiner; ‘man’ is the head noun; ‘who killed a lion’ is the relative clause, ‘who’ is relativized NP. There is no relativizer.

## **2.3. Types of Relative Clause**

Based on the restrictiveness of the meaning a HN it modifies the relative clause (or function) can be classified as the restrictive relative clause (RRC) and the non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC). Regarding the position (distribution) of the HN, relative clause can be head-external, head-internal and headless. The head-external is characterized by the RC’s precedence which is prenominal or follow which is postnominal of the HN.

### ***2.3.1. Restrictive and Non- Restrictive Relative Clauses***

The two main types of classification of the RC are restrictive versus non-restrictive RCs (appositives) with respect to whether RCs are in apposition to the head noun.

#### ***2.3.1.1. Restrictive Relative Clause***

“A relative clause [restrictive relative clause, RRC] is a **subordinate clause** which **delimits the reference** of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC.” (Andrews (2004: 1)). It states the thing it refers to in NPs, or it provides new information about the head.

#### ***2.3.1.2. Non-Restrictive Relative Clause***

“A clause which does not restrict the meaning of the head it modifies but stands in apposition to it”. NRRC provides additional information about pre-identified HN.

Bache and Jacobson (1980:378) suggest that intonation, punctuation, and choice of pronoun are formal different between RRC and NRRC. Intonational break is observed in the NRRC while in the RRC there is none. Intonational difference between NRRC and RRC in written English is realized phonetically by a comma. The comma separates NRRC from its antecedent. English is postnominal RC and the relative pronoun precedes RC. Let us consider the following English examples.

- 2) a) The soldiers who were brave ran forward.  
b) The soldiers, who were brave, ran forward.

The example (2a) is RRC, while (2b) is NRRC connecting the relative clause 'who were brave' is separated by a comma. Moreover, RRC may use relative pronoun (who, whom, and which), the complementizer 'that' and omission of both complementizer and relative pronoun shown by  $\emptyset$  as in (3a), whereas, NRRC is introduced only by a relative pronoun as in (3b). A NRRC can not be headed by a 'that' complementizer as in (3c).

- 3) a) The man that/who/  $\emptyset$  I saw yesterday went this morning.  
c) The man, who arrived here yesterday, went this morning.  
d) \* The man, that arrived here yesterday, went this morning.

Furthermore, Jackendoff (1977) distinguished the difference of RRC and NRRC in terms of their distribution and modifying property of a proper noun. In English, a NRRC follows RRC. The following example is illustrative.

- 4) The man that build house, who was hard worker, was strong.

In (4) the clause 'who was hard worker' is a NRRC, and structurally follows the RRC, 'that build house'. A NRRC modifies proper noun, but a RRC does not. Reflect on the next instance.

- 5) John, who came to dinner, was hard worker.

In (5), John, the head noun, is already restricted in the sense that its referential identity cannot be altered. So, the relative clause is a NRRC.

### ***2.3.2. Lexically and Empty Headed Relatives***

According to Keenan (1985) relative clause can be distinguished into headed and headless.

#### ***2.3.2.1. Lexically Headed Relative***

Lexically headed relatives are those relative clauses in which their head are phonetically realized. They can be classified in to external and internal headed relatives.

##### ***2.3.2.1.1. External Headed Relatives***

External headed relative clause is a relative clause its head occurs outside of relative clause. There are many languages which have external headed relatives. External headed is prenominal or postnominal RC.

###### ***2.3.2.1.1.1. Postnominal RCs***

It is the linear arrangement of elements of RC in which the RC follows the head noun. A language with postnominal relatives has an SVO word order language, as English, and Oromo (Payne 1997) and Gumuz (Asfaw: 1993), respectively.

Let us reflect on the following English (6a), Oromo (6b) and Gumuz (6c) relative clauses

6) a) The man [who bought the book]

b) omusajja [omukasi awe-ya kuba]

man womam rel-she hit

‘The man that the woman hit’

c) dua-(we) d-ä-suk’ gumbba-(ya)

boy-NOM PST-3s-kill lion-ACC

‘The boy killed a lion’

The head nouns ‘the man’ in (6a), omusajja ‘man’ in (6b) and duw- ‘the boy’ in (6c) are found at the leftside of the relative clause. English, Oromo and Gumuz are said to have postnominal relatives.

### **2.3.2.1.1.2. Prenominal RCs**

It is the linear arrangement of elements of RC in which the RC precedes the head noun. According to Downing (1978:391) a language with a prenominal has an SOV word order, and is a head final language as Amharic. Let’s consider Hailu (1972) Amharic example.

- 7)        †bab-un                yä-gäddäl-ä-w                                l†ğ  
              Snake-DEF-ACC REL-killed-3SGM(S)-3SGM(O) boy  
              ‘The boy who killed the snake’

As can be observed in example (8), the word order of Amaharic is SOV. The relative clause is prenominal relative, which occurs at the left of the head noun l†ğ ‘boy’. Since, the Bòrná is SOV language; it can be prenominal relative clauses.

### **2.3.2.1.2. Internal Headed Relatives**

When a head noun occurs inside a relative clause it is called internal relative. The following example is a case of internal relative, cited from Navajo language (Keenan (1985: 143)):

- 8) t†’eedaa’ hastilt ya?ti’-ee a?hosh  
              Last night man spoke-REL sleep  
              ‘The man who spoke last night is sleeping’

In (8) the head noun hastilt ‘man’ occurs inside the relative clause ti’eedaa’ --- ya?ti’-ee a?hosh ‘who spoke last night’. In Bòrná, there is no such kind of relative clause.

### 2.3.2.2. *Headless relative clauses / Empty Headed Relatives*

A relative clause can be empty headed in contrast to lexically head relatives. Consider the following examples from English, Amharic, and Gumuz, in (9a), (9b) and (9c), respectively. The Gumuz example is taken from Asfaw (1993: 4)

9) a) We knew [e] what we ate

b) ፎሰህ ፎሰህ ሃ-ባላላ-ን-ው-ን [e] ሃ-አውኅ'-ላላ  
he we REL(RM)-ate-1PL-3SGM(S)-ACC 3SG-know-be(PRES)  
'He knew what we ate'

c) [e] int-i-s-a ah d-ä-gim  
comp-1PL-ate-1PL he PST-3SGM-know  
'He knew what we ate'

In (9), the relative clauses have no head nouns as the positions are indicated by an empty element [e]. Thus, they are empty headed relatives.

## 2.4. Ways of relativization

RCs can also be classified with respect to how the relativized NP (NPrel) is realized:

- (I) The NPrel as a resumptive pronoun/personal pronouns;
- (II) The NPrel as a relative pronoun;
- (III) The NPrel as a full NP;
- (IV) The NPrel is omitted;

The language employs different strategies with respect to the formation of relative clause. Some languages use a single strategy to all relativized positions, while others may use more than one. For example, Oromo (Baye 1986) and Gumuz (Asfaw 1993) use two kinds of strategy: the movement and pro in situ strategies, while Amharic employs one strategy, a pro in situ strategy.

In generative grammar, marking relativized NP position in a relative clause is a major concern. Keenan (1985: 146) try to present four strategies to make relativised NP. It is shown as follows.

(i). in some languages, a relativised NP can be presented by **personal pronoun** that is common in postnominal relatives. Example (10) below is taken from Keenan (1985: 146) Modern Hebrew and example (11) in English are illustrative personal pronouns as relativizer noun phrases.

(10) ha-sarm      she-ha-nasi      shalax otam la-mitsraim  
The-ministers that-the-President sent them to-Egypt  
'The ministers that the President sent to Egypt'

(11) The man who they think that when Mary marries *him* everyone will be happy.

In (10) & (11) otam 'them' and 'him' identifies the relativized NP ha- sarm 'the ministers' and 'the man' which are in the direct object position of the verb of Hebrew and English, respectively.

Classification based personal pronoun shows the general **tendencies** (Keenan 1985: 147):

(a) If the NPrel is the subject of Srel, it's **not at all common** to find it expressed as a personal pronoun. On the other hand, if NPrel is the object of Srel it is much more common to find it expressed by a personal pronoun.

(b) The lower NPrel on the Accessibility Hierarchy the more common it is to find it expressed by a personal pronoun.

(c) Prenominal RCs retains personal pronouns rarely in NPrel position. (Exception: Chinese)

(ii) The second strategy, according to Keenan (1985: 149), in which the relativised NP is indicated by **relative pronouns**. This strategy occurs only in post-nominal languages but not in prenominal. The pronouns, which are distinct personal pronouns which occur in simple declarative sentences, are nominal which mark properties such as gender, number and case. According to Greenberg (1978: 385) this relative pronoun is commonly either identical with interrogative pronouns or a demonstrative. The English relative is used as interrogatives, but this is not the case in general. Examples of English interrogatives are 'which', and 'who'.

Example (12) is from German (Keenan 1985:149):

(12) a) die Frau, die er liebt  
the woman who(F SG ACC) he loves  
'The woman who he loves'

b) das Mädchen, das er liebt  
the girl who(NEUT SG ACC) he loves  
'The girl who he loves'

(13) 'The aspect of the proposal to which I object most strongly is that  
it cuts library funds by 70%'

(14) The aspect of the proposal [to which I object most strongly] is that it cuts  
library funds by 70%. (Andrews 2004: 11)

In example (13), the relative pronoun die 'who' in (a) agrees with the NP die Frau 'the woman' in the gender, number and case, and das in 'who' in (b) agrees with das Mädchen 'the girl' in number and case but neutral in gender. In (14 & 15), the 'which' is special relative pronoun.

Generally, to be called relative pronoun an element needs to fulfill at least one of the following criteria (Keenan 1985: 149):

- (i) NPrel marks nominal properties such as gender, number, and case.
- (ii) No prenominal relatives in any language which clearly present relative pronouns.
- (iii) Relative pronouns are commonly related to demonstratives, interrogatives, or both (as in English).
- (iv) Relative pronoun almost always occurs leftmost in Srel.

(iii) **Full NP strategy** expresses a full NP in either prenominal or postnominal RCS. The realized NP position is not phonetically empty and filled by full NP. In Relativised clause in (15) contained the repetition of the domain noun which indicates the best example of full NP from Latin is illustrative:

- 15) loci natura erat haec quem locum nostri  
 On the ground nature was this which ground our (men)  
 delegerant  
 chose  
 ‘The nature of the ground which (ground) our men had chosen was this’

16) Tibetan

[Peeme coqtse waa-la kurka thii-pe]  
 Peeme(ERG) table(ABS) under-DAT cross(ABS) write-GEN  
 coqtse the nga noo-qi yin  
 table(ABS) the(ABS) I(ABS) buy-PRES be

‘I will buy the table under which Peem made a cross.’ (Based on Keenan 1985:  
 152)

In example (15) the domain noun loci ‘on the ground’ phonetically repeated in the clause quem locum nostri delegerant ‘which (ground) our men had chosen’ as in locum ‘ground’.

iv) The fourth type of strategy to formal a relativized is indicated by the absent of a marker, which is known as **gapping strategy/ omission**. According to Comrie (1981), the gap does not provide any overt indication of the role of the head with in the relative clause. In English, those that have no person or, who/ whom distinction, this type is used to relativize subjects and direct objects:

- 17) a. The man who/ that gave the book to the girl.  
 b. The book which/ that the man gave to the girl.  
 18) a. The representative [I met Ø] was polite.  
 b. The candidate [John thinks Ø will win] is Tony.  
 c. The people [we spoke with Ø] were sympathetic.

In (17), the head nouns ‘the man’ and ‘the book’ are the subject and the object of relative clauses’ ‘who/ that gave the book to the girl’ and ‘which/ that the man gave to the girl’, respectively. That is, there are no elements that refer to them in the relative clauses. Therefore, gapping strategy is

involved in relativizing the subject NP and the object NP in English. One can observe in examples (17 & 18) above there are no relative pronoun in the relative clauses that refer to the head nouns. Thus, the relatives NPs are “gapped.”

In addition to the above discussed strategies, relativization in some languages involves **pro in situ**- Oromo (Baye: 1987) and Silte (Rawuda: 2003), for example, use this kind of strategy for all relativized position. The logic of pro in situ strategy is based on the view of recoverability of features for the phonetically unrealized element in the NPrel position. Empty category can be “licensed by agreement morphology” (Comrie and Keenan 1979). Let us consider the following Silte examples that taken from (Rawuda: 2003).

- 19) kɨtab yä-wäkäb      -ä      -i      miij  
book REL-bought-3SGM(S)-DEF(M) man  
‘The man who bought a book’

In (19), the relativized NP is the subject. However, the subject position is not occupied by a phonetically realized NP. Hence, pro is posited in the empty position which is recovered from the subject agreement affixes ä ‘3SGM’ as in (19). Thus, Silte uses pro in situ strategy in relative clause formation.

## 2.5. Accessibility Hierarchy

Languages have restriction of accessibility to relative clause formation, or relativized NP position. For example, Malagasy allows relativization only in subject position. In contrary, English can relative all the positions (Comrie 1981:150). According to Keenan and Comrie (1977), NP accessibility hierarchy is produced in (20):

- 20) Subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor

As it is observed in (20), the subject NP is on the high accessible position in the hierarchy, the direct object, indirect object, oblique object possessor and object of comparison come step by step down to the hierarchy.

## CHAPTER THREE

In this chapter an attempt will be made to describe the typological profile, structure of relative clause, types of relative clause and the interaction of the RV in Bòrná.

### 3.1. Typological Profile

In this section, important derivational and inflectional categories, major word classes, and basic word order are discussed briefly. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and demonstratives have stem that cannot occur on their own and affixes are attached to them. In 1, the language has a stem to which derivational or inflectional morpheme (suffix) is attached. We may say the word of the language is bound morpheme (conjugated).

1) a) Noun

àǰ- ‘man’

mà- ‘house’

b) demonstrative

hán- ‘this’

èw- ‘there’

In the language, conjunctions and postpositions are suffixes. Pronouns can be dependent like -è 1SG or independent tà ‘I’.

Lamberti (1993) identifies about twelve case forms (table 2 & 3). The case system in singular noun in table 2 is different from that of plural in table 3

**Table 2 Singular case inflection: baar- (girl) and –u (nominative or accusative)**

Case	Structure	Translation
Absolutive	baar-í/á	‘the girl’
Nomimative/accusative	baar-ú/ó	‘the girl’
Relational	baar-/baar-ì/baar-ù	‘the girl’
Dative/benefactive	baar-u-ǰ	‘for/to the girl’
Directive	baar-u-k	‘to the girl’
Locative	baar-u-ts	‘at the girl’
Commutative	baar-u-nə-toonə	‘with the girl’
Vocative	baar-u-tse	‘in the girl’
Instrumental	baar-u-nə	‘with/by the girl’
Ablative	baar-u-ke	‘from the girl’

In the table 2 above, /-n/ is instrumental case that co-occur with commutative case. In the table, /-u/ is nominative or accusative case that added in slot between the stem and dative, benefactive, locative, directive, locative, commutative, vocative, instrumental and abstractive, or the final rim of the noun is marked by the target case markers.

**Table 3 Plural case inflection: baar- (girl) and -woots (PL)**

Case	Structure	Translation
Absolute	baar- woots-í	‘the girls’
Nominative	baar- woots-ǰ	‘the girls’
Accusative	baar- woots-í	‘the girls’
Relational	baar- woots-i	‘the girls’
Dative	baar- woots-iǰ	‘for/to the girls’
Benefactive	baar- woots- iǰ	‘for/to the girls’
Directive	baar- woots-ok	‘to the girls’
Locative	baar- woots-iits	‘at the girls’
Commutative	baar- woots-ən-toonə	‘with the girls’
Vocative	baar- woots-e	‘in the girls’
Ablative	baar- woots-ke	‘from the girls’

SOCce: Lamberti (1993)

The above case systems in tables 2 and 3 are essential in RC description of the language.

Nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and sometime pronouns are marked for case.<sup>2</sup>

The suffix /-tts/ is derivational as it was stated in Lamberti (1993). In (2), the noun is derived from the verb. And it is verb derived noun.

- 2) úǰǰ -tts -í  
 drink-NOMI-ABS  
 ‘The drunker’

<sup>2</sup> It is possible to make plural by reduplicating the stem baar- ‘girl’ like baarbaara ‘the girls’. We can add plural marker *-wootsi* to reduplicated stem to bring the same plural noun baarbaar-wootsi ‘the girls’ and finally simplified by deleting the second redublication and becomes baar-wootsi ‘the girls’ in regular speech.

The verb by adding derivational suffix /-kk / becomes an adjective as in example (3a) and adding /-èkk/ becomes noun in (3b). The /-á/ is inflectional morpheme.

3) a) úǰ̣ -kk -á

drink-ADJ-ABS

‘drunkard, the one who drinks’

b) úǰ̣- è- kk -á

drink-PASS-A-ABS

‘Be drunk’

Example (3b) is passive noun.

As it will be discussed in the main body of the thesis, Bòrná relative verbs may inflect for tense, negation and aspect. Tense can be past, future, and present. /-ts/, /-rù/, /f/ and /-tù/ are past, simple present, present habitaul and future marker in relative verb, respectively.

In table 4, the main differences between finite verb and relative verb in postnominal RC are indicated as follows:

a) /-ts/ is a past tense and relative verb marker. /-r/ is a past tense marker in regular verb. /-ts/ and /-r/ are different in form but the same in meaning i.e. both mark past tenses.

b) The subject suffix agreement in regular verb are /-è/ 1SGS, /-í/ 3SGFS and /-ò/1PLS and are changed to /-ó/ SGM.NOM(ACC), /-ú/ SGF.NOM (ACC) and /-wóótsǰ̣/ PL.NOM in relative verb, respectively.

**Table 4 finite verb: mà- ‘to eat’**

Person, number, subject	Regular Verb
1SGS	màà-r-è
2SGS	màà-rù- í
2PLS	màà-tù -ò

**Relative verb in postnominal RC**

Person, number, gender, nominal/accusative	Relative verb
1,2,3SGM.NOM/ACC	màà-ts-ó
1,2,3SGF.NOM/ACC	màà-rù-ú
1,2,3PL.NOM	màà-tù- wóótsǰ̣

- 4) a) tà mì] -ó            mà- r -è  
 I food-SGM.ACC eat-PST-1SGS  
 ‘I ate the food’
- b) mì] -í        [tí [e] màà -ts -ó]  
 food-RELN my eat -PST.REL -SGM.ACC  
 ‘the food which I ate’

In (4a), matrix clause, /-ó/ serves as accusative case marker. In (4b), in the direct object relativization, /-ó/ shares index with *pro* (empty element in the head position) and both together serve as co-referent of the head noun mì] -í ‘food’. Therefore, the strategy takes place in here is *pro in situ*. It is *pro* because the relativized NP position is empty [e]. In this table /-ó/ marks 1,2,3SGM.NOM/ACC; /-ú/ marks 1,2,3SGMF.NOM/ACC; and /- wóótsí marks 1,2,3PL.NOM case.

Bòrná’s morphology is inflectional and derivational. Word order of relative clause can be HN RC, or RC HN, or headless RC. Bòrná is prodrop language. A sentence can have one or several RCs, as we shall see in the analysis section.

### 3.1.1. Portmanteau

/ú/ is a portmanteau morpheme encoding of feminine, singular and nominative/ accusative case; in contrast, /ó/ is masculine, singular and nominative/ accusative case.

#### Non-copula function

- /-í/ encodes absolute, feminine and singular;
- /-á/ encodes absolute, masculine and singular and
- /-í/ can also contrast with /ú/ as in table (5) below.

**Table 5 portmanteau morphemes**

M	F	Translation
nà? -á	nà? -í	Child
ùùp’ -ts-í/á/ó	ùùp’ -ts-ú	The one who stole

Let's clarify **the copula function** as in the following example:

5) Masculine	feminine
bí gèènz-á	bì gèènz-í
he tall-COP.M	she tall-COP.F
'He is tall'	'she is tall'
Lamberti (1993)	

The researcher agrees on the point of the morpheme /á/ as copula verb in the language.

As it will be discussed in the following chapters in detail, ó and ú are treated as 1,2,3 person, singular, nominative/accusative, masculine and feminine in relative verb of postnominal relative clause, respectively. The plural marker /-wóóts/ co-occurrence with accusative /í/ or nominative /í/ case serves as agreement marker as in Amharic case. In Amharic, /-at/ in †ssu [e] yä-mät-at 'she whom he beats' stands for three morphemes, 3 person singular, feminine and accusative case. *Pro* with the element /-at/ is co-referent to †ssua 'she'. In Bòrná, /-wóóts† / stands for plural and nominative case, and serve as agreement marker in postnominal RC. Both *pro* and the morpheme is co-referent to relativised subject and direct object. Let us consider the following example.

6) àǰ -†	[[e] wàà -ts -wóóts-†]
man-RELN	come-PST.REL-PL-NOM
'The men who came'	

In (6), the relativized subject position is empty as indicated by [e]. The marker /-wóóts†/ in the verb shares the same index with [e]. The features of empty category can be recoverable from the marker which is attached to the relative verbs. Thus, it could identify the category of phonetically unrealized element in the NPrel position. *Pro* and the marker is co-referent to HN àǰ-† 'the man'.

Since Bòrná is SOV language, it is head final language. According to Downing (1978), the dominant position of the head languages of this kind is following modifier. And the position of the relative clause is following the head element; yet reversing the order may not lead to ungrammaticality. So, corresponding to (6), one can say:

- 7) [[e] wàà -ts] àf -ó  
 come-PST.REL man-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The man who came’

In (6), the head noun position of prenominal relative clause is marked by /-ó/.

The position of modifiers (ADJ or RC) can be prenominal or postnominal. Let us consider the adjective case in example (8).

- 8) a) gèènz-† àf - ú  
 tall-RELN person-SGF.NOM  
 ‘The tall woman’

- b) àf -† gèènz ùùp’ -ír -rù -ó  
 person-RELN tall steal-IMPERF-PRES-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The tall man who is stealing’

In (8a), gèènz-† ‘the tall’ is preceding àf- ú ‘woman’. Thus, it is the prenominal. When both adjective and relative clause modify a head noun, the adjective precedes the relative clause (8b). Thus, the element /-ó/ serves as agreement marker. /-ó/ recovers gender, case, and number feature of the head noun. The relative clause is postnominal.

### 3.2. Structure of relative clause in Bòrná

Bòrná uses three different kinds of relative forming strategies. In the subject and direct object relativization, *gapping* is used in prenominal type of relative clause and *pro in situ* is used in postnominal type of relative clause. When a noun with other grammatical cases is relativized, personal pronoun strategy is employed.

In the NP, the RC can follow and precede the HN. The clause has a /ts/ relativizer. Relativized noun phrase (NPrel) can have null or empty elements see the following examples.

- 9) a) àf-† [[e]èèyƒ úúp’ -ts -ó]  
 man-RELN goat steal-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The man who stole the goat’

- b) àʃ -ɨ [[e] èèʃ úɗ -ts -ó]  
 man-RELN lion kill-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The man who killed the lion’

In 9(a & b), we have a subject of a sentence that is relativized. The head noun àʃ-ɨ ‘the man’ precedes the RC [[e] èèʃ úɗ’-ts-ó] ‘who stole the goat’ and [[e] èèʃ úɗ’-ts-ó] ‘who killed the lion’ in 9(a) and 9(b), respectively. /-ó/ refers to the case, number and gender feature of the HN and this agreement marker is suffixed to the RC. [e] denotes the empty relativized NP (NPrel) position. Example 9(a& b) is a postnominal RC. According to Downing (1978), this relative clause position is not a dominant position for SOV language. Therefore, for Downing, Bòrná can be considered as among exceptional SOV languages in positioning of postnominal relative clause. In (9a), the head noun àʃ-ɨ ‘the man’ and the RC [[e]èèʃ úɗ’-ts-ó] form NP àʃ-ɨ [[e]èèʃ úɗ’-ts-ó] ‘the man who stole the goat’ and the relativizer /ts/. Therefore, examples 9 (a & b) has relativizer and but has no relative pronoun and the NPrel positions is empty. There are cases where NPrel can be filled by concrete element. It will be observed in the chapter four.

### 3.3. Types of Relative Clause in Bòrná

#### 3.3.1. *The Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relative Clause*

Bòrná makes no distinction between restrictive relative clause (RRC) and the non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC). In prenominal relative clause, agreement marker is not suffixed to the RC. The position of RC can be before or after the head noun. Therefore, there are no formal and distributional differences we can observe in restrictiveness of Bòrná relative clause structure. The following examples in (10a-c) are illustrative.

- 10) a) àʃ -ɨ mìz kèw -ts mà àg -ts -ó wàà -r -é  
 Man-RELN cow buy-PST.REL house build-PST.REL-SGM.NOM come-PST-3SGM  
 ‘The man who bought a cow, who built house, came’

b) nà<sup>2</sup>-í mà fàkǎ -ts bí ìnd k'írí -ts -ó wòòs'-r-é  
 boy-RELN house leave-PST.REL her mother die-PST.REL-SGM.NOM run-PST-3SGM  
 'The boy who left the house, whose mother died, ran'

c) kàbàd mììǎ-í má -ts -ó gèènz-á  
 kebede food-RELN eat-PST.REL-SGM.NOM tall -COP.  
 'Kebede, who ate food, is tall'

Bòrná RC can end with finite verb as in example (10a-c). In example (10a), RVs àg-ts- ó 'who built' has no non-restrictive (NR) or restrictive (R) marker that is attached it. The relative verbs are transitive verbs and require direct object which is relativized. Similarly, in example (10a-b) the RC are mììz kèw-ts 'who bought cow' and mà fàkǎ-ts 'who left the house' on which the restrictiveness marker is not attached. kàbàd 'Kebede' is the proper noun but there is no non-restrictive relative clause marker or RC provides additional information for the HN without any marker. In example (10a), the RC mììz kèw-ts 'who bought a cow' or mà àg-tù-ó 'who built the house' has no assumed or additional information marker for nà<sup>2</sup>-'boy'. Similarly, the RC mììǎ-ì má-ts-ó has no additional information marker element for proper noun HN kàbàd 'kebede' in this particular language. Therefore, in the language RRC is not distinguished from the NRRC by formally and distributionally. According to Jackendoff (1977), the distributional difference in forming of the restrictiveness is indicated by a NRRC follows RRC or a NRRC precedes RRC in order to bring meaning/ information change. Bòrná does not accommodate this feature.

The major findings of the researcher are a prenominal, postnominal and headless RC type, and three strategies (or ways of relativization): gapping, pro in situ and pronoun retention occurrence in the language. The language has a relativizer /ts/. Bòrná also allows all accessibility hierarchy of Comrie and Keenan (1981) in relative clause formation.

Lamberti (1993), and Felming (1976) and Bikila (2003) have made an effort to describe the relative clause of Bòrná. Lamberti (1993) have established about 7 relative pronouns. There are different suffixes in Lamberti's relative pronoun: affixes /-ó/ and /-ú/ are SGM.NOM/ACC and SGF.NOM/ACC marker, respectively. And /wóóts/ is plural marker, and /-ts/ is a past tense and relative clause marker, /-tú/ and /-rú/ are tense markers in the RC.

- 11) a) am-tsó  
 go-RELP.M  
 ‘He who went’
- b) am-tsú  
 go-RELP.F  
 ‘She who went’
- c) am-tsuwoótsí  
 go-RELP.PL  
 ‘They who went’
- d) am-iruwó  
 go-RELP.M  
 ‘We who goes’
- e) am-iruú  
 go-RELP.F  
 ‘She who goes’
- f) am-iruwoótsí  
 go-RELP.PL  
 ‘they who go’
- g) amm-ettuwó  
 go-RELP.M  
 ‘We who will go’
- h) amm-ettuú  
 go-RELP.PL  
 ‘She who will go’
- g) amm-ettuwoótsí  
 go-RELP.PL  
 ‘They who will go’

According to Lamberti (1993), Bòrná has relative pronoun as German and English languages do. We may recall how English has a choice of relative pronouns, who, that etc. in our previous

discussion. The present study claims that the word end markers of (11) are tenses (and relativiser in a past tense) and agreement markers.

In the present study, the researcher investigated that the language has prenominal or postnominal RC. Fleming and Bikila have assumed element /-ts/ is relativizer. But, it is a relativizer only in past tense. Special situation for gapping occurs in subject and direct object prenominal RC of NP. The structural feature that distinguishes the different relative clause type is the position of the head noun with respect to relative clause. Bòrná is an external headed. The language accommodates postnominal, prenominal and headless RC position. The strategies can also be pro in situ and the pronoun retention like bĩ ‘his’ in 13 in addition to Fleming (1976) and Bikila (2003) findings of postnominal RC and gapping strategy.

12) nàʔ -ĩ [ kán [e] ʃàs’ -ts -ó]  
 Boy-RELN dog bite-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The boy whom the dog bite’

13) nàʔ-ĩ [àʃ -ó bi -ʃ mìʃʃ ímm -ts -ó]  
 Child-RELN man-NOM his-DAT food give-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The boy whom the man gave the food to’

### 3.3.2. External Headed Relative Clause

#### 3.3.2.1. Postnominal RC

In Bòrná, the head noun can precede RC. The following patterns illustrate the case:

14) a) nàʔ-á [ kán-ĩ [e] ʃàs’ - ts - ó]  
 boy-ABS dog-ABS bite-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The boy whom the dog bite’

b) àʃ-ĩ [bĩ mà gĩrʃ - ts -ó]  
 man-RELN his house fall down-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The man whose house fell down’

c) èy] - ð [ à] - ó [e] kèwú - tù - ú]  
 goat-RELN man-ACC buy-PRES-SGF.NOM  
 ‘The goat (F) which the man buys’

In the examples (14) above, the HN nà? - ‘boy’ in (a), à] - ‘man’ in (b) and èy] - ‘goat’ in (c) are positioned before the relative clause. The Bòrná basic word order is SOV. Examples of relative clause in 14 are postnominal relative clauses.

### 3.3.2.2. *Prenominal RCs*

According to Downing (1978), the prenominal RC is a dominant position of the RC in SOV or head final language. That means the relative clauses occur preceding their heads.

15) [[e] èèy] úúp’ -ts] à] - ó  
 goat steal-PST.REL nam-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The man who stole the goat’

In (15), the head follows the RC. Therefore, Bòrná relative clause structure satisfies Downing (1978) dominant position of the RC of final headed language. à] - ‘the man’ is the HN; [e] is NPreI which is empty; and èèy] - úúp’ -ts ‘who stole the goat’ is the RC and /ts/ is a relativizer. In the relative clause, [e] èèy] úúp’ -ts ‘who stole the goat’ there is no coreferent element to the HN. In (15), relativized NP position is empty and there is a relativizer. Let us consider another more examples on prenominal relative clause.

16) a) ààzààzèf - ó èè] - ó ùd -r -é  
 Hunter-SGM.NOM lion-SGM.ACC kill-PST-3SGM  
 ‘The hunter killed a lion’

b) [[e] èè] - ð ùd -ts] ààzààzèf - ó  
 lion-RELN kill-PST.REL hunter-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The hunter who killed a lion’

17) a) àǎ -ó mààs'áf -ó kèèwè -r -é  
 man-SGM.NOM book-SGM.ACC buy-PST-3SGM.

'The man bought a book'

b) [[e]mààs'áf-ǎ kèèw-ts] àǎ -ó  
 book -RELN buy-PST.REL man-SGM.NOM

'The man who bought a book'

The sentences in (16a) and (17a) are matrix clauses, and the word order is SOV. This word order is dominated by prenominal relative clause position. This is approved in (16b) and (17b). In the sentences, the position of the HN is following the RC.

### 3.3.3. *Headless relative clauses / Empty Headed Relatives*

Bòrná has employed headedness of relative RC similar to English, Amharic, and Gumuz. Consider the following examples.

18) a) [e] [[e]ǎùn-ts -ó] bí nó ǎùn -r -é  
 love-PST.REL-SGM.NOM he we love-PST-3SGM

'He loved, what we loved'

b) [ǎ [e] s'ìil-ts] [e] ǎèèn -á  
 my watch-PST.REL good-COP.DEC

'What I watched is good'

In (18), there is no phonetically realized HN. But one can understand the head can be inferred to. For instance, in (18a) the empty head can be inferred from the fact that the object noun of the verb ǎùn- 'love'. In (18b), the verb s'ìil- 'watch' requires an object NP and it is phonetically empty in the structure.

So far, we have discussed aspects of relative clause like the RRC and NRRC and external headed relative clause such as prenominal, postnominal and headless in Bòrná.

### 3.3.4. *The RC and Adjective function*

#### 3.3.4.1. *Distribution function*

In the language, adjectives can function as headless NP and as modifiers of HN. There are twelve case forms as in table 2 and 3. The case or /-ó, -ú, -wóótsí(i) / is added to adjective in its function as headless NP and postnominal adjective. In prenominal adjective, the relation case marker /i/ is attached to adjective.

19) i) Adjective as headless NP

gèènz -ó wàà -r -é

Tall-SGM.NOM come-PST-3SG

‘The tall came’

Since Bòrná is SOV language, the HN position is following modifiers. The head position of the prenominal positioned adjective is marked by marker /-ó/ as in (19ii). The head position marker is attached to adjective.

ii) Adjective as modifiers

a) As postnominal modifier of the HN

àǎ -í gèènz -ó wàà -r -é

man-RELN tall-SGM.NOM come-PST-3SG

‘the tall man come’

b) As prenominal modifier of the HN

gèènz -í àǎ -ó wàà -r -é

tall-RELN man-SGM.NOM come-PST-3SG

‘the tall man came’

The dominant position of the HN is following the modifier. In example (19b), we indicated the dominant place of the HN. The modifier follows HN. The language can have prenominal or postnominal adjective.

**Table 6 Position of adjective in NP**

headless NP		Postnominal		Prenominal	
ADJ	Nom	HN	Modifier	Modifier	HN

Similarly, RC can function as headless NP and modifiers of the HN as in example (20) below.

20) i) The RC as headless NP

[tɪ̄ [e] bék' -ts -wóóts-t̄] wàà -r -nó  
 my see-PST.REL-PL-NOM come-PST-3PL  
 'Ones whom I saw came'

ii) The relative clause as modifiers

a) As modifiers of the HN in Postnominal RC

à] -t̄ [tɪ̄ [e] bék' -tù -wóóts-t̄] wàà -r -nó  
 Man-RELN my see-PRES-PL-NOM come-PST-3PL  
 'The men whom I see came'

b) As modifier of the HN in prenominal RC

[tɪ̄ [e] bék' -ts] à]-wóóts-t̄ wàà -r -nó  
 my see-PST.REL man-PL-NOM come-PST-3PL  
 'The men whom I saw came'

In (20iia), the plural and case marker suffix /-wóóts-t̄/ splited out from the head noun and are attached to the relative clause and it shows the head noun position and, as same time, it is an agreement marker of the HN.

**Table 7 the position of RC in the NP**

headless NP		Postnominal		Prenominal	
RC		HN	RC	RC	HN

As it is mentioned above, the distribution of RC and adjective is similar in the NP. There are three kinds of relative clause in Bòrná. These are prenominal, postnominal and headless RC.

When both the adjective and the RC come together, the modifiers occur following the HN and the adjective precedes the RC, as it is indicated in the following example.

- 21) àj -tì gèènz bék'-ts -ó  
man-RELN tall see -PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The tall man who saw'

### 3.4. Relative Verb Interaction

A verb in Bòrná consists of a stem which may be extended by inflectional morphemes. In (22), verbs marked for tense and person, number and gender have structure: the verb stem, plus a tense marker and finally a person, number and gender marker. Tense morphemes can be placed in the slot between the stem and the subject agreement marker. Finite verbs can function on their own as the core of an independent sentence. Two verbs are given as examples below.

- 22 a) új -r -è  
Drink-PST-1SG  
'I drank'  
b) wòs'-rù -í  
run-FUT-2SG  
'You will run'

#### 3.4.1. Affirmative Relative Verb

##### 3.4.1.1. Postnominal Relative Verb

Prodropped finite verb function as meaningful sentences in example (23a)

- 23 a) s'ííl -r -è  
watch-PST-1SG  
'I watched'

Postnominal RC:

Mono-transitive relative verb with simple present (23b)

- b) s'ííl -rù -ó/ú  
watch-PRES-SGM/F.NOM  
'The one (f/m) who watches'

Ditransitive relative verb with simple past (23c)

- c) ìmmí -ts -ó  
give-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The one who gave'

Intransitive relative verb with past perfect (23d)

- d) wàà-ít tǽf -ts -ó  
come-PERF remain-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
'the one who had come'

Intransitive relative with present progressive (23e)

- e) kèèf -ír -rù -ó  
raise-PROG-PRES-SGM.NOM  
'the one which is raising'

Passive relative verb with simple present tense (23f)

- f) s'ííl' -é -rù -wóóts -í/í  
watch-PASS-PRES-PL-NOM/ACC  
'The ones who are watched'

Relative verb with present habitual tense (23g)

- g) máá -f -ó  
eat-PRESH-SGM.NOM/ACC  
'The one (m) who eats'

In (23d), perfective aspect marker is attached to main verb wòòts- ‘run’ and tense and agreement markers are attached to tǽf- ‘remain’. When the RC follows the HN, the head position markers in (23b-g) are added to RV by splited out from the head noun. These verbs terminate with agreement and head position markers ó, ú or wóóts-í/í.

In the data (23a) and (23b-g), we can realize:

- (a) Affirmative RVs of postnominal RC terminating by agreement marker which is suffixed after tense suffix;
- (b) Tense is morphologically realizable. The past tense marke [-ts] (and the relative clause) is an allomorph of {-r}. The regular verb tense is wider in distribution than the RV. It becomes [-ts] in RC environment and relative clause marker and becomes {-r} elsewhere. That is why {-r} is taken as a morpheme.

24) nàʔ ð̣ [[e] bìn bék’ -ts -ó]  
 boy-RERN her see-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The boy who saw her’

In the above example nàʔ-ð̣<sup>3</sup> ‘the boy’ is NP, [e] is relativized NP, and [[e] bìn bék’-ts-ó ‘who saw her’ is the RC. Based on (24), we can say that /-ts/ is a relativizer as it was claimed by Fleming (1976) and Bikila (2003), and also it was identified a past tense marker in affirmative RV. Therefore, Bòrná RC construction has a relaivizer in past tense. The strategy they proposed is gapping. But the three agreement markers that are added to the RV identify NPrel or the HN features. Therefore, it is not gapping. The gapping is possible only in prenominal subject and object relativization. The gapping states that the position of HN is pro (empty) as the same time the element that refers to pro is null.

### 3.4.1.2. Prenominal Relative Verb

Corresponding to (23b-g), the following (25a-f) is relative verbs of prenominal relative clause. Mono-transitive relative verb with simple present (25a)

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<sup>3</sup> Definetness in the language is not marked.

a) s'ííl-rù  
watch -PRES  
'who/whom watch'

Ditransitive relative verb with past (25b)

b) ìmm†-ts  
give-PST.REL  
'who gave'

Intransitive relative verb with past perfect (25c)

c) wàà-†t tǝf -ts  
come-PERF remain-PST.REL  
'who/whom/ that had come'

Intransitive relative with present progressive (25d)

d) kèèf -ír -rù  
raise-PROG (IMPERF)-PRES  
'That is raising'

Passive relative verb (25e)

e) s'ííl -é -rù  
watch-PASS-PRES  
'who/whom is watched'

Relative verb with present habitual tense (25f)

f) mǎá-f  
eat-PRESH  
'who/that/ whom eats'

The following example show prenominal relative verb form

26) [[e] bìn bék'-ts] nàʔ -ó  
her see-PST.REL boy-SGM.NOM  
'the boy who saw her'

In the example [e] is empty relativized NP, bék'-ts 'saw' is RV, [e] bìn bék'-ts 'who saw her' is the RC, nàʔ -ó 'boy' is the HN and /ts/ is a relativizer.

### 3.4.2. Negative Relative Verbs

Negative RVs are not simply generated by suffixing negative marker. It drops tense markers before taking negative form. Thus, the morpheme /-á/ is a relativizer and a negative RV marker.

#### 3.4.2.1. The Negative Relative Morpheme –á

The negative markers in regular verb are /-áts/ in simple present, past, and future; /-ák/ present habitual and /-ál/ in continuous tense. In relative verb, /-á/ is used as negation of verbs with present, past and future tenses. And it is the negative clause marker.

Affirmative regular verb

- 27) ?ít bín bék'-r-ít  
you him see-PST-2SG  
'You (PL) saw him'

Negative regular verb

- 28) ?ít bín bék'- áts -ít  
you him see-NEG-2PL  
'You (PL) did not see him'

Negative RV in postnominal RC

Mono-transitive verb negation with simple present (29a)

- 29 a) s'ííl -á -ó/ú  
watch-NEG.REL-SGM/F.NOM  
'The one (m/f) who does not watch'

Ditransitive relative verb negation with simple past (29b)

- b) ìmm -á -ó  
give-NEG.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The one who did not give'

Intransitive relative verb negation with past perfect (29c)

c) wàà -ít təʃ -á -ó  
come-PERF remain-NEG.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The one who had not come'

Intransitive relative verb negation with present progressive (29d)

d) kèèʃ -á -ó  
raise-NEG.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The one which is not rising'

Passive relative verb negation (29e)

e) s'ííl -ér -á -wóóts -í/í  
watch-PASS-NEG.REL-PL-NOM/ACC  
'The ones who are not watched'

Relative verb negation with present habitual tense (29f)

f) máár -á -ó  
eat-NEG.REL-SGM.NOM/ACC  
'The one who does not eat'

30 a) mîiz -í [à] -ó [e] béʔ -á -ó]  
Cow-RELN man-SGM.NOM see-NEG.REL-SGM.ACC  
'Cow which the man did not see'

b) bín [ɔ́ít [e] béʔ -á -ó]  
him your see-NEG.REL-SGM.ACC  
'He who you do not see'

Negative RV in prenominal RC

Corresponding to example (29a-f), we can say that:

Mono-transitive verb negation with simple present (31a)

31 a) s'ííl -á  
watch-NEG.REL  
'Who does not watch'

Ditransitive relative verb negation with simple past (31b)

b) ìmm-á  
give-NEG.REL  
'Who did not give'

Intransitive relative verb negation with past perfect (31c)

c) wàà -ít təj -á  
come-PERF remain-NEG.REL  
'Who had not come'

Intransitive relative verb negation with present progressive (31d)

d) kèèʃ-á  
raise-NEG.REL  
'which is not rising'

Passive relative verb negation (31e)

e) s'ííl -ér -á  
watch-PASS-NEG.REL  
'who are not watched'

Relative verb negation with present habitual tense (31f)

f) máár<sup>4</sup> -á  
eat-NEG.REL  
'who/that does not eat'

32 a) [à] -ó [e] bé? -á ] m̀iz -ó  
man-SGM.NOM see-NEG.REL cow-SGM.ACC  
'Cow which man did not see'

b [à] -ó [e] bé?-á ] m̀iz -ó  
man-SGM.NOM see-NEG.REL cow-SGM.ACC  
'Cow which man does not see'

As it was observed in the above examples, tense and negation are mutually exclusive.

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<sup>4</sup> According to Lamberti (1993), /-r /is negative root but in present work it is inserted between to vowel to prevent vowel cluster.

## CHAPTER FOUR

The present study aims to uncover in this chapter the accessibility hierarchy and ways of relativization in Bòrná.

### *4.1. Ways of relativization and Accessibility Hierarchy in Bòrná*

#### *4.1.1. Accessibility Hierarchy*

Bòrná covers all positions of Keenan and Comrie (1977) NP accessibility hierarchy.

##### *4.1.1.1. Subject Relativization*

According to Comrie (1981:151) ‘every language can relative on subject’. The same is true for Bòrná. Let us consider the following examples.

1 a) àǎ -ḥ [[e] èè] ùḍ -ts -ó]  
Man-RELN lion kill-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
‘The man who killed a lion’

b) mááatts-ḥ [[e] tár àm -ts -ú]  
woman-RELN field go-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
‘The woman who went to field’

c) àǎ -ḥ [[e] mèèr kéwù -ts -wóóts-ḥ]  
Man-RELN sheep buy-PST.REL-PL-NOM  
‘The persons who bought a sheep’

Examples in (1) show that we can have relative clauses on subject position. In present work, like in the case of Amharic (Hailu Fulass: 1972) and Silte (Rawuda: 2003), Bòrná has no relative pronoun to represent a relativized NP. The elements /ó/, /ú/ and /wóótsḥ/ which suffix to the

relative verbs in postnominal RC and to the head nouns in prenominal are not relative pronouns in contrast with Lamberti's (1993) claim.

The elements /ó/, /ú/ and /wóótsɨ/ are subject agreement markers and recovers features for unrealized NP positions in (1a, b & c) and (2) below and relativized NP position is *pro*. Thus, postnominal subject relativization employs *pro in situ* strategy.

2) a) àʃ -ɨ́ [ [e] m̀̀z-ɨ́ úp' -ts -ó ]  
 nam-RELN cow-RELN steal-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 'The man who stole the cow'

b) mááts-ɨ́ [[e] m̀̀z úp' -ts -ú ]  
 woman-RELN cow steal-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 'The woman who stole the cow'

c) àʃ -ɨ́ m̀̀z -ɨ́ úúp' -ts - wóóts-ɨ́  
 man-RELN cow-RELN steal-PST.REL-PL -NOM  
 'The men who stole the cow'

The head noun of example (2) functions as subject not only in the MC but also in the RC.

But, in prenominal subject relativization there is no element that is phonetically realizable in the subject position in (3). Therefore, the strategy that accounts here is gapping.

3) [[e]èè] -ɨ́ ùɖ -ts] àʃ -ó  
 lion-RELN kill-PST.REL man-SGM.NOM  
 'The man who killed a lion'

In prenominal RC subject relativization and in matrix clause, the subject is marked by /-ó/ SGM.NOM or /-ú/ SGF.NOM or /-wóótsɨ/ PL-NOM. This is illustrated in example (4) below.

4 a) [ [e] èèyɨ́ -ó úúp' -ts] àʃ -ó/-ú / -wóóts -ɨ́  
 goat-SGM.ACC steal-PST.REL man/woman/people-SGM/-SGF.NOM/PL-NOM  
 'The man/woman/peoples who stole the goat'

b) [[e]èèyʃ úúp'-ts] àʃ -ó  
 goat steal-PST.REL nam-SGM.NOM

'The man who stole the gaot'

c) [[e]èèyʃ úúp'-ts] àʃ -ú  
 goat steal-PST.REL woman-SGF.NOM

'The woman who stole the gaot'

d) [[e]èèyʃ úúp'-ts] àʃ-wóóts-†  
 goat steal-PST.REL people-PL-NOM

'The peoples who stole the gaot'

Matrix clause (4a) adds whether /-ó/ or /-ú/ or /-wóóts†/ as markers depending on number or gender or case of the subject àʃ- 'man/woman'. The markers are added to the HN in 4(a-d). The HN àʃ- 'man/wman', in examples 4(a-d), takes the nominative case markers /-ó/ or /-ú/ or /-†/. Of course, the element /-ó/ and /-ú/ are encoded as nominative or accusative case marker.

On the other hand, if the RC is postnominal, the subject HN is preceding the RC and the agreement markers are splited from HN and are added to the RC. Consider the following example.

5) a) àʃ -† [[e]èèyʃ úúp' -ts -ó]  
 man-RELN goat steal-PST.REL-SGM.NOM

'The man who stole the gaot'

b) àʃ -† [[e]èèyʃ úúp' -ts -ú]  
 woman-RELN goat steal-PST.REL-SGF.NOM

'The woman who stole the gaot'

c) àʃ -† [[e]èèyʃ úúp' -ts -wóóts†]  
 man/woman-RELN goat steal -PST.REL -PL.NOM

'The peoples who stole the gaot'

The subject agreement marker /-ó/ or /-ú/ or /-wóótsɨ/ is attached to the RC. The agreement markers share index with empty element in example (5). And the agreement markers and empty element both together refer to the HN. The empty element takes the head noun position. Nominative case or accusative case marker is the same for singular and the same gender. But, for plural, it is different.

#### **4.1.1.2. Object relativization**

After subject reatization, the next step in relativization's accessibility hierarchy is object position. In Bòrná, the direct and indirect object can be relativized. In the following sections we will look at how direct and indirect object is relativized separately.

##### **4.1.1.2.1. Direct object relativization**

When the head noun of a relative clause is a direct object, it is called a direct object relativization. Let us consider the following examples:

##### **Postnominal relative clause**

6 a) àndúr-ɨ [tà [e] tɨ úɗ -ts -ó]  
 Cat -RELN I my kill-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 'The cat which I killed'

b) mîiz -ɨ [ mááts -ú [e] ɖʒóót' -ts -ó]  
 cow-RELN woman-SGM.NOM hit -PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 'The cow which the woman hit'

c) mîiz-bèèr-ɨ [ àɺ -ó [e] kèèw -ts -wóóts-í]  
 ox -RELN man-SGM.NOM buy-PST.REL-PL-ACC  
 'The oxen, which the man bought'

## Prenominal relative clause

Corresponding to example 6 above, we can say:

7 a) [tà [e] t̥í úɖ -ts] ààndúr-ó

I my kill-PST.REL cat-SGM.ACC

‘The cat which I killed’

b) [mááts -ú [e] ɖʒóót’ -ts] m̀ìz -ó

woman-SGF.NOM hit -PST.REL cow -SGM.ACC

‘The cow which the woman hit’

c) [à] -ó [e] k̀èè -ts ] m̀ìz-b̀èèr-wóóts-í

man-SGM.ACC buy-PST.REL ox -PL -ACC

‘The oxen which the man bought’

In (6 & 7), the relativized NP positions are that of direct objects. The lexical properties of the verb *úɖ*- ‘to kill’ in (a), *ɖʒóót*- ‘to hit’ in (b) and *k̀èèw*- ‘to buy’ in (c) require two arguments.

The accusative marker /-í/ is attached to the HN after plural marker. When the HN follows the RC, the accusative case markers are suffixed to the HN after plural marker. This is described in example (8) below

8) a) [à] -ó [e] ú] -r̀ù] ááts -ó

man-SGM.NOM drink-PRES water-SGM.ACC

‘The water (M) which the man drinks’

b) [à] -ú [e] ú] -r̀ù] ááts -ó

woman-SGF.NOM drink-PRES water-SGM.ACC

‘The water (F) which the woman drinks’

c) [ à] -wóóts -t̥ [e] k̀èèt- r̀ù] máás’áf- wóóts-í

people-PL-NOM drink-PRES book-PL- ACC

‘The books which the people buy’

The accusative case marker /-í/ is added to HN after plural morpheme / -wóóts/ in example (8c) above.

The postnominal direct object relativization can also be illustrated in the following example.

9) èèyʃ -ḗ      [àʃ -wóóts -ḗ [e] úúp'-tù-wóóts-í]  
 goat- RELN    people-PL    -NOM    steal-FUT-PL-ACC

‘The goats which the peoples will steal’

In Bòrná, when relative clause follows nominal head, as it is described in example (9), in the relative clause, the relativized NP is empty. The element /-ó, -ú, -wóótsí/ refers back to *pro* and shares indexes with *pro*. The element and *pro* are an anaphora coreferent with the head noun (antecedent). Therefore, it is *pro in situ* strategy.

Similar strategies take place in subject and direct object relativization. The internal structure of RCs of Bòrná subject and direct object relativization, the NPrel is a null-spell out and no relativizer in it. This is shown in example 10 below which involves subject relativization of prenominal RC.

10) [[e]èèyʃ úúp' -ts]      àʃ -ó  
 goat    steal-PST.REL    nam-SGM.NOM

‘The man who stole the goat’

The NPrel position is empty. There is no element in the RC that is coreferent with the HN. Therefore, the strategy is gapping.

#### **4.1.1.2.2. Indirect object relativization**

Like subject and direct object relativization, indirect object is also relativizable in the language. The finite clause with indirect object is given in (11a) and indirect object relativization will be shown as 11(b, c) in Bòrná:

11) a) tà    nà?    -ó      -ʃ    más'áf -ó      ímm -r    -è  
 I    boy-SGM.NOM-DAT    book-SGM.ACC    give-PST.REL-1SG

‘I gave the book to the boy’

b i) nà? -á [tà bɪ-] más'áf-ɪ tɪ ímm -ts -ó]  
 boy-ABS I his-DAT book-RELN my give-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 'The boy whom I gave the book to'

ii) [tà bɪ-] más'áf-ɪ tɪ ímm-ts] nà? -ó  
 I his-DAT book-RELN my give-PST.REL boy-SGM.ACC  
 'The boy whom I gave the book to'

c i) nà? -ɪ [tà bó-óóké más'áf-ó tɪ dé k' -ts -wóóts -í]  
 boy-RELN their-ABL book -SGM.ACC my take-PST.REL-PL -ACC  
 'The boys whom I took the book from'

ii) [tà bó-óóké más'áf-ó tɪ dé k' -ts] nà?-wóóts-í  
 I their-ABL book-SGM.ACC my take-PST.REL boy-PL-ACC  
 'The boys whom I took the book from'

In (11a), the word order of the sentence in matrix clause is *subject indirect object direct object verb* but in relative clause construction the word order became whether *HN RC* or *RC HN* in the language. In the construction, there are retained pronouns as *bɪ-* 'his' and *bó-* 'their' which are traced pronouns. The pronouns are placed at relativized NP position.

Similarly, in (12) HN employs "pronoun retention strategy" which is another common relativization strategy in the languages of the world.

12) m̀̀ -ɪ [bɪ-] mòòtɪ' -ɪ tɪ ímm -ts -ó]  
 cow-RELN my-DAT grass-RELN my give-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 'The cow whom I gave grass to'

The substituted pronoun can refer to human or non-human beings. It is co-refered with [+animal] as in example (12).

In indirect object relativization, anaphoric element is personal pronoun. Anaphoric is a co-referent of the HN. In 13, the anaphora *bì-* interpretation is determined by antecedent *èèyǝ-ó* ‘goat’. Let us consider the following example.

- 13) [ǎǝ -ó            bǝ-ǝ    mòòǝǝ' ìmm -ír -rù]      èèyǝ -ó  
 man-SGM.NOM its-DAT grass give-PROG-PRES goat-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The goat (M) to which the man is giving the grass ’

In (13), the third-person pronoun is *bì-* ‘its’ is introduced to relative clause to carry the postposition dative marker */-ǝ/*, when the noun in the dative case move to take the head position. The RC of indirect object relativization has retained pronoun that traces the HN position. As it is seen, *ǎǝ-ó bǝ-ǝ mòòǝǝ' ìmm-ír-rù* ‘to which the man is giving the grass’ is the RC, *èèyǝ-ó* is the HN, relativised NP is *bì-* ‘its’ and still there is no relativizer. Empty position of the HN inside the relative clause is filled by relativised NP.

To sum up, it is common to find in texts that retained pronoun is trace deleted indirect object. Therefore, the strategy is pronoun retention.

#### ***4.1.1.3. Relativization of Oblique position***

Oblique positions are also relativisable as subject, direct object and indirect objects in Bòrná. In this section, we will examine the relativised oblique in instrument, source, benefactive, malifactive, locative and temporal semantic roles. Like indirect object relativization, possessor and oblique relativization make use of pronoun retention strategy. Postnominal possessor relativization is described as follows.

- 14) ǎǝ -ǝ [bǝ mááats -ú àmm-ǝt fà? -ó]  
 man-RELN his woman-SGF.NOM go-PERF exist-SGM.NOM  
 ‘The man whose wife has gone’

In (14), *bɪ* ‘his’ is relativized NP and coreferent with HN *àʃ-ɪ* ‘man’. /-ó/ is agreement marker element in the RC *bɪ mááts-ú àmm-ɪt fàʔ-ó* ‘whose wife has gone’. The possessor *àʃ-* position is occupied by *bɪ* when it moves to head position.

The prenominal instrument case oblique relativization is structured as follows.

- 15) [àʃ -ó bɪ- nə àmm-ts] bòdì -ó  
 man-SGM.NOM its-INS go-PST.REL horse-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The horse by which the man went’

In (15), relativised NP *bi-* ‘its’ is traced to suffix instrument case marker *-nə*. Thus, the NPrel position is occupied by retained pronoun.

Oblique relativization with thematic role of instrument/temporal, benefactive, malifactive/source and locative are introduced by markers *-n*, *-ʃ*, *óóké*, and *-ááts*, respectively. Observing syntactic positions of markers in independent sentences is essential. Therefore, the following example (16a), (16b) and (16c) show the syntactic position of instrumental, benefactive and malifactive markers in independent sentences, respectively.

- 16) a) *gúwí bòdì -ó -n àm -r -é*  
 G. horse-SGM.ACC-INS go-PST-3SG  
 ‘Guyu went by the horse’

- b) *tà àʃ -ó -ʃ dààz - ó tip -r -è*  
 I man-SGM.ACC-BEN donkey-ACC tie-PST-1SG  
 ‘I tied the donkey for the man’

- c) *bààr -ú -ké ààbár -ó úp’ -é -r -é*  
 Girl-SGF.ACC-MAL/SOC money-SGM.ACC steal-PASS-PST-3SGM  
 ‘The money had been stolen from the girl’

In the above examples, the markers are attached to oblique complements. The markers –n, -] and -ké are attached to the oblique object at final rim of the head noun. These thematic role markers can not stand alone since they are phonetically dependent to other words. They need other words to be attached and to be meaningful.

The following examples illustrate oblique complement with instrumental thematic role.

16) a) [gúwí bɪ̄ -n àm -ts] bòdì -ó  
 Guyu its-INS(OBL) go-PST.REL horse-SGM.ACC  
 ‘The horse by which Guyu went’

b) [gúwí bɪ̄ -n mīt k’ùt’-ts] ʃààkùrts-ó  
 Guyu its-OBL wood cut-PST.REL saw -SGM.ACC  
 ‘the saw with which the Guyu cut the wood’

c) [gúwí bɪ̄ -n wàà-ts] nààkín-ó  
 Guyu its-INS(OBL) come-PST.REL car -SGM.ACC  
 ‘The car on which Guyu came’

In example (16a-c), the retained object pronoun bɪ̄- ‘its’ traces deleted oblique NPs which are the HNs. The pronoun bɪ̄- is the relativised NP on which the oblique complement position and thematic role marker /-n/ attached. As it was seen bòdì-ó ‘the horse’ in (16a), ʃààkùrts-ó ‘the saw’ in (16b) and nààkín-ó ‘the car’ in (16c) are oblique complements and hold the HN positions. The relativised NP position is occupied by bɪ̄- ‘its’ that carries the instrumental marker /-n/ or /-n/ is attached to NPrel. Like as in the RCs gúwí bɪ̄-n àm-ts ‘by which Guyu went’, gúwí bɪ̄-n mīt k’ùt’-ts ‘with which Guyu cut the wood’ and gúwí bɪ̄-n wàà-ts ‘on which Guyu went’.

Mal-factive oblique relativization is illustrative in the following example.

17) a) bààr-ɪ̄ [bɪ̄ - óóké ààbár úp’é -ts -ú]  
 Girl -RELN her-MAL/SOC money steal-PST.REL-SGF.ACC  
 ‘The girl from whom money had been stolen’

b) àǎ -ǎ [bǎ- óóké k'átǎ] bǎk'-é -ts -ó]  
 man-RELN her-MAL material rob-PASS-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 'The man from whom the material was robbed'

As it is observed in (17a) and (17b), the relativized NP position is occupied by bǎ 'her' to which malfactive marker -óóké is splited from HNs and is attached to in RC formation.

The oblique complement relativization of locative is illustrative in the following example.

(18) a) àǎ -ǎ [bǎ-ááts nǎ tèté -tù -ó -ní]  
 man-RELN his-LOC your rely on-PRES-SGM.ACC-COP: DEC  
 'He is a man you (can) rely on.'

b) mǎt-ǎ [bǎ-áátsé kàf-wóóts dùùbǎ-rù -ó]  
 tree-RELN his-LOC bird-PL chirp-PRES-SGM.ACC  
 'The tree on which the birds chirp every morning'

As it was observed in example (18a) and (18b), the relativized NP is bǎ- 'his' on which the locative role marker /-ááts/ is attached to. And in (18b), the oblique complement is àǎ-ǎ 'man' and the RC is bǎ-ááts nǎ tèté-ts-ó-nǎ 'you (can) rely on'.

The oblique complement with the benefactive thematic role is shown as follows.

19) àǎ-ǎ [bǎ-] dààz tǎ wǎrǎ -ts -ó ] [ègǎ] kór-áts-é  
 man-RELN her-BEN donkey my lend-PST.REL-SGM.ACC well reat-NEG-3SGM  
 'The man (to) whom I had lent my donkey did not treat it well'

The relativized NP is bǎ- and the benefactive thematic role marker is marker -ǎ within the RC.

The oblique complement with source thematic role is illustrative as follows.

20) mááts -ǎ [bǎ- óóké ààbár tǎ gùùǎ -ts -ú]  
 Woman-RELN her-SOC money my borrow-PST.REL-SGF.ACC  
 'The woman from whom I had borrowed money'

The relativized NP bǎ- is the trace of deleted NP which is oblique complement. The thematic role marker -óóké is attached to NPrel.

The oblique complement with temporal thematic role is considered as example (21) below.

- 21) t'ú [giz bɪ-n t'áf -ts -ó]  
 night animal my-temp disappear-PST.REL-SGM.ACC  
 'the night on which the animal disappeared'

The relativized NP *bi-* is the trace of the deleted NP and the thematic role is indicated by *-n* which is placed at the NP position when it moves to the head position and it is attached to retained pronoun.

#### 4.1.1.4. Possessive relativization

In Bòrná, it is possible to relativize possessive NP. Bòrná has two possessive constructions. The possessor is marked either by adjective possessive table 17 or by a pronominal Possessive Suffix table 18. The possessed cannot be marked by both possessive adjective noun and a pronominal Possessive Suffix at the same time as in section (4.1.1.4.3).

**Table 8 Adjective possessive**

Person	Adjective form	Person	Adjective form
1SG	tɪ	1PL	nò
2SG	nɪ	2PL	ʔít
3SGM	bɪ	3PL	nó
3SGM	bɪ		

- 22) tɪ m̀iz-ó  
 my cow-SGM.NOM/ACC  
 'my cow'

**Table 9 Pronominal possessive**

Person	Pronominal suffix	Person	Pronoun suffix
1SG	tɪ-kká	1PL	nò-kká
2SG	nɪ- kká	2PL	ʔít-kká
3SGM	bɪ- kká	3PL	bó-kká
3SGM	bɪ- kká		

Source: Lamerti (1993)

23) mààs'ásf hán tì- kká  
 book this my-poss  
 'this is my book'

**4.1.1. 4.1. Adjective possessive Noun + (pro) noun,**

24) gɪz bɪ s'ááts-ó  
 Cattle its blood-SGM.NOM/ACC  
 'The blood of the cattle' (cattle's blood)

4.1.1.4.2. Noun- pronominal Possessive Suffix

25) s'ááts -ó gɪz- kká  
 blood-SGM.NOM/ACC cattle-POSS  
 'cattle's blood'

**4.1.1.4.3. Adjective possessive (pro) noun together with pronominal possessive suffix**

When adjective possessive together with pronominal possessive suffix can not modifies a head noun as in the following example 26 in Bòrná. Thus, this example is ungrammatical.

26) \* gɪz bɪ s'ááts -ó gɪz- kká  
 cattle its blood-SGM.NOM clattle-POSS

In example 26, bɪ 'its' is adjective possessive; possessor gɪz- 'cattle' and s'ááts-'blood' is possessed. The possessor is marked by either possessive adjective or pronominal possessive /-kká/, but not marked by both possessive adjective and pronominal possessive.

The following example illustrates possessive relativization in Bòrná.

25a i) àɸ -ɪ [bɪ mákìn tíɸ -ts -ó]  
 man-RELN his car break-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
 'The man whose car is broken'

ii) [ bɪ mákìn tíɸ -ts ] àɸ -ó  
 his car break-PST.REL man-SGM.NOM  
 'The man whose car is broken'

b. àǎ-ǎ [ bǎ mà mǎs'-ts -ó]  
man-RELN his house burn-PST.REL-SGM.NOM  
'The man whose house burned'

In (25), the head noun is àǎ- 'man' and it is possessor in the relative clause where the possessed is mǎkǎn- 'car'. Thus, we can say that the head noun of possessive is relativizable in Bòrná and its position is occupied by possessive adjective bǎ and possessor head noun is not marked by pronominal possessive -kká.

To sum up, subject and direct object relativization stage in the language employs *gapping strategy* in prenominal type of relative clause and *pro in situ strategy* in postnominal type of relative clause; whereas, in indirect object, oblique complement and possessive stages, pronoun retention strategy is employed.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1. Summary

This chapter gives the summary and the result of the findings of the structure of relative clause in Bòrná.

As it was indicated in chapter one, the researcher provided an introduction of Bòrná people and language. Besides, the statements of the problems, the basic questions and the previous study are discussed. Bòrná people and the language are found predominantly in Benishangul Gumuz Mettekel Zone: *Debati*, *Dangur*, *Wenbera* and *Bullen*. *Tari-Bora* and *Gayi-Bora* are the two dialects of the language. This language belongs to West Omotic under Kafa-Gimojan branches in Kafa languages. Some scholars and neighboring people use different names to refer to the language: *Dangabo*, *Shinasha*, *Schizzo* and *Schinascha*. Recently, the language is serving as a medium of instruction and as a subject in primary education. The language has about 27 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes.

In chapter two, some literature of relative clause has been reviewed. Through review of related literature, definition of relative clause, structure of relative clause, types of relative clause such as restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses; empty versus lexically headed relatives are discussed. External headed are divided into postnominal, pronominal and internal headed relative clauses. Under ways of relativization; resumptive pronouns, relative pronoun, a full NP, gapping and pro in situ strategy are presented. Moreover, accessibility hierarchy: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object > possessor (Keenan and Comre 1977) are discussed.

In chapter three, the typological profile, the structure and types of relative clause, and affirmative and negative relative verb interaction in Bòrná are analyzed. In types of the relative clause, restrictive and non-restrictive clause, external headed: postnominal and pronominal relative clauses, headless relative clause, relative clause and adjective function are analyzed.

Finally, in chapter four, the ways of relativization and accessibility hierarchy in Bòrná relative clauses are analyzed. Under accessibility hierarchy, subject, and object: direct and indirect, oblique position and possessive relativization is analyzed. While discussing accessibility hierarchy, pro in situ, gapping and pronoun retention ways of relativization are analyzed.

## 5.2. Conclusion

In this section, remarkable findings of the study will be highlighted. According to Downing (1978), SOV languages like Bòrná are dominated by external headed prenominal types of RC. Downing (1978) also argues that there are some exceptional SOV languages which have external headed postnominal types of RC. Bòrná can be classified both as an exceptional SOV language which has external headed postnominal types of RC and as a dominant SOV language category which has external headed prenominal types of RC. It is an exceptional SOV language because Bòrná's HN can follow the RC and it is a dominant SOV language because the HN can also precede the RC within a NP.

Bòrná makes no distinction between restrictive relative clause (RRC) and the non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC). In prenominal RC, agreement marker elements like /-ó, -ú and wóótsí(í)/ are not attached to the RC but in the postnominal RC the elements are attached to the RC. However, there are no elements that distinguish RRC from NRRC within a NP of Bòrná. The position of RC can be before or after the head noun. The language has no distributional difference between RRC and NRRC within a NP. That is, in the language, the RRC structurally does not whether follow or precede the NRRC for purpose of addition of new information. Therefore, there are no formal and distributional differences we can observe in restrictiveness formation of Bòrná relative clause structure.

In Bòrná, regular verb form is different from relative verb. In relative clause, the relative verb form of prenominal RC is different from that of postnominal RC. In prenominal RC, there is no agreement marker /-ó, -ú, and wóótsí(í)/ which is attached to the RV while, in postnominal RC, the agreement marker is added to RV. The relativizer or relative marker and past tense marker in

affirmative verb is /ts/. The only negative relative clause marker morpheme in the RV is –á which is used to negate verbs in present, future and past tenses.

When we come to ways of relativization and accessibility hierarchy that are used in the relative clause formation, the language employs gapping in prenominal subject and direct object relativization, pro in situ in postnominal subject and direct object relativization and pronoun retention strategy in the rest of the position.

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I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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