

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
AND PHILOLOGY
(GRADUATE PROGRAM)

Relative Clause in Gawwada

By

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Examiner

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ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with relative clause in Gawwada. The study focuses on the description of facts in the formation of the relative clause in the language. Accordingly, the necessary data are collected, and the analysis is carried on the bases of the typological parameters of the relative clauses as (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Keenan 1985, Downing 1978, Payne 1997) states.

Gawwada relative clauses are external headed and postnominal type. The relative clause follows either a head nominal or a pronominal particle. Besides, there are two types of relative clauses in Gawwada: restrictive and non restrictive. The difference of the two types of relative clauses is mainly based on their modification relation to the head noun and intonation breaks.

The strategy of relativization in various relativized NP positions, i.e., in subjects, objects (direct and indirect), oblique complements and possessor NP positions have also been examined. In relation to this, the accessibility hierarchy of the relative clause formation proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) has been justified in Gawwada. The strategy that is employed in the formation of relative clause in Gawwada has to be *pro in situ* in subject, object (direct and indirect) and oblique complement relativization, as in the case of Oromo (Baye 1987), Gumuz (Assfaw 1983), Chaha (alemayehu 1990) and Silti (Rawda 2003) and pronoun retention strategy in relativization of possessor NPs.

Moreover, the study examines the property of verbs in Gawwada. Thus, in Gawwada, there are two forms of verbs: the perfective and the imperfective verbs. Both the perfective and the imperfective verbs drop preverbal subject marker in relative clause formation.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SNNPRS	South Nations, Nationalities, and People Regional State
LEC	Lowland East Cushitic
Bil	Bilabial
Labd	Labiodental
Alv	Alveolar
Pal	Palatal
Vel	Velar
Uvul	Uvular
Phar	Pharyngeal
Glott	Glottal
Impl	Implosive
Ejec	Ejective
FRic	Fricative
Nas	Nasal
Liq	Liquid
Sem	Semivowel
vd	voiced
vl	voiceless
RC	Relative Clause
rc	Restricting clause
RCs	Relative Clauses
HN	head noun
HNs	head nouns
NP rel	relativized Noun Phrase
rel	relativizer
HNs	Head Nouns
NP rels	relativized Noun Phrases
NP	Noun Phrase

NPs	Noun Phrases
[e]	empty element
∅	zero
S	Subject
O	Object
V	Verb
(S)	matrix clause subject
(s)	relative clause subject
pl	plural
SVO	Subject Object Verb
SOV	Subject Object Verb
m	masculine
f	feminine
sg	singular
sgf	singular feminine
sgm	singular masculine
plf	plural feminine
plm	plural masculine
sg(s)	singular subject
pl(s)	plural subject
1sg	first person singular
1pl	first person plural
DirO	Direct Object
IndO	Indirect Object
Oblc	Oblique Complement
pronm	pronominal masculine
pronf	pronominal feminine
pronpl	pronominal plural
pfv	perfective verb
impfv	imperfective verb
Erg	ergative
nom	nominative
acc	accusative marker
Agr (o)	Agreement (object)

Agr(obl)	Agreement (oblique)
DEM	Demonstrative
DEF	Definiteness
RPRO	Relative Pronoun
RPROs	Relative Pronouns
Ins	Instrumental
Loc	Locative
DEM	Demonstrative
DAT	Dative
Benf	Benefactive
Sorc	Source
Malf	Malfactive
Dir	Directional
Temp	Temporal
Redu	Reduplication
Con	Connector
COMP	Complementizer
conj	conjunction
adj	adjective
Inf	Infinitive
poss.adj	possessive adjective
FUT	Future
PRES	Present
Aux	Auxiliary
RCs	Relative Clauses
HNs	Head Nouns
ep	epenthesis
subj	subject
PART	Partative
INDEF	Indefinite
Neg	Negative
caus	causative
poss.adj	possessive adjective
Lit	Literally
imp	imperative

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 The People and their Language

1.1.1. The People

The Gawwada People inhabit in South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) in Konso Special Woreda. The Gawwada settle on the high land which is situated to the East of Weito River and to the West of Lake Chamo. The People are bordered by different ethnolinguistic communities such as, Maale to the North, Ts'amay to the West and South West, Borena- Arsi-Guji Oromo to the south, Konso to the South and South East, Dirasha to the North and North East and Bussa to the North, all of which are populated by different ethnolinguistic communities.

The major economic activities of the People are agriculture and cattle breeding. They produce barley, wheat and beans. They also cultivate coffee and inset products. The people supply agriculture and animal products to the local market. The Gawwada have traditional self governance system which is based on the clan. Every clan has its own king called '*Pogolho*'. According to my informant, the main function of the king is to coordinate the people not to engage in conflict with other clans. If conflict takes place, the king attempts to solve the case. The king has a full life time power. Genetic line is the center for power shift and the king's son will inherit the power by the time of the king's death. If the king does not have any son by the time of his death, his wife inherits his power and rules the clan until she dies.

According to the Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia¹ (1994), the total number of Gawwada speaker is 32,698.

The Gawwada along with the Dobasse, who live in Derashe Special Woreda, which is a neighboring to Konso, have claimed as they are one people and having one language so that the people's claim has got acceptance by the regional government and the people who referred by the name of Gawwada/Dobasse now recognized by the name of 'Alle', as one people and the language which is spoken by Alle now called 'Dobasttata'. Regarding this, the official letters² which are written by SNNP Councils of Nationalities in the year of august 2009 to Derashe and Konso Special Weredas, and the SNNPRS Office of the President in the January 2010 to representatives of the people of Gawwada/Dobase are illustrative. At Present Alle do not have its own ethnic based woreda administrative center. But the recent official announcements assure that in the near future, the people will set up their own local ethnic administrative center, called 'Alle Woreda'.

1.1.2. The Language

Gawwada is one of the least studied languages in the Lowland East Cushitic (LEC) group. The Gawwada call their language “Pako Kawwate” which means language or mouth of Gawwada. In addition, Gawwata, Gauwwada, and Kawwada are the alternative names of the language used by the people, but different authors refer to Gawwada³ using the name ‘Dullay’ (Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1980), Werizoid (Bender 1971, Black 1973, 1976) and Qawko (Hayward 1978).

Most people in Gawwada speak Konso, Amharic and Oromo as second language. According to my informant, Amhara, and Oromo people live scattered in the ethnic group. Moreover, Konso is spoken in the area. Due to their living in proximity to the mentioned people, the Gawwada people are able to be bilingual or multilingual. Gawwada is not endangered; however, it is not written so far and it is only a language of oral communication

¹ The Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia (2007) declare the total number of population of Gawwada along with the total number of population of Dobasse: 68,600.

² The official letters are attached at the appendix.

³ The Gawwada is referred using three different names in the literature: Dullay, Werizoid and Qawko.

Regarding the classification of the language, there is disagreement among scholars. To begin with, Bender (1971:187) includes Gawwada in Werizoid group, which consists of Werize, Gawwada, Gobeze and Ts'amay, and puts the group under LEC classifications. Bender (1976:43) categorizes Gobeze, Werize, Gawwada, and Ts'amay under the subclassification of Gawwada languages of South Oromo within, LEC. On the contrary, Black (1973, 1976:222) proposes the Werizoid group which consists of Gawwada as an independent third division of East Cushitic. Another author, Grimes (1988:219) also classifies Werizoid under the Konsoid group and claims Gawwada as a member of Konsoid language. Dawit Tilahun (2005:12) argues against Black's (ibid) classification and suggests following Grimes (1988) the language to be placed with Konso rather than a third branch of LEC.

Tosco (2007a:125) proposes 'Dullay-yaaku'⁴ as an independent third division of Lowland East Cushitic. No matter how controversial the classifications by the scollars have been, all of them agree in classifying the Werizoid group under the LEC.

1.2. Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to identify, describe and analyze the relative clause structure in Gawwada. This includes the investigation and description of the structure of RCs, types of RCs, the strategies used to form RCs and the type of relative verbs based on the available data.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The study could have the following contributions.

It will provide basic facts and description of relative clause in Gawwada. In doing so,

⁴Yaaku is a Cushitic language which is spoken in the Mount Kenya area.

- ❖ It will add some linguistic contribution on the study of Gawwada in particular and to Werizoid group in general. In addition, it will serve as a source of information in respect to the linguistic knowledge of the language particularly to the structure of relative clause.
- ❖ It will provide some useful syntactic data to researchers who have interest in the comparative syntactic study of the Werizoid languages.
- ❖ It will inspire other Linguistics researchers to put their effort on the investigation of this least studied language, Gawwada.

1.4. Delimitation of the Study

As Downing (1978:378) states, there are three properties of RC: dependency, statement about the relativized NP and modification of the HN. However, the thesis focuses on one property of RC, i.e., modification of the HN. The work is fully descriptive. The analysis of the data is based on the observable facts to show how the language is actually used without committing to any theory. Due to financial and time limit, the data are collected from one native informant who lives in Gawwada town and checked by two native speakers who are from Gawwada.

1.5. Previous Works on the Language

Materials that can be mentioned as references to Gawwada include a book, articles, and two MA theses which are written by foreigners and Ethiopians. To begin with, Black (1976:224) wrote an article entitled 'Werizoid' which reports on some phonological and morphological aspects of Gawwada. Regarding the phonological aspect, he identifies 24 consonant and five vowel phonemes. The consonant phonemes of Gawwada that Black (1976:224) reports are shown below in the chart

	Bil.	Labd.	Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glot.
Stop	p		t	c	k	q		ʔ
Impl.	ɓ		ɗ					
Ejec.			t'	c'	k'			
Fric.		f	s	š			ħ ɣ	x
Nas.	m		n	ɲ				
Liq.			l, r					
Sem.	w			y				

Chart 1: the consonant phonemes of Gawwada according to Black (1976: 224)

Haregewoin (2003) produces an article entitled “Aspects of Gawwada Phonology” which reports 32 consonant phones (segments) of the language. On the basis of minimal or near minimal pairs, she identifies 26 consonant phonemes. Moreover, Haregewoin presents suprasegmentals such as consonant gemination and vowel length, the distribution of consonant phonemes, some phonological processes like voicing, devoicing and sibilantization in her article.

The consonant phonemes of Gawwada that Haregewoin (2003:50) identifies are shown below in the chart.

	Bil.	Labd.	Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	p		t		k	q		ʔ
vl	b		d		g			
vd								
Impl.								
vl								
vd	ɸ		ɗ		ɠ			
Fric.		f	s	š				h
vl								x
vd								
Affr.				č				
Ejec.			t'	č'	k'			
Nass.	m		n					
Lat.			l					
Flap			r					
Glide	w			y				

Chart 2: consonant phonemes of Gawwada as Haregewoin (2003:50) identifies it.

Geberew (2003) wrote an MA thesis entitled “The Morphology of Gawwada”. In the thesis he has attempted to describe the phonological aspects of Gawadda along with the morphological investigation. In his thesis he has identified 24 consonant phonemes. Moreover, he discusses the phonotactics: consonant clusters, vowel length, consonant gemination; syllable structures; morphophonemic processes: assimilation, deletion, epenthesis, spirantalization, palatalization, and vowel raising and vowel harmony. The consonant phonemes of Gawwada that Geberew (2003:6) identifies are shown below in the chart.

		Bil.	Labd.	Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	vl vd	p		t	c	k	q	ʕ	ʔ
Impl.	vl vd	b'		d'		g'			
Ejec.		p'		t'		k'			
Fric.	vl vd		f	s	ʃ	x			
Nas.		m		n	ɲ				
Lat.				l					
Flap				r					
Glide		w			y				

Chart 3: psononant phonemes of Gawwada as Gebrew (2003:6) identifies it.

Dawit (2005) is an MA thesis entitled “A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto Borena, Konso, and Gawwada towards determining the place of Gawwada in Lowland East Cushitic Subgrouping”. In the thesis he has identified 25 consonants phonemes as show in the chart below.

		Bil.	Labd.	Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	vl vd	p		t		k			ʔ
Impl.	vl vd	ɓ		ɗ		ɡ	ɠ		
Ejec.				t'		k'			
Fric.	vl vd		f	s	ʃ	x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Nas.		m		n	ɲ				
Liq.				l, r					
Glide		w			j				

Chart 4: consonant phonemes of Gawwada as Dawit (2005:17) identifies it.

As it is observed in chart 1, Black (1976:224) reports 24 consonant phonemes of Gawwada. However, Haregewoin (2003:50) identifies 26 consonant phonemes, as it is observed in chart 2. She adds four new phonemes: /b/, /d/, /g/ and /ɟ/ which are not recorded by Black (ibid), but doubts the phonemic status of /ɲ/ and /ʔ/. Gebrew (2003:6), as it is observed in chart 3, also identifies 24 consonant phonemes. He adds a new phoneme [p'] to the system, but doubts the phonemic status of /ɲ/ as Haregewoin (ibid) did, while assuring the phonemic status of /ʔ/. Dawit (2005:50), On the other hand, as it is shown in chart 4, identifies 25 consonant phonemes. He adds two new consonant phonemes: /ɕ/ and /ɣ/ to the system, while he doubts the phonemic status of /b/ and /ɲ/.

Thus, Haregewoin, Gebrew and Dawit doubt the phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ɲ/; however, in this study the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is taken as phonemic because the minimal pairs *ɲarraaħe* 'sorrow', and *marraaħe* 'the name of eatable leaf'; *ɲaɲɲaa* 'tomatoe' and *ɲabbaa* 'belied' can prove the phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Dawit also doubts the phonemic status of the bilabial implosive /b/; however, the minimal pairs *bole* 'gorge' and *gole* 'river'; *belle* 'friends' *delle* 'children'; *doocē* 'to carry' and *doobe* 'to make hair in different style'; *ɕabasse* 'being invited' and *ɕasadde* 'asked' can show the phonemic status of the bilabial implosive /b/. This study doubts the phonemic status of /ɕ/ and the voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ due to their rare occurrence in contrastive environment. Therefore, in this study, 27 consonant phonemes of Gawwada are proposed as shown in the following chart.

		Bil.	Labd.	Alv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uvul.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	vl vd	p		t		k			ʔ
Impl.	vl vd	ɸ		ɖ		ɡ	ɣ		
Fric.	vl vd		f	s	ʃ	x		ħ	h
						ɣ		ʁ	
Ejec.		P'		t'	č'	k'			
Nas.		m		n	ɲ				
Lat.				l					
Flap				r					
Glide		w			j				

Chart 5: the proposed consonant phonemes of Gawwada in the study

Generally, though the above mentioned authors have some differences on the consonant phonemic inventory, all of them agree on the vowel phonemic inventory of the language. Thus, Gawwada has a five vowel system: i, e, a, u, o. All the vowel phonemes have long forms. According to Haregewoin (2003:53), a vowel length has phonemic value in the language. For example, *holo* 'wing' and *hoolo* 'feather', *del* 'sew' (imp) and *deeli* 'sew', etc.

Accordingly, consistent with Black (1976), Haregewoin (2003), Gebrew (2003) and Dawit (2005), in this study five vowel phonemes are recognized in Gawwada. The vowel phonemes of Gawwada are presented in the chart below.

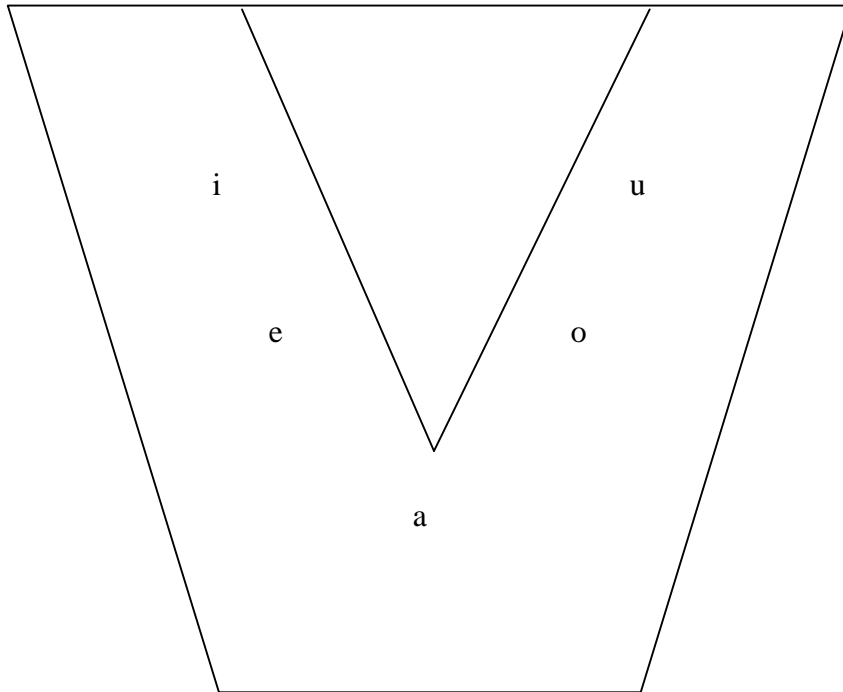


Chart 6: the vowel phonemes of Gawwada.

The morphosyntactic aspect of the language is also covered to some extent by different authors. Regarding morphology, Black (1976:26) has identified the negative and positive aspects of the verb and the markers of gender and case in the language. In his MA thesis, Gebrew (2003) has also analysed the morphology of the language. He identifies the inflectional and derivational processes in the language in relation to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs. As regards derivation, he shows how new words are formed from other words through some morphological processes. Moreover, he discusses the perfective and the imperfective aspects in the language. Besides, mood, jussive, imperative are discussed in the section. Tosco (2007a:505-528), in his article entitled ‘Gawwada Morphology’, describes the morphological aspect of Gawwada. The article describes the nature of words, stems, affixes and clitics in the language. In addition, the

canonical word shape, syllable structure and epenthesis in the language are described. Tosco also investigates the word classes in the language. Accordingly, parts of speech such as verbs, nouns, pronouns, numerals, adverbials, idiophones and postpositions are described. Besides, the two morphological mechanisms: suffixation and reduplication are described.

Concerning syntax, Tosco (2008:207-225) in his article entitled 'Between Coordination and Subordination in Gawwada' discusses some syntactic concepts under the following sub-topics: basics on word order and adpositions, the adpositions in their phrasal context: the locative case, the situative adposition 'ma', the partative adposition 'na', from the phrase to the clause: juxtaposition, bare coordination: a_{pa}, b_∅, introducing the consecutive paradigm, almost a juxtaposition: a_∅, b_{cons}, coordination with a twist: a_{pa}, b_{cons}, the postclausal use of the adpositions: 'na': from partitive to concomitant/immediate action, -ma: from situative to adversative in Gawwada.

Under the above mentioned sub-topics, Tosco reports that the adpositions follow an NP as postpositions. The locative cases 'na' express both state and movement which have genitive value such as '-ito' with masculine nouns, '-atte' with feminine noun, '-ete' with plural noun, and '-y' with proper names. The situative adposition 'ma' is used to express movement. The adposition 'na' functions as partitive. Moreover, Tosco presents four clause linking strategies: Juxtapositions, coordinator 'pa', use of nominal, phrasal adposition, and a special paradigm.

Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1980) also wrote a book entiteled 'Das Dullay' in German. In the book, the authors describe the grammar of Dullay. In addition, they discuss dialect geography, language contact and the linguistic position of the language within East Cushitic.

Regarding the classification of the language, Tosco (2009:124-141), in his article entitled 'Loanwords in Gawwada', proposes the classification of the language under Eastern Cushitic as an independent third division. Moreover, this article reports about the

loanwords in the language from Amharic, Oromo and Konso. Besides, the number, types of loanwords and the grammatical borrowing in the language are assessed.

Chapter Two

2. Review of the Related Literature

2.1. Definition of Relative Clause

Many authors put effort to define relative clause (RC). To mention some, Culicover (1976:179), Keenan (1985:142-143), Palmer (1994:96), Flower (1997:140) define a RC as a nominal modifier, whereas Stockwell (1977:59) defines a RC as a sentence that is embedded into an NP, and it is a subordinate to the particular noun phrase, having a function of clarifying the meaning of the head nominal (HN). Lehman (1986:664) defines a RC as a construction that consists of a nominal plus a dependent clause that functions as qualifying the nominal.

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 the head in a noun phrase.

2.2. Structure of Relative Clause

According to Payne (1997:325), a RC construction consists of the following pertinent parts:

- A. the head noun (HN)
- B. the restricting clause (rc)
- C. the relativized noun phrase (NP rel)
- D. the relativizer (rel)

The HN is an NP that is modified by the the restricting clause (rc) and the rc is the relative clause (RC) it self, whereas the relativized NP (NP rel) is the element within the RC and serves as a coreferential to the HN and the relativizer (Rel) is a morpheme or a particle that signal the restricting as a RC, Payne (1997:325). Some languages; however, have no relativizer. The following is an example:

1. The oaf [∅ troad on lady Lucreta's toe]

(Payne 1997:325).

As it is observed in the relative clause (1), ‘the’ is determiner, ‘oaf’ is the HN, ‘troad on lady Lucreta’s toe’ is the rc which is the RC itself. The position of the NP rel in the RC is indicated by a null element (\emptyset) since there is no overt NP rel in the RC. The RC in conjunction with the HN forms the full NP, ‘The oaf that \emptyset trod on lady Lucreta’s toe.’

2.3. Property of Relative Clause

According to Downing (1978:378), there are three main properties of RC:

- A RC can never stand alone as a complete sentence. It is always linked to NP. It includes, whether overt or covert an NP rel which is coreferential to the HN, outside of the clause.
- A RC is a statement about the NP rel, and the NP rel itself modifies the HN; however, the NP rel may be deleted in the RC formation in the language.
- A RC has a functional property of modification.

2.4. Types of Relative Clause

In relation to the property of the modification of RC, Hamdallah and Tushyeh (1998:141) argue that a RC follows or precedes a definite or an indefinite nominal. This means, the position of the RC with regard to the HN plays a role in determining postnominal and prenominal types of RCs (Payne (1997:326), Keenan (1985:143), Comrie (1981:137) and Downing (1978:381)). Keenan (ibid) classifies the two mentioned RCs under the external headed RC. Payne (ibid) also provides further classification: internally headed and headless RCs.

The term postnominal refers to the RC which follows the HN, i.e., the RC positioned at the right side of the HN. With regard to postnominal, the following examples from English (2a), Luganda (2b), and Oromo (2c) are illustratives:

2. (a) The woman [who came to visit us] is a relative.

(b) Omusajja [omukazi gwe - ya kuba]

Man woman rel-she hit

‘The man that the woman hit’

(Payne 1997:326).

(c) nam -č'č'- i [kaleesa hoola (kan) bit-e] duf-e

Man-sg-nom yesterday sheep COMP buy-pfv come-3ms.pfv

‘The man who bought a sheep yesterday came’

(Baye Yimam 1987)

In the above examples (2), the head nouns ‘woman ‘ in (2a), omusajja ‘man’ in (2b) and namč'č'i , ‘man’ in (2c) are placed before the RCs or they came at the left side of the RCs. Such types of RCs are typical example of postnominal relative clause.

Regarding prenominal RC, the HN is placed after the RC. In other words, the RC is located at the left side of the HN. Consider the following examples from Japanese (3a), Amharic (3b), and Afar (3c).

3. (a) [yamada -san ga kat -te i - ru] sáru

Yamada-Mr Subj keep-PART be-PRE monkey

‘The monkey which MR, yamada keeps’

(Keenan 1985: 143)

(b) [and gäbbäre tinantina jä – säbbärat] wänbär

One farmer yesterday rel -broke chair

‘The chair that a farmer broke yesterday’

(Downing 1978:391)

(c) [y - emee'te] aw'ki y-ok'me

He-came boy he-pfv, late

‘The boy who came late’
(Bilise 1981:20)

In (3), the head nouns *sáru* ‘monkey’ in (3a), *wänbär* ‘chair’ in (3b) and *aw’ki* ‘boy’ in (3c) are placed after the RCs or they came at the right side of the RCs. In other words, the RCs precede the HNs. Such types of RCs are typical examples of prenominal RC.

The classification of external headed RC into postnominal and prenominal RCs has also a strong correlation with word order of the language (Downing 1978:383, Payne 1997:326-327 and Comrie 1981:138). Thus, verb medial (VO) languages have postnominal, and verb final (OV) languages have prenominal RC. Therefore, according to this explanation, SVO languages are mostly dominated by postnominal RC. On the other hand, SOV languages follow prenominal RC structure. According to Downing (1978:381), there are some universal implicational tendencies that enable a language to follow postnominal or prenominal RC structure, if and only if the basic word order is SVO and SOV respectively. But this is not always absolute classification. For instance, contrary to Downing’s constraint, Mandarin Chinese and Persian are SVO and SOV languages respectively where the former forms prenominal and the latter forms postnominal RCs respectively as shown in example (4) below.

4. (a) [wo da - le (ta) yidum de] neige nanhaizi
I hit- pfv him once rel that boy
‘The boy that I hit once’
(Keenan 1985:149)

(b) Katab-i [ke be mæn dad - id] gom sode aest
Book-INDEF rel to me gave -2sg lost is
‘The book you gave to me is lost’
Andrews (2007:209)

As it is observed in the above example (4), there are some exceptional languages which do not firmly adhere on the criteria of word order to form postnominal or prenominal types of RCs.

Regarding internal headed RC, the HN is placed inside the RC, Keenan (1985:143), Comrie (1981:138) and Payne (1997:328). The following examples from Navajo and Bambara respectively are illustrative:

5. (a) [(Tléédáál) ashkii alháá -aa] yáddooltih
 Last night boy 2SG -impfv -snore-rel-PAST speak-FUT
 ‘The boy who was snoring last night will speak’
 Andrews (2007:212)

- (b) Tye be [n ye so min ye] doy
 Man the PRE I - PAST -house see build
 ‘The man is building the houses that I saw’
 (Comrie 1981: 138)

As it is observed in (5) , the HNs *ashkii* ‘ boy ‘ in (a) and *so* ‘house’ in (b) are placed within the RCs *Tléédáál...alháá-aa* ‘who was snoring last night’ and *nye...min ye* ‘that I saw’ , respectively.

There could be headless RC in some languages. This means that a RC can be constructed without head. In headless RC, since the head noun is nonspecified, the dependent clause itself refers to the noun that it modifies, Payne (1997:328). Consider the following examples from Amharic (6a) and Silti (6b) respectively. The Silti example is taken from Rawda (2005).

6. (a) [inne jä-ʔäyä -hu -t] Ø-t’iru nä-w
 I rel-saw-1psg.S-3psg(o) good be-pres-3psg.(o)
 ‘What I saw is good’

- (b) [ihe jä-anze hu -y] Ø-Fäyā-an
 I rel-saw 3sg.m.(o)-3sgsub be good -pres

‘What I saw is good’

In the above Amharic and Silti examples, the RCs have no heads, as the position of the heads is indicated by Ø.

RCs have also other categorization: restrictive and appositive RCs (Comrie 1981:131-133, Flower 1971:19, Bache, C. and Jakobson 1980:244, Andrews 2007:207, Downing 1978:379, Payne 1997:327, Keenan 1985:169, Jackendof 1997:172). A restrictive RC modifies the thing it refers to in the NP. In English RC structure, relative pronouns (RPRO) *who* refers people and *which* refers things come at the clause initial position and these relative pronouns can be replaced by complementizer (Comp) *that*. On the other hand, restrictive RC may be characterized by the omission of RPRO and the Comp, *that* as indicated by Ø in the following example.

7. (a) The girls [who/ that/ Ø he employs] are always complaining .
b) The car [which /that /Ø I hired] broke down.

On the other hand, appositive RC is used to add additional information about the pre-identified HN. In other words, an appositive RC makes a statement about the HN or other component without restricting its reference (Keenan 1985:169). Though appositive RC has not a defining function on the head nominals in English, they require RPRO *who* for people and *which* for things and their inflected form *whom* and *whose*. The use of these RPROs is obligatory. But, the complementizer does not appear in the appositive RC. Moreover, appositive RC sets off by intonation from the main clause, and the application of intonation is marked orthographically by comma (Bache, C and Jakobson, L. 1980:244). Consider the following example:

8. (a) The Japanese, who are industrious, now compete West Europe.
(Keenan1985:169)

- (b) The students, whose exams we reviewed, seem to have been marked fairly.
(Andrews 2007:218)

Albeit restrictive RC and appositive RC have similar syntactic structure, they are distinct from the semantic or pragmatic point of view. As it is discussed earlier, the restrictive RC is used to restrict the meaning of the head nominal, whereas the appositive RC is just to provide additional information about the specified head nominal. However, according to (Comrie 1987: 131-133) in a language where the RC follows the HN, the distinction between the restrictive RC and appositive RC is either formal or intonational. Regarding formal distinction of restrictive RC and appositive RC, consider the following Persian examples (Comrie 1987:132).

9. (a) Márdhá-i [ke ketábhára be aánháa dáde budid] reftand
Men that book to them you had- given went
'The men that you had given the books to went.'

(b) Mo'allef [ke nevisandeye xubi- st] in sabkra exteyár karde ast
Author that writer good is this style has -chosen
'The author, who is a good writer, has chosen this style.'

In (9a) the suffix '-i' is added on the head of restrictive RC but not on the head of the appositive RC in (9b). This refers to the formal distinction of restrictive RC and appositive RC.

The intonational distinction is also clearly seen in the following pair of English sentences from Sorenson (1958) as cited in Bache, C and Jakobson, L. (1980:244).

10. (a) The soliders who were brave ran forward.
(b) The soliders, who were brave, ran forward.

As it is observed in (10a), the restrictive forms one tone group with their antecedent and there is no intonation break. In (10b), however, the appositive is realized as independent tone group, and this intonation break is marked orthographically by comma, Bache and Jakobson (1980:244). Here, the distinction of the restrictive and the appositive RCs is

mainly focused on the absence versus presence of intonation break. Flower (1971:139-142) on the other hand, argues that the difference of restrictive RC and appositive RC is not only a matter of intonation. He says that there is also meaning difference between the two. Accordingly, the restrictive RC in (10a) identifies the reference of the NP 'the soliders', while in (10b) the appositive does not help in identification. So, meaning difference is one of the distinctions in English restrictive and appositive RC structures.

Jackendoff (1997:171) also states some points on the major distinction between restrictive and appositive RCs. These are:

- A Restrictive RC is placed before the appositive RC by the time both are available in a sentences. Consider the following example from English.

11. The woman that was sick, who was taken to hospital, died.

- Conjoined appositive RCs can be concatenated with one head noun, while two or more stacked restricting clauses can be structured without conjoining with a head noun. Consider the following English Examples.

12. (a) The boy, who came from abroad and who visit relatives,....

(b) The boy who came from abroad who visit relatives....

As it is observed in (11) the restricting clause is placed before the appositive. In (12a) we can observe two appositives with a head noun, but they are conjoined with the conjunction 'and', while in (12b) two restricting clauses are conjoined with a head noun without a conjunction.

2.5. Strategies of Relativization

RCs can also be grouped on the basis of the mode of expression of the NP rel. Initially, RC formation involves the linking of the dependent clause with the HN to form a noun phrase (Downing 1978:378). In this respect, the NP rel in the RC functions to express the

grammatical relation with in the RC (Payne 1997:330) and with the head noun (Keenan1985:146). But, the major issue in this categorization is in what way and in which position the NP rel can be marked. The following four strategies that presenting NP rel in RCs is recognized in the literature: pronoun retention, relative pronoun, non reduction or full noun phrase and gapping, (Keenan 1985:146, Comrie 1981:140, Payne 1997:330-334).

2.5.1. Pronoun Retention Strategy

In pronoun retention strategy, the HN remains in the relativized position in the form of resumptive personal pronoun (Comrie 1981:140). The following examples from English (14a) (Payne 1997:331), Hebrew (14b) and Persian (14c) (Keenan 1985:146) respectively are illustrative:

14. (a) That is the guy who I can never remember his name.

(b) ha - sarim she-ha -nasi shalax otam la- mitsraim
 The -ministers that-the-president sent them to- Egypt
 ‘The ministers that the president sent to Egypt’

(c) Man zan - i rá ke John be u sibe zamini dád mishenasam
 I woman-the do that John to her potatoe gave know
 ‘I know the woman that Hassan gave potatoes to (her)’

As it is observed in (14) the pronoun ‘his’ in (14a), *otam* ‘them’ in (14b) and *u* ‘her’ in (14c) coded the NP rel in each clauses. These pronouns refer to ‘guy’ in (14a), *sarim* ‘the ministers’ in (14b), and *zan* ‘the woman’ in (14c).

According to Payne (1997:332), the application of pronoun retention depends on the position of the NP rel in the RC. Thus, it is not common to use pronoun retention strategy

to relativize the subject NP of the RC in some languages. The following Hebrew examples from Payne (ibid) are illustrative.

15. * ha -ish [she -hu makir oti]
The-man that-he knows me
'The man who knows me'

As it is observed in (15), the NP rel hu 'he' is placed in the subject position of the RC. But, according to the explanation given by Payne (ibid) above, the sentence became ungrammatical due to the pronoun hu 'he' that is retained in subject position of the RC in Hebrew. However, Keenan (1985:147) argues Urhobo and Yiddish languages use pronoun retention strategy to relativize the subject NP of the RC. The following example from Urhobo which is taken from Keenan (ibid) is illustrative:

16. (a) o ubere
She sleep
'She is sleeping'
- (b) John mle-aye l-o vbere
John saw women that she sleep
'John saw the woman who is sleeping.'

As it is observed in (16), the independent clause in (a) is conjoined as a dependent clause with a main clause *John mle-aye* 'John saw the woman' in (b). Then, *o* 'she' holds the position of the NP rel in the RC and, it functions as a coreferential element to the head noun, *aye* 'woman'.

2.5.2. Relative Pronoun Strategy

In relative pronoun strategy, the HN will be represented in the RCs by means of pronominal elements (relative pronouns) at clause initial position (Keenan 1985:149).

The RPROs mark nominal properties particularly gender, number and case (Comrie 1985:142), and are related to demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (Payne 1997:333). Their function is introducing the RC and creating grammatical relation between the RC and the HN. The occurrence of RPROs is illustrated in the following examples of English in (17) and German in (18) below.

17. (a) The man [who bought the book for the girl]
 (b) The book [which the man bought for the girl]
 (c) The girl [for whom the man bought the book]
 (d) The boy [whose book the man bought for the girl]

(Comrie 1981:148)

18. (a) der Mann, den Marie liebt
 The man who.m.sg.acc Mary loves
 'The man who Mary loves'

- (b) Die frau, die er liebt
 The woman who.f.sg.acc. he loves
 'The woman who he loves'

- (c) das Mädchen, das er liebt
 The girl who.f.sg.acc. he loves
 'The girl who he loves'

(Keenan 1985:149)

As it is observed in (17), the RPROs *who*, *which*, *whom* and *whose* occupied in the position of the NP rel in (17a), (17b), (17c) and (17d), respectively. The RPRO *who* represents the human subject NP rel in the RCs, but *whom* represents the human object NP rel in the RCs while *which* represents non human NP in any position in the RCs and *whose* represents the NP rel in the RCs in possessive relativization for both human and non human HNs in any position, whereas in (18), it is clearly stated that *den* 'who' in (18a) used for masculine, singular and accusative, while *die* 'who' in (18b) used for

feminine, singular and accusative and *das* 'who' in (18c) used for neuter, singular and accusative.

2.5.3. Full Noun Phrase Strategy

In full noun phrase strategy of relativization, the HN will be represented in the RCs by a full fledged noun phrase. This means the head nominal appears as it is, without reduced form in the RC (Comrie 1981:144). The following example from Hindi is illustrative:

19. [*ádmí ne jis cáku se murgí ko mára há , us*] *cáku ko ráam ne dekhá*
Man ERG which knife with chicken acc. killed that knife acc. Ram ERG saw
'Ram saw the knife with which the man killed the chicken'.
(Comrie 1981:139)

In (19), the HN *cáku* 'knife' serves as the oblique complement. The position of the NP rel in the RC is filled by itself *cáku* 'knife' as a full fledged form, without reduction.

2.5.4. Gapping Strategy of Relativization

Another strategy of relativization is the gapping strategy. In gapping strategy, there is no explicit indication to the HN within the RCs. (Keenan 1985:153, Comrie: 144, Payne 1997:320). In other words, in gapping there is no clear case marked reference to the HN within the RC. The following English Example is illustrative:

20. The men we saw went

Here in (20) there is no element that represents relativized NP in the RC. However, Keenan (1985:153) says that in gapping strategy relative clauses may be introduced by complementizers. The following Hebrew example from Keenan is illustrative:

21. *ha-nashim she-ani makir*
The-woman that-I know

‘The woman that I know’

As it is observed in (20) the complementizer *she* ‘that’ in Hebrew introduces the dependent clause *ani makir* ‘I know’. *That* is also used in English to introduce the RCs. The following sentences from Thomson and Martinet (1986:82) are illustrative:

22. The man that I saw told me to come back today.

Here in (22) the complementizer *that* introduces the RC ‘*I saw*’. However, there is no element that represents NP rel in the RC. Thus, if there is no element in the RC that expresses the NP rel, it has been gapped. According to Keenan (1985:154), both postnominal and prenominal RCs employ gapping strategy; however, prenominal RCs commonly apply gapping strategy.

2.5.5. Other Strategies of Relativization

2.5.5.1. Pro in Situ Strategy

Besides the above discussed strategies, pro in situ serves as a relativization strategy in some languages. As we shall see in chapter four, this is the strategy that better accounts for the situation in Gawwada. The logic of pro in situ strategy is based on the view of recoverability of features for the phonetically unrealized element in the NP rel position. The empty category can be licensed in connection with the agreement morphology in the RCs (Maxwell 1979, Comrie and Keenan 1979, Jaeggli 1984, Cook and Newson 1996, Kornfilt 2004) or the theta role licensing (Woolford 2006a) or from the stranded adpositions in the RCs (Maxwell 1979, Comrie and Keenan 1979). Jaeggli (1984) argues that if an empty category is licensed and identified by agreement element in the relative clause, it must be pro. If pro is licensed in a given syntactic structure, it is syntactically a regular pronominal (Kornfilt 2004) and this silent pronominal is understood as a pronoun (Comrie and Keenan 1979). Pro is a null element which appears in finite clauses. The following examples from Affan Oromo, Baye (1987) in (23) and from Silti, Rawda

(2005) in (24) are illustratives, in relation to *pro* is licensed by agreement features in the relative clause.

23. *namičč-i* [[e] *kalessa hollaa (kan) bit-e] duf-e*
 Man nom yesterday sheep Comp buy-3ms.pf come-3ms.pfv
 ‘The man who bought a sheep yesterday came’

In (23), the position of the relativized NP is empty as indicated by [e]. The category of the empty position of the NP rel could be recoverable from the agreement feature of the relative verb *duf-e* ‘come-3ms-pf’. The gender marker ‘3ms’ that is attached on the relative verb *duf* ‘come’, refers the phonetically unrealized item, i.e., *pro* in the position of NP rel, which is indicated by [e] in (23).

24. [[e] *kitab yä-wäkäb-ä-i] miiš*
 Book rel-bought-3sgm(s)-Def man
 ‘The man who bought a book’

In (24), the relative verbs are inflected for the phonetically unrealized elements, i.e., *pro* which is indicated by [e] in the RC. The feature of the null element (*pro*) is recoverable from agreement feature *-ä-* ‘3sgm(s)’ in (24) on the relative verb *wäkäb* ‘buy’. Thus, the null element in the NP rel position coindexes with the agreement feature *-ä-* ‘3sgm(s)’ and co-referential with the head noun *miis* ‘man’.

On the other hand, adpositions can be stranded in the rc in some languages. The purpose of these stranded adposition is to identify the case of the NP rel in the empty position, i.e., *pro*. In doing this, the stranded adposition gives us adequate information that is needed to recover the case of the NP rel in the empty position. In this context, *pro* is licensed from the stranded adpositions in the RCs. In this regard, (Comrie and Keenan 1979) affirm that the RC in which the adposition governing the NP rel employs recoverability or *pro* in situ strategy. Consider the following example from Comrie and Keenan (ibid).

25. The man who I gave the money to

As it is observed in (25), the preposition is stranded in situ in the RC. On the other hand, *who* could not be a relative pronoun because it does not code case. Therefore, the stranded preposition serves to recover the case of the NP rel, (Comrie and Keenan 1979:660).

2.5.5.2. Composite Strategy

Languages may employ different strategies to construct RCs. Some languages use non-reduction strategy; other languages employ relative pronoun or other types of strategies to form RCs. On the other hand, a given language may employ more than one type of strategies to construct RCs. According to Comrie (1981:141), Persian language could be a good example for this: Persian employs gapping strategy to relativize subject NPs and pronoun retention strategy to relativize non direct object NPs.

2.6. Accessibility Hierarchy

The relativizable position seems to have a restriction. For example, Malagasy allows relativization only in subject position. In Kinyarwanda, subject NPs and direct object NPs can be relativized, while the Fering dialect of North Frisian allows relativization in subject, direct object and non-direct object positions. On the contrary languages like English can relativize on all positions (Comrie 1981:150). Thus languages seem to vary from one another with regard to the position of the NPs that they allow to relativize. Hence, delimiting the position of the NP that is able to be relativized in a language is essential. Accordingly, Comrie and Keenan (1977:66) outline the accessibility hierarchy in which any given RCs strategy will allow relativization as shown below:

26. Subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object > possessor > object of comparison

As it is observed in (26), the subject NP is on the high accessible position in the hierarchy, then direct object, indirect object, oblique object, possessor and object of comparison come step by step down to the hierarchy. According to Comrie (1981:149), NPs in subject position in any languages are easily relativizable from NPs in any of the other positions. Besides, if an NP in a language is accessible to relativization in a given position in the hierarchy, all positions to the left in the hierarchy will also be relativizable. For instance, if a language allows relativization on the position of oblique object, then other positions to the left in the hierarchy, i.e., indirect object, direct object and subject NPs can also be relativizable. Moreover, no language allows subject and indirect object relativization while it avoids direct object relativization within a single strategy (Payne 1997:335).

Chapter Three

3. Some Characteristics of Gawwada Relative Clauses

In this chapter, I deal with some characteristics of Gawwada RCs. The purpose is to show the structure of relative clauses, relative clause types, and types of relative verbs in Gawwada. In the following sections we shall see each of them separately.

3.1. Structure of Relative Clause in Gawwada

Gawwada RCs consists of the head noun (HN) and the restricting clause (rc). These two constituents form a noun phrase (NP). The RC follows a nominal head or a pronominal particle⁵. When a relative clause (RC) follows a nominal head, the clause does not have a relative pronoun or a relativizer. The position of the relativized NP (NP rel) is empty. The following example is illustrative.

27. (a) t'irak-o-si [[e] garmo-si- si bog-i]
Man-m-DEF lion-DEF-acc kill- 3sgm(S).pfv
'The man who killed the lion'

As it is observed in (27), *t'irako-si* 'the man' is the head nominal, '-si'⁶ refers the feature of definiteness of the HN, [e] denotes the empty element in the NP rel position in the RC, while *garm-o-si-si bog-i* 'who killed the lion' is the rc, which is a

⁵ There are three pronominal particles in Gawwada. They are xo, xe and te. These pronominals have the same function with Ts'amako pronominals (ko, ke and te) which are identified by Savà (2005). They are gender sensitive. 'xo' follows masculine, 'te' follows feminine and 'xe' follows plural nouns.

⁶ Gawwada nouns could be definite or indefinite. The definite nouns are marked by the suffix '-si' but the indefinite nouns have no marker. Gebrew (2003:27) reports the same usage of the suffix '-si'.

RC it self, is a dependent clause and modifies the HN *ħaro* ‘dog’. The HN *t’irak-o-si* ‘the man’ and the RC *[[e] ġarmo-si- si ɓoɣ-i]* ‘who killed the lion’ form the NP *t’irak-o-si [[e] ġarmo-si-si ɓoɣ-i]* ‘The man who killed the lion’. As it is seen, the RC does not have a relative pronoun or a relativizer.

When, the RC follows a pronominal particle, the pronominal particle functions as the head of the RC. In addition, the pronominal particle probably acts as a relative pronoun including the head noun function in the NPs like pronominal particles in pronominal headed RCs formation in Ts'amako (Savà, 2005:92). Consider the following example:

28. (a) *xo ano hiʔ-i het'-a*

Pronm 1sg see-pfv good-Adj
 ‘What I saw is good’

(b) *xo ano naɓaɓ-i je - je - xas - es - i*

Pronm 1sg read-pfv neg-1sg (o)- please-caus-pfv
 ‘What I read doesn’t attract me’

(c) *xo ine minte-ma ħawata-n-i i-ɣar-i*

Pronm 1pl front-Loc propose-1pl(s).pfv 3-succeed-pfv
 ‘What we proposed succeeded’

As it is observed in (28), the pronominal particle *xo* is used as a HN in each clause. This pronominal head noun in each RC can be modified by each rc, for instance, if a hearer asks a sort of question like *fo ano hiʔ-i* ‘what did I see?’ in (28a), the reply may lead him to the entity which is denoted by the pronominal particle ‘*xo*’. The entity which is denoted by the pronominal particle could also be inferred from the relative verb. This means, the relative verb *hiʔ* ‘see’ in (28a), *naɓaɓa* ‘read’ in (28b) and *ħawat* ‘put’ in (28c) serves to presume the entity which is denoted by the pronominal particle in each NP.

In cases where a RC follows a nominal head, a definite suffix ‘-*si*’ or a pronominal particle follows the nominal head. Consider the following example⁷.

29. (a) *t’irak-o-si* [[e] *ǰarmo-si-si* *boǰ-i*]
 Man-m-DEF lion-DEF-acc kill-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The man who killed the lion’

(b) *t’irak-o xo* [[e] *oǰaj-n-a*]
 Man-m-pronm come-FUT-impfv.3sgm(S)
 ‘A man who is coming’

(c) *ħiskat-o te* [[e] *oǰaj-n-a*]
 Woman-m-pronf come-FUT-impfv.3sgm(S)
 ‘A woman who is coming’

As it is observed in (29a) the HN *t’irak-o* ‘man’ is definite, so it is followed by the definite marker ‘-*si*’, while HNs in (29b) *t’irak-o* ‘a man’ and in (29c) *ħiskat-o* ‘a woman’ do not have the feature of definiteness, hence these HNs are followed by pronominal particles ‘*xo*’ and ‘*te*’.

⁷ In Gawwada the pronominal particles may not appear for definite head nouns which end with vowel sounds ‘*o*’ or ‘*e*’. For example in (29a) the head noun *t’irak-o* ‘the man’ is definite so that it is followed by the definite marker ‘-*si*’. On the other hand, the pronominal particles can physically appear when the head noun is indefinite. In (29b) *t’irak-o* ‘a man’ and in (29c) *ħiskat-o* ‘a woman’ are indefinite head nouns with the intention that the pronominal particles appear following the head nouns. (29c) *ħiskat-o* ‘a woman’ is feminine in form but in the sense of masculine in order that it is followed by the masculine pronominal particle ‘*te*’. These pronominal particles probably function as emphasizing the head nouns.

When the HN is used as a subject NP in both the matrix and the RC in subject RC, one of the pronominal definiteness ‘*xo-si*’, ‘*xe-si*’, ‘*te-si*’ or the definite suffix ‘*-si*’ follows the HN as it is described in example (30) below. On the other hand, if the HN is used as a subject NP in the matrix clause and an object NP in the RC, one of the pronominal (*xo*, *xe* and *te*) or the definite suffix ‘*-si*’ follows the HN as it is described in example (31) below.

30. (a) *ħar-o xo-si [[e] ġuħalit-e-si ġor -a]*
 Dog-m pronm-DEF rabbit-f-DEF chase-3sgm(S).impfv
i- ran-i
 3-fall-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The dog which is chasing the rabbit fell down.’

Or

(b) *ħar-o-si [[e] ġuħalit-e-si ġor -a]*
 Dog-m-DEF rabbit-f-DEF chase-3sgm(S).impfv
i- ran-i
 3-fall-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The dog which is chasing the rabbit fell down.’

31. (a) *ġuħalite te [[e] ħar-o-si ġor-a-si] i-maċ - t - i*
 Rabbit-f pronf Dog-m-DEF chase-3sgm.impf(s)-Agr (o) 3-escape-3sgf(s)-pfv
 ‘The rabbit which the dog is chasing escaped’

Or

(b) *ġuħalite-si [[e] ħar-o-si ġor-a-si] i-maċ - t - i*
 Rabbit-f-DEF Dog-m-DEF chase-3sgm.impf(s)-Agr (o) 3-escape-3sgf(s)-pfv
 ‘The rabbit which the dog is chasing escaped.’

On the other hand, the use of pronominal particle after the HN is rejected when the HN becomes the object of both the matrix and the RC, in this case only the definite suffix ‘*-si*’ follows the HN. The following example is illustrative:

32. *mat’afa-si [ato [e] je - na - erga - t - i - si] i- teeħ -t-i*
 Book-DEF 2sg 1p(o)- Sorc -borrow-2psg(s)-pfv-Agr(o) 3- give-2psg(S)-pfv

‘Give me the book that you borrowed.’

In similar way, the use of the pronominal particles is to be avoided in the relativization of indirect object and oblique complement when the HN used in the position of the indirect object and oblique complement in both the matrix and the RC. On the other hand, the use of the definite suffix ‘-si’ is obligatory after the definite HNs. Consider the following examples:

33. ɣabassa q'imako-si [iso [e] nu - lala - de bitam - i]
Gabassa old woman-DEF 3sg(s) Dat-cloth-pl buy-3sgm(s).pfv
ɣanzaɓa i- teeɲ-i
money 3-give-3sgm(S).pfv

‘Gabassa gave money to the old woman to whom he bought clothes.’

34. ɣallaɓɓo orɲaŋɔ-o-si [iso [e] ɣuɓalit-e ɓog-i-taj]
Gallabo spear-m- DEF 3sgm(s) rabbit-f kill-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (obl)
ɣarmo i- ɓog-i
lion 3-kill-3sgm(S).pfv

‘Gallabbo killed a lion with the arrow that he killed a rabbit with.’

In possessor relativization the use of pronominal particles is also rejected. Consider the following example:

35. ano t'arak-o-si [naɲaye tusu aff-i-ɗ-i] an-ɲi?-i
1sg(S) man-m-DEF wife 3 poss.adj go-ep-3sgf-pfv 1-see-1sg(S).pfv

‘I saw the man whose wife has gone’

Concerning the use of pronominal particles and definite suffixes in Ts'emako RC formation, Savá (2005:93) reports that if the HN is placed in subject position in subject RC, the HN can be followed by one of the pronominals definiteness⁸ (*kosse, tesse, or*

kesse) or by only one of the pronominals (*ko, te or se*) or by the definite suffix⁹ ‘-*se*’. But if the HN is placed in object position in subject RC, either one of the pronominal particle or the definite suffix ‘-*se*’ follows the HN. If the HN is used as an object NP in both the matrix and the RC, the use of pronominal particle is avoidable. In the case of positions below the object NP in the accessibility hierarchy, the use of pronominal or definite suffix ‘-*se*’ is avoidable if the HN is used in the position of object NP in both the matrix and the RC. Moreover, the use of the definite suffix ‘-*se*’ is included if the HN is placed in subject position, but excluded if the HN is placed in the position of object NP.

Regarding the internal structure of RC, Downing (1978:383) argues that postnominal RC allows either to add or not to add the following three elements: relative particle, relative pronoun and deletion of NP rel.

In the case of Gawwada, when the relative clauses follow nominal heads, as it is described in example (27) the relative clauses may not have relative pronouns. On the other hand, when the relative clauses follow pronominal particles as it is described in example (28), the pronominal particles, which serve as the head of the relative clauses, act as relative pronouns.

When a relative clause follows a nominal head noun, as it is discussed in the section above, the language employs empty element in the NP rel position. In addition,

⁸ Ts’amako is a related language to Gawwada. In Ts’mako, pronominal definite markers are *ko-se*, *ke-se* and *te-se*, Savá (2005:92). They are gender sensitive. *Kose* follows masculine, *tese* follows feminine and *kese* follows plural nouns.

⁹ the definite head nouns attach a definite marker {-*se*}, but the indefinite head nouns do not have a specific marker, Savá (ibid).

When a relative clause follows a nominal head noun, as it is discussed in the section above, the language employs empty element in the NP rel position. In addition, dropping preverbal subject markers¹⁰ from the relative verbs seem compulsory in RC formation in the language. For the purpose of showing the presence of empty element in the NP rel position in the RCs and to evaluate the presence or absence of preverbal subject marker in independent sentences and RCs, the following examples are presented.

36. (a) t'irak-o-si i-ogaj-i

Man-m-DEF 3-come-3sgm.pfv

'The man has come.'

(b) t'irak-o-si [[e] ogaj-i]

Man-m-DEF come-3sgm(S)

'The man who has come'

37. (a) ?aturit-e-si tabatag-o-si-si i-gaḅ - t - i

Rat -m-DEF cat-f-DEF-acc 3-catch-3sgf-pfv

'The cat caught the rat.'

(b) tabatag-o-si [?aturit-e-si [e] gaḅ-t-i-si]

Rat -m-DEF cat-f-DEF catch-3sgf(s)-pfv-Agr (o)

'The rat which the cat caught'

38. (a) jaje - si mi?aaḅje-si-nu lala-ḁe monto i-ḁitam-t-i

Child-DEF mother-DEF-Dat clothe-pl expensive 3-buy-3sgf-pfv

'The mother bought the child expensive clothes.'

(b) mi?aaḅje-si [jaje - si [e] nu-lala-ḁe monto ḁitam-t-i]

Child-DEF mother-DEF Dat-clothe-pl expensive buy-3sgf(s)-pfv

'The child to whom the mother bought expensive clothes'

¹⁰ Gawwada main clause preverbal subject markers are:

1sg/pl = 'an-', 2sg/pl = 'a-', 3sg.m/f = 'i-', 3pl.m/f = 'i'

38. (a) gʌbassa konkol-o-si-taj i-ogʌj - i
 Gabassa Car-m-DEF-Ins 3-come-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘Gabass came by the car’

(b) konkol-o-si [gʌbassa [e] ogʌj-i-taj]
 Car-m-DEF Gabassa come-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (obl)
 ‘The car by which Gabassa came’

However, if the position is that of possessor head, the empty element in the NP rel positions of subject, direct object, indirect object and oblique complement relativization has become physically realized as personal pronoun¹¹, especially possessive adjectives, for instance, *hisi* ‘3sgf.poss.adj’ as shown in example (39b) below. Dropping of preverbal subject marker from the relative verb is also attested in possessor relativization

39. (a) jamʌ-o-si hiskat-o-si-na i-ojj-a
 Boy-m-DEF woman-m-DEF-Poss 3-cry-3sgm(S).impfv
 ‘The woman’s boy is crying’

¹¹ some of Gawwada personal pronoun forms

	subject	gloss	object ¹²	gloss	possessive adjective	gloss
singular: first person	ano	I			ħayu (m) ħahi (f)	my
Second person	ato	you			ħaħu	your
Third person	iso/ise	he/she			ħusu/hissi	his/her
plural: first person	ine	we			ħani	our
Second person	ħune	you			aħunɗi	your
Third person	isunɗe	they			isunɗe	their

(b) hiskat-o-si [ʃamʁ-o-si hisi ojj-a]
 Woman-m-DEF boy-m-DEF 3sgf.poss.adj cry-3sgm(S).impfv
 ɣassa i-ʔaɣ- i
 here 3-live-3sgm(S).pfv
 (Lit. the woman, her boy is crying is here.)
 ‘The woman whose boy is crying is here.’

¹² Gebrew (2003:28) argues that ye-si 'me', ho-si 'you (sg)', iso/ise-si 'him/her', ine-si 'us', hune-si 'you (pl)' and isunde-si 'them' are object pronoun in Gawwada., whereas Tosco (2007:525) argues that object pronouns in Gawwada are clitics: ye- for first person, ho- for second person masculine and he- for second person feminine. These object pronoun clitics are attached to the preverbal position following the preverbal subject marker. But, according to Tosco, third person singular (f/m), first person, second person and third person plurals do not have object pronouns/clitics. On the other hand, my informant strongly argues against Gebrew's object personal pronoun forms and Tosco's conclusion of the absence of free object pronoun forms for Gawwada. According to him, the subject pronouns, i.e., the free words: ano 'I', ato 'you ', iso/ise 'he/she', ine 'we', hune 'you' and isunde 'they' also serve as object pronouns without attaching the accusative clitic '-si' as shown in ¹¹. Hence, in this study I used the same independent personal pronoun forms in both subject and object position.

Gebrew's proposal of using pronominal 'ye-' and 'ho-' attaching with the accusative 'si-' for first and second persons and using free subject pronoun attaching with the accusative marker '-si' as object pronouns is probably basis on the fact of clitic '-si' which marks accusative case in independent sentence structures. The logic seems reasonable, but in direct object relativization the accusative clitic '-si' is split from its complement and attached on the relative verb. In this function, the status of the accusative clitic '-si' becomes agreement marker. But, if '-si' was a component of object pronoun as Gebrew's proposed; probably it could not be possible to find it in the function of agreement marker in the direct object RC.

* (c) [olla hani- na golle-si aʔga-i]
 Village 1pl poss.adj(s)-Loc river-DEF find-pfv

As it is observed in (40a) and (40b), the HN *t'rako-si* 'the man' and *goro-si* 'the people' are positioned outside of the RC. But, in (40c) the HN *golle-si* 'the river' is found in the RC. The structure is illformed, because Gawwada doesn't have internal headed RC structure. Thus, the RC in (40a) and (40b) assure that Gawwada RCs are external headed.

3.2.1.1. Postnominal Relative Clause

Gawwada relative clauses are postnominal, while the relative clauses occur after the head nouns. Consider the following example:

41. (a) *ɕawxo-si* [[e] *orhang-o-taj* *ɕarm-o-si* *ɓog-i*]
 Person DEF spear-m-Ins lion-m-DEF kill-3sgm(s).pfv
 'The man who killed the lion with the spear'

(b) *ɕarm-o-si* [*ɕawxo-si* *orhang-o-taj* [e] *ɓog-i-si*]
 Lion-m-DEF Person-DEF spear-m-Ins kill-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (o)
 'The lion which the man killed with the spear'

(c) *orhang-o-si* [*ɕawxo-si* [e] *ɕarm-o-si* *ɓog-i-taj*]
 Spear-m-DEF Person-DEF lion-m-DEF kill-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (obl)
 'The spear with which the man killed the lion'

As it is observed in (41) the RCs occur after the HNs. The RC [e] *orhang-o-taj ɕarm-o-si ɓog-i* 'who killed the lion' in (41a), *ɕawxo-si orhang-o-taj [e] ɓog-i* 'which the man killed' in (41b), and *ɕawxo-si [e] ɕarm-o-si ɓog-i-taj* 'with which the man killed the lion' in (41c) follow the head nouns *ɕawxo-si* 'the man' in (41a) *ɕarm-o-si* 'the lion' in

(41b) and *orhang-o-si* ‘the spear’ in (41c), which are positioned at the left side outside of the RCs. This is a characteristic feature of postnominal relative clauses.

In addition, according to (Downing 1978:383), sentential word order in a language has a great role to categorize RCs under prenominal or postnominal type. Accordingly, languages with SOV word order are dominated by prenominal and SVO word order with postnominal RC type. But, Gawwada is a SOV language in contrast with having a postnominal RC type. To provide evidence about the word order of Gawwada, I describe word order of independent sentences in examples (46, 47 and 48) and RCs in example (49) below.

42. (a) har-o-si guḅalit-e i-ḡor-a
 Dog-m-DEF rabbit-f 3-chase-3sgm(s)-impfv
 S O V
 ‘The dog is chasing the rabbit.’

(b) hiskat-o - si emad-o-si-si i - ḡond - i - t - i
 Woman -m-DEF glass-m-DEF-acc 3 - break- ep-3sgf(s)-pfv
 S O V
 ‘The woman broke the glass.’

(c) t’irak-o-si ḅaffo-si-si i-ḡot-a
 Man-m-DEF farm-DEF-acc 3-plough-3sgm(s)-impfv
 S O V
 ‘The man is ploughing the farm.’

*(d) t’irak-o-si i- ḅog-i ḡarmo
 Man-m-DEF 3-kill-3sgm.pfv lion-DEF
 S V O

In the above example (42), SOV word order is clearly seen in the sentences (42a), (42b) and (42c), i.e., *haro* ‘dog’, *hiskato* ‘woman, and *t’irako* ‘man’ in (42a), (42b) and (42c), respectively occupy the subject position, whereas *gubalite* ‘rabbit’, *emado* ‘glass’ and *bafo* ‘farm’ in (42a), (42b) and (42c), respectively are placed at object position. The verbs *gor* ‘chase’, *fonf* ‘break’ and *cot* ‘plough’ in (42a), (42b) and (42c), respectively occupy the verb position following the object NP. However, as it is observed in (42d) other word order makes the structure ungrammatical.

In addition, in cases where two objects occur in sentences, the indirect object precedes the direct object. The following example is illustrative:

43. (a) *jeett-e-si jambo-o-si-nu mat’afa i-ogas-t-i*
 Girl-f-DEF boy-m-DEF-Dat book 3-bring-3sgf(s)-pfv
 S IndO DirO V

‘The girls brought the boy a book.’

(b) *gessato azze-nu dabdabe i-t’af - i*
 Gessato Azze-Dat letter 3-write-3sgm(s)-pfv
 S IndO DirO V

‘Gessato wrote Azze a letter ’

*(c) *jambo-o-si ergo babobo husu-nu i- erag-i*
 Boy-m-DEF message father 3 poss.adj-Dat 3-send-3sgm.pfv
 S DirO IndO V

In (43), the indirect objects *mat’af* ‘book’ in(43a) and *Azze* in (43b) precede the direct objects *jambo* ‘boy’ in (43a) and *dabdabe* ‘letter’ in (43b). The indirect object adds dative postposition clitic *nu* as it is observed in (43a) and (43b). On the other hand, if the direct object precedes the indirect object as it is seen in (43c), the structure becomes illformed.

Oblique complements also precede the direct object in sentences. The following example is illustrative:

44. (a) *ɣenniso orhangʻo-si-taj ɣarmo i - ɓ og - i*
 Genniso spear-m-DEF-Ins lion 3 – kill - 3sgm(S).pfv
 S ObIC DirO V
 ‘Genniso killed a lion with the spear.’

(b) *matʻmatʻ-e tʻarapesa-si-na ɣala tabatak-o i - ɣaɓ -t-i*
 Trap - f table-DEF-Loc under rat - m 3-trigger-3sgf(S).pfv
 S ObIC DirO V
 ‘The trap triggered the rat under the table.’

*(c) *ɣereʻ-e ɣanzaba qʻ imako-si-na i- ɣereʻ- i*
 Thief-pl money old man-DEF-sorc 3-steal-3sgm.pfv
 S DirO ObIC V

In the above example (44), oblique complements precede the direct objects. This means, *orhangʻo* ‘spear’ in (44a) and *tʻarapesa* ‘table’ in (44b) come after the subject NPs: *Genniso* and *matʻmatʻe* ‘trap’, respectively. These oblique complements are placed before the direct object *ɣarmo* ‘lion’ in (44a) and *tabatak-o* ‘rat’ in (44b). On the other hand, as it is observed in (44c) if the the direct object precede the oblique complement the structure becomes ungrammatical.

As regards word order in RCs in Gawwada, the RCs follow SOV word order as the declarative sentences do. Consider the following examples.

45. (a) [har-o-si [[e] *gubalit-e* *gor - a*] *bije-ma*
 Dog-m-DEF rabbit-f chase-3sgm(S).impfv ground-Loc
 S O V ObIC

i-bu?- a - j]]

3-go down-impf-PRES

V

‘The dog which is chasing the rabbit falls over the ground.’

(b) [*jamḅ-o-si* [*jeett-e-si* [e] *nu-mat’afa* *ogas -t - i*] *ise*
 Boy-m-DEF girl-f -DEF Dat-book bring-3sgf(s)-pfv 3sgf (O)
 S S DirO V DirO

daǵas-i]]

Insult-3sgm(S).pfv

V

‘The boy to whom the girl had brought a book insulted her.’

(c) [*ǵarmo* [*ǵenniso* *orhang-o-si-taj* [e] *ḅog - i-si*]
 Lion Genniso spear-m-DEF-Ins kill-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (o)
 S S ObIC V

arḅ-o i-ǵor-i]]

buffalo-m 3-chase-3sgm(S).pfv

O

V

‘The lion which Geniso killed with the spear had chased a buffalo.’

In (45), the RCs are indicated in square brackets. As it is observed, the word order in the RCs is the same SOV as the word order in the main clauses. For example, the position of the NP rel which is before the subject *gubalite* ‘rabbit’ in (45a) and after *jeette-si* ‘the girl’ which is the subject in (45b) though the position is empty as indicated by [e]. In these two clauses the objects are *gubalite* ‘rabbit’ and *mat’afa* ‘book’ precede the verb *gor* ‘chase’ and *ogas* ‘bring’ in (45a) and (45b), respectively. In (45c), in the RC the

subject ‘*genniso*’, and the oblique complement *orhang-o-si-taj* ‘with the spear’ and the verb *boɟ* ‘kill’ occupy their position as it does in the main clause resulting in a word order SOV. Though the position of the NP rel is empty that is indicated by [e], its position is after the oblique complement. On the other hand, the subject, the direct object, the oblique complement and the verb are placed in their position in the order of SOV in the RC. Thus, based on the above illustrations, it is possible to conclude that Gawwada employs SOV word order in main clause and relative clause.

As it is observed in the independent sentences (42), (43), (44) and the relative clauses (45), the word order is SOV. According to the typological studies it can be expected that prenominal RC type dominates Gawwada RCs structure, but the reverse is true: Gawwada RCs are postnominal type. This fact makes Gawwada as one of the SOV languages characterized by postnominal relative clause structure like Afan Oromo (Baye 1987) and Persian (Andrews 2007:209), as discussed in chapter 2.

3.2.2. Restrictive and Appositive Relative Clauses

Gawwada RCs can also be divided into restrictive and appositive RCs. The difference of the two RCs is on meanings and intonation breaks. The function of restrictive RC in Gawwada is to modify the meaning of the head nominal. This means, the presence of restrictive RC makes clearer the questions that could be raised about the HN by the hearer in conversation. Moreover, the restrictive RCs form one tone group with their HN, and hence there is no intonation break between the main clause and the dependent clause. Consider the following examples.

46. *tirr-e-si* [[e] *oils-i* *je-ʔal-e*] *maɟah-e* *ħusundĩ*
 Man-pl-DEF matter-DEM 1sg (o)-tell-3pl(S) name-pl their
je-ʔal-e *i-iff- e*
 1sg(o)-tell-pl 3-refuse-3pl(S)

‘The men who told me this matter refused to give me their name’

In (46), the restrictive RC which is indicated in square bracket qualifies the meaning of the head nominal *tirre*, ‘men’. This means, for question like ‘which men?’ the restrictive RC, [*e*] *oils-i je-ʔal-e* ‘who told me this matter’ gives a clear answer by identifying the head nominal *tirr-e-si* ‘the men’ as a response to a question from any listener. Thus, the restrictive RC [*e*] *oils-i je-ʔal-e* ‘who told me this matter’ defines the HN *tirr-e-si* ‘the men’.

On the other hand, similar to the English appositive relative clauses, appositive RCs in Gawwada do not have a defining function over the specified head nouns. Their function is just providing a bit of additional information about the specified head noun. Moreover, the occurrence of the appositive RC forms an independent tone group; and due to this, manifestation of intonation break comes into existence. In speech, the independent tone groups set off intonationally from the main clause. The following example is illustrative:

47. *gʌbʌrra-de-si* [*mann-e*¹³ *gʌd-i* *ʌa* *talte* *ʌitam-i*]
 Farmer-pl-DEF house-pl work-3sg(S).impf and goat buy-3sgm.pfv
i- oʒaj-i
 3- come-3 sgm.pfv
 ‘The farmer who built a house, who bought a goat has come’

As we observe in (47) the appositive RC, *talte ʌitam-i* ‘who bought a goat’ provides extra additional information about the head *gʌbʌrra-de-si* ‘the farmer’.

With regard to the structure of the appositive and restrictive RCs of Gawwada in complex sentences, the following are worth mentioning.

¹³ *manne* ‘a house’ its form is plural but in the sense of singular

- Where two RCs come together, the appositive RC comes after the restrictive RC. Consider the following example:

48. *hiskat-o -si* [moore *gula* *afi-d-i* *ba* *soɕ-o kilo togo*
 woman m-DEF market Dir go-3sgf(S)-pfv conj salt-m killo one
bitam d -i] *i - hol - d - i*
 buy- 3sgf(S)-pfv 3 - return-3sgf(S).pfv
 ‘The woman that went to market, who bought a killo of salt, returned’

- Restrictive and appositive RCs in one head noun must be conjoined with a conjunction word. The following example is illustrative:

49. *tirak-o-si* [*t’ite* *raʔ -i* *ba* *garmo-taj* *boɕ -i*]
 Man-m-DEF bullet shoot-3sgm(S).pfv conj lion-Ins kill-3sgm(S).pfv
i-ogaj-i
 3-Come-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The man who shot a bullet, and killed a lion has come.’

3.3. Relative Verbs in Relative Position in Gawwada

Verb is one of a major constituent in RC structure. In relation to relative verbs, Downing (1978:378-388) states that, the presence of finite verb is one of the syntactic properties of RC. Accordingly, Gawwada RCs consist of finite verbs. Gawwada verbs are two kinds that could be distinguished in terms of their aspect: perfective and imperfective.

Perfective relative verbs¹⁴ are marked by {-i/e}. The following examples are illustrative:

50. *ʃam6-i- de -si* [[e] *raf -e*]
 Boy-ep-pl-DEF sleep-3pl(S).pfv
 ‘The boys who slept’

51. *dell-e - si* [*hiskat-o-si* [e] *hiʔ-d-i-si*]
 Child-pl-DEF woman-m-DEF see-3sg f(s)-pfv-Agr (o)
 ‘The children whom the woman had seen’

As it is observed in the above examples, the perfective verb *raf* ‘sleep’ is marked by ‘e’ in (50) and the perfective verb *hiʔ* ‘see’ is marked by ‘i’ in (51).

Imperfective verbs¹⁴ are marked by {-a}. The imperfective verbs are further subdivided into progressive and non progressive imperfective forms. The progressive imperfective verbs are marked by {-a} which is suffixed to the verb root, whereas in the non progressive imperfective aspectual verbs, the progressive

¹³ Regarding perfective verbs in Gawwada, Black (1976:226) reports that {-i/e} marks the perfective verbs. On the other hand, Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1980:107) reports only {-i} marks the perfective verbs. Gebrew (2003:42) accepts the perfective marker {-i} which is proposed by Amborn, Minker and Sasse. However, the present study assuredly that {-i/e} marks perfective verbs as Black (ibid) proposed.

¹⁴ Regarding the imperfective verbs in Gawwada, Black (1976:226) reports that {-na} marks the imperfective verbs. On the other hand, Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1980:107) reports {-a} as an imperfective verb marker and {-na} as a futur marker. Gebrew (2003:42) accepts the imperfective marker {-a}, but he doubts on {-na}. He argues that {-na} marks non progressive aspect, i.e., present or future. However, in the present study, {-a} marks the imperfective verbs as Amborn, Minker and Sasse proposed. On the other hand, the study doubts on the function of {-na} which is argued as present/future non progressive imperfective marker by Gebrew (ibid), or is taken as a future marker by Amborn, Minker and Sasse (ibid). Instead, in this study {-n-} refers the time of the non progressive imperfective future action and {-a} marks imperfective verbs.

imperfective marker *{a}* is suffixed to the tense markers, *{-j-}* for present and *{-n-}* for future. The following examples are illustrative:

52. *ʃamb-o-si* [[e] *ʃaff-o-si-si* *gula* *aff-a*]
 Boy-m-DEF farm-m-DEF-acc Dir go-impfv.3sgm(S)
 ‘The boy who is going to the farm’

53. *tir-e-si* [[e] *ʃaff-o-si-si* *gula* *aff-a-j - a - ngi*]
 Man-pl-DEF farm-m-DEF-acc Dir go-ep-PRES-impf-3pl(S)
 ‘The men who go to the farm’

54. (a) *tʳak-o-si* [[e] *lala-de-si-si* *ʃitam-n-a*]
 Man-m-DEF cloth-pl-DEF-acc buy-FUT-Impf.3sgm(S)
 ‘The man who will buy clothes’

In (52), *{-a}* is suffixed to the verb root *aff* ‘go’ to form the progressive imperfective verb *affa* ‘going’, whereas in (53) the progressive marker *{-a}* is suffixed to the present tense marker *{-j-}* to form present non progressive imperfective verb *affaja* ‘go’ and in (54) the progressive marker *{-a}* is suffixed to future marker *{-n-}* to form future non progressive imperfective verb *ʃitamna* ‘will buy’.

Both perfective and imperfective relative verbs drop preverbal subject markers. The following examples are illustrative:

55. *ʃeett-e-si* [*ʃamb-o-si* [e] *na-kʳicca* *gere? - i*]
 Girl-f-DEF boy-m-DEF Malf-ear jewellery steal-3sg(s).pfv
i-ʃʃ-i- d- i
 3-go-ep-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The girl from whom the boy had stolen ear jewelery went.’
 (to the disadvantage of her)

56. *jeett-e-si* [jamʁ-o-si [e] nu-k'ricca gere?-i]
 Girl-f-DEF boy-m-DEF Benf-ear jewellery steal-3sg(s).pfv
i-ogaj- d- i
 3-come-3sgf(S)-pfv

'The girl to whom the boy stole ear jewellery had come' (to the benefit of her)

57. *t'irak-o-si* [[e] ʁaff-o-si-si gula aff- i-n - a]
 Man-m-DEF farm-m-DEF-acc Dir go-ep-FUT-3sgm(S).impf
i-rir-a
 3-cry-impv

'The man who will go to the farm is crying.'

As it is observed in (55), (56) and (57), the main verbs attached preverbal subject markers, i. e., '-i', which is at the preverbal position in (55), *i-aff-i-d-i* '3-go-3sgf(S)-pfv', in (56) *i-ogaj- d-i* '3-come-3sgf(S)-pfv' and in (57) *i-rir-a* '3-cry-impv' are preverbal subject markers of the main clause. In the contrary, in the RCs (55), (56) and (57) the relative verbs drop the preverbal subject markers: *gere?-i* 'steal-3sg.pfv' in (55), (56) and *aff-i-n-a* 'go-ep-FUT-3sgm.impf' in (57), whereas the main clauses *jeett-e-si i-aff-i-d-i* 'the girl went' in (55), *jeett-e-si i-ogaj-d-i* 'the girl had come' in (56), and *t'irak-o-si i-rir-a* 'the man is crying' in (57) keep the preverbal subject markers. Thus, keeping or dropping of preverbal subject marker probably distinguishes whether the verb is relative or main clause verb.

In addition, both perfective and imperfective relative verbs are inflected for subjects. In the case of direct object, indirect object and oblique complement relativization, the inflectional suffixes on the relative verb refer person, number and gender in agreement with the subject of the RC. On the other hand, the inflectional suffixes on the relative verbs specify in agreement with the HN in the case of subject RC. Let us use some of the above examples again to explain the facts of inflection on relative verbs.

58. *ʃamʃ- de -si* [[e] *raf-e*] *i-damaɟ-e*
 Boys-pl-DEF sleep-3pl(S).pfv 3-awaken-3pl.pfv
 ‘The boys who have slept awoken ’
59. *tʻirak-o-si* [[e] *ʃaʃʃ-o-si-si* *ɟula aff-i-n - a*] *i-rir-a*
 Man-m-DEF farm-m-DEF-acc Dir go-ep-FUT-3sgm(S).impf. 3-cry-impv
 ‘The man who will go to the farm is crying.’
60. *dell-e - si* [*hiskat-o-si* [e] *hiʔ-d-i-si*] *i-ogaj-e*
 Child-pl-DEF woman-m-DEF see-3sg f(s)-pfv-Agr (o) 3-come-3pl.pfv
 ‘The children whom the woman had seen came’
61. *hiskat-o-si* [*tʻirak-o-si* [e] *nu-ʃaʃʃo-si-si* *ɟot-i*]
 Woman-m-DEF man-m-DEF Benf-Farm-DEF-acc plough-3sgm (s).Pfv
 ‘The woman for whom the man have ploughed the farm’ (to the benefit of her)
62. *ʃeet-te-si* [*ʃamʃ-o-si* [e] *na-kʻricca* *ɟereʔ-*i**]
 Girl-f-DEF boy-m-DEF Malf-ear jewellery steal-3sg(s).pfv
i-aff-d-i
 3-go-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The girl from whom the boy had stolen ear jewelery went.’
 (to the disadvantage of her)
63. *ʃeett-e-si* [*ʃamʃ-o-si* [e] *nu-kʻricca* *ɟereʔ-*i**]
 Girl-f-DEF boy-m-DEF Benf-ear jewellery steal-3sg(s).pfv
i-ogaj- d- i
 3-come-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The girl to whom the boy stole ear jewellery had come’ (to the benefit of her)

In (58), the relative verb *raf* ‘sleep’ is inflected for subject agreement, i.e., *-e* ‘3pl(S)’ and in (59), the relative verb *aff* ‘go’ is also inflected for subject agreement, i.e., *-a* ‘sgm(S)’ These inflectional morphemes refer the empty elements in the NP rel position in each

RC. In (60) the object agreement clitic ‘-si’ which is attached at the post verbal position in the RC specifies the empty element in the NP rel position. With regard to the oblique complement relativization in (61), (62) and (63); the postposition clitics are stranded in each RC. These stranded postpositions refer the empty element in the NP rel position in each relative clause. The empty element is indicated by [e] in the NP rel position in each RC.

In the case of past progressive imperfective actions, the auxiliary verb *ʔaḡaʔ-i*¹⁵ 'Aux-pfv' follows the relative verb. According to my informant, the auxiliary verb ‘ʔaḡaʔ-i’ 'Aux-pfv' is equivalent to Amharic *näbär* or English *was/were*. The following examples (64) and (65) are illustrative:

64. *ʃamḅ-o-si* [ʃaʃʃo-si-si ʃot - a ʔaḡaʔ- i]
 Boy-m -DEF farm-DEF-acc plough-3sgm(S).Impfv Aux -pfv
 ‘The boy who was ploughing the farm’

65. *ʃamḅ-i-de-si* [ʃaʃʃo-si-si ʃot -a ʔaḡaʔ- i]
 Boy-ep-pl-DEF farm-DEF-acc plough -3sgm(S).impfv Aux -pfv
 ‘The boys who were ploughing the farm’

¹⁴ Geberew (2003:41) identifies the function of *ʔaḡaʔ-i* 'Aux-pfv' in past perfective actions as equivalent to the English *had* and in past progressive actions as equivalent to *was/were* of the Amharic *näbär*. But In this study, *ʔaḡaʔ-i* 'Aux-pfv' is identified as equivalent to the English *was\were* or Amharic *näbär* and used in past progressive actions only. *ʔaḡaʔ-i* 'Aux-pfv' is compulsory in past progressive.

Chapter Four

4. Strategy of RC formation in Gawwada

In this chapter, I deal with the strategy of RC formation in Gawwada in a view to proposing strategy of relativization in different relativised NP positions. In addition, I deal with how far the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy (Comrie and Keenan 1977) for relative clause formation works in Gawwada. To begin with, relativization on subject NP position is discussed in the following section.

4.1. Relativization on Subject Position.

All natural languages are able to relativize on subjects (Comrie 1981:151). The same thing is true in Gawwada. An NP in subject position is able to relativize in the language. Let us consider the following examples.

66. (a) t'irak-o - si [[e] ɟarmo ɓog-i] i - far - i
Man-m - DEF lion kill-3sgms.pfv 3-die- 3sgms-pfv
'The man who killed a lion died'.

- (b) jamɓ -i - de - si [[e] ʔall-a-d-a]
Boy -EP-Pl -DEF talk-ep-3pl(S).impfv
kifl-e i - raɓaf - n - a - ne
class-pl 3-distarb-FUT-impfv-3pl(S)
'The boys who are talking will disturb the classes.'

- (c) hiskat-o-si [[e] ine daɟis-t - i] i-aff- i - t - i
Woman-m-DEF 1pl (o) insult-3sgf(S)-pfv 3-go-ep-3sgf(S)-pfv
'The woman who insulted us went.'

As it is observed in (66), the position of the NP rel in each clause is not occupied by any overt lexical item, it is empty as indicated by *[e]* in the position in each clause. Besides, there is no relativizer that introduces the clause as a RC. The position of the NP rel in the RC is empty means the HNs *t'irako* 'man' in (66a), *ʃmḅ-i-de* 'boys' in (66a) and *hiskato* 'woman' in (66c) do not have overt coreferential element in the RCs. In other words, if the position of the NP rel is not filled by any overt lexical item, the implication is that there is no any explicit element that represents the HN in the position of the NP rel in the RC. However, as it is observed, there are agreement markers that are suffixed on the relative verbs in each RC: *-i* '3sgm(s)', *-d-* '3mpl(s)', and *-t-* '3sgf(s)' in (66a), (66b), and (66c), respectively. These agreement markers indicate the presence of empty element in the NP rel position in each RC. Following (Jaeggli 1984), the empty element which is licensed and identified by agreement element in (66a), (66b) and (66c) is arguably *pro*. This means the category of the empty element, i.e., *pro* in each clause can be recoverable from the agreement markers, which are attached on the relative verbs in each clause. Hence, the agreement markers, e.i. *-i* '3sgm(s)' in (66a), *-d-* '3pl(s)' in (66b) and *-t-* '3sgf(s)' in (66c) and the corresponding empty element (*pro*) in the NP rel position are coindexed and be coreferential to the HNs *t'irako* 'man' *ʃmḅide* 'boys' and *hiskato* 'woman' in (66a), (66b) and (66c), respectively.

In Gawwada, modified subject NP such as possessive noun phrases are able to relativize. Consider the following examples.

67. (a) ʃaʃo ʃette-si-na xo-si [[e] talt-e ʃitam - i]
 Father girl-DEF-poss Pronm-DEF goat-f buy-3sgm(S).p fv
 i -oʃaj - i
 3-come-3sgm(s).pfv
 'The girl's father who has bought a goat came'

- (b) nahaje t'irak-o-si-na te-si [[e] salham-e ʃal - t - i]
 Wife man-m-DEF-Poss Prof-DEF twin-pl deliver-3sgf(S).pfv

i-ḅawaj-a-t-i

3-sick-Adj-3sgf(S)-pfv

‘The man’s wife who has delivered twins became sick’

(c) ʔasso dell-e-si-na xo - si [[e] oḡaj- i]
Brother Child-pl-DEF-poss Pronm-DEF come-3sgm(S).Pfv

i - aff - i

3-go-sgm(S).pfv

‘The children’s brother who had come went’

As it is observed in (67), the modified subject NP is relativized in each RC. The positions of NP rel in each RC are empty as indicated by *[e]*. But the empty category can be recoverable from the agreement markers that are attached to the relative verbs. Thus, the agreement marker ‘-i’ 3sgm(S) in (67a), ‘-t-’ 3sgf(S) in (67b) and ‘-i’ 3sgm(S) in (67c) could identify the category of the phonetically unrealized element in the NP rel positions. And the null element (*pro*) which is recoverable from the agreement marker plus the agreement marker itself in each RC are coindexed and they will be coreferential to the modified subject NPs, *ḅabo feette-si-na* ‘the girl’s father’, *naḥaje t’irako-si-na* ‘the man’s wife’, *ʔasso dell-e-si-na* ‘the children’s brother’ in (67a), (67b) and (67c), respectively.

As it is observed in (66) and (67), one could find neither of the following in the internal structure of subject RCs: relative pronoun, overt pronoun, full fledged noun or gapping to represent the NP rel in each RC. This indicates that neither of these strategies is applied in the formation of subject RC in Gawwada. The only thing we find in each RC is that the inflectional morpheme on the relative verb which refers to the empty element in the NP rel position. This means the category of the empty element in each clause could be recoverable from the agreement morphology. Therefore, in Gawwada, though the NP rel position of the subject relative clauses is not filled by any overt lexical item, the agreement markers on the relative verbs can recover the category of the empty element in the NP rel position and *pro* in the empty position is coindexed with the agreement markers in each relative clause and *pro* along with agreement markers could be

coreferential to the HNs. Hence, it is possible to argue that relativization on subject NP position in Gawwada employs pro in situ strategy.

4.2. Relativization on Object Position

Direct and indirect objects are also relativizable in Gawwada.

4.2.1. Direct Object Relativization

In direct object relativization, the head noun serves as the direct object of the RC. Consider the following examples.

68. (a) ʃamḅ- i -de-si [jaje [e] ɣuḅis-t-i-si]
 Boy-ep-pl-DEF mother pinch-3sgf(s)-pfv-Agr (o)
 i-ojj- a
 3-cry-3plm(S)-impfv
 ‘The boys whom the mother pinched are crying’

- (b) ɣorʔaɣ-o-si [ʃamḅ-o-si [e] ʃoɕ-i-si]
 Snake-m-DEF boy-m-DEF hit-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (o)
 i-far-i
 3-die-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The snake which the boy hit died ‘

- (c) taḅataɣ-o-si [ʔaturit-e-si [e] ɣaḅ-t-i-si]
 Rat -m-DEF cat-f-DEF catch -3sgf(s)-pfv-Agr (o)
 i-far-i
 3-die-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The rat which the cat caught died’

In (68), the relativized NP positions are the direct object positions. When we examine the nature of the relative verbs *ǧubis* ‘pinch’ in (68a), *ʃoC* ‘hit’ in (68b) and *ǧaḅ* ‘catch’ in (68c), they are transitive verbs, and require subject and object. Since Gawwada is a SOV language as it is discussed in section (3.1), the subject is placed in clause initial position. Hence, *jaje* ‘mother’ in (68a), *ʃamḅo* ‘boy’ in (68b) and *ʔaturite* ‘cat’ in (68c) are the subjects in the RCs. The verb of each RCs is also placed in clause final positions, i.e. *ǧubis* ‘pinch’, *ʃoC* ‘hit’, and *ǧaḅ* ‘catch’ in (68a), (68b) and (68c) respectively. The position of the NP rel in each RC is empty as indicated by [e]. But, if there had been physically realized NP rel in each RC, it would have been placed between the subject and the verb in each RC.

Regarding to proposing relativization strategy that employs in direct object NP positions in Gawwada, it is necessary to examining the agreement morphology on the verb of the RCs in (68). Accordingly, in (68a); *-t-* ‘3sgf’ refers the subject of the relative clause *jaje* ‘mother’. In (68b), *-i-*, refers 3sgm subject of the RC *ʃamḅo* ‘boy’ and perfective aspect. In case of (68c), *-t-* ‘3sgf’ refers the subject of the RC, *ʔaturite* ‘cat’. These agreement markers do not refer the relativized NP. However, the relative verbs in each RC attached the agreement affix ‘*-si*’ at the postverbal position. In Gawwada simple declarative sentence formation, the definite NPs in direct object position are marked by the accusative marker ‘*-si*’ and this accusative marker follows the definite marker ‘*-si*’ as it is observed in the following example.

69. ʔaturit-e-si	tabataǧ-o-si-si	ǧaḅ-t-i
Cat-f-DEF	rat-m-DEF-acc	catch-3sgf(s)-pfv

‘The cat caught the rat.’

When the direct object relativization takes place in (68) above, the accusative marker ‘*-si*’ remains in each RC, which is attached to the relative verbs. In this function, the accusative ‘*-si*’ changes its status and becomes agreement affix. The agreement affix ‘*-si*’

which is attached on each relative verbs indicates the presence of empty element (i.e, pro) in the NP rel positions.

On the basis of the above discussion, the strategy of relativization on direct object position in Gawwada seems to fit to the criteria of pro in situ because the category of the empty element (pro) can be recoverable from the feature of the agreement affix '-si' which is split from the HN and attached to the relative verbs in each RCs. Thus, it is possible to claim that relativization on direct object NP positions in Gawwada involves pro in situ strategy.

4.2.2. Indirect Object Relativization

The HN can also be relativizable when it functions as an indirect object of the RC in Gawwada. Consider the following examples.

70. (a) jamḅ-o-si [ise [e] nu-mat'a fa oḡas-t - i]
 Boy-m-DEF 3sgf Dat-book bring -3sgf(s)-pfv
 i-ise - ḡanas - i
 3-3sgf (o)-thank-3sgm(S)-pfv
 'The boy to whom she brought a book thanked'

(b) feete -si [t'irak-o-si [e] nu-dabɗabe t'af - i]
 Girl-DEF man-m-DEF Dat-letter write -3sgm(s)-pfv
 i-oḡaj-n- a - j
 3-come-FUT-impfv-3sgf(S)
 'The girl to whom the man wrote a letter will come soon'

- (c) miʔaajje-si [jaje - si [e] nu-lala-ɕe monto ʔitam - t -i]
 Child-DEF mother-DEF Dat-clothe-pl expensive buy-3sgf(s)-pfv
 i- ɕanas - i
 3-dance-3sg(S).pfv
 ‘The child to whom the mother bought expensive clothes danced ‘

As we can see in the above examples (70), *ʃamʔo* ‘boy’, *ʃeete* ‘girl’, and *miʔaajje* ‘child’ in (70a), (70b) and (70c) are the HNs in the respected NPs. When we examine how these HNs are represented in the position of the NP rel in the RCs, there is no explicit lexical word that could be correferential to the HN in the position. These NP rel are the indirect object of the RCs.

In Gawwada, NPs in indirect object position are marked by a dative clitic *-nu* in independent sentences. The dative clitic *-nu* takes the postposition of its complement as it is observed in (71) below.

71. (a) ise ʃamʔ-o-si -nu mat’a fa i-oɕas-t - i
 3sgf(S) Boy-m-DEF-Dat book 3-bring-3sgf (S)-pfv
 ‘She brought a book to the boy’
- (b) t’irak-o-si ʃeete-si-nu ɕaʔɕaʔe i-t’af - i
 Man-m-DEF Girl-DEF-Dat letter 3-write-3sgm(S).pfv
 ‘The man wrote a letter to the girl’
- (c) jaje-si miʔaajje-si-nu lala-ɕe monto i-ʔitam-t-i
 Mother-DEF Child-DEF-Dat clothe-pl expensive 3-buy-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The mother bought expensive clothes to the child’

As it is observed in the independent sentences in (71), the indirect objects attached dative clitic *-nu* as the postposition. When the indirect object NPs is relativized as it is described

in (70), they occupy the HN positions by leaving the dative post-position clitic *-nu* in the RCs. According to Grohmann (2005), a clitic is a morpheme that has syntactic characteristics of a word, but shows phonologically bound to another word. This means a clitic has a lexical status but phonologically attach to the following or preceding word especially to the edge of words, outside of derivational and inflectional affixes in writing or speech

Regarding the position of clitics in Gawwada, Tosco (2007) state that clitics can be attached to the edge of the following word in the absence of its complement. Corresponding Tosco's conclusion, the dative postposition clitic *-nu*, as it is observed in (70), is attached to the following word in each RC: *nu-mat'afa* 'Dat-book' in (70a), *nu-dabdaʔe* 'Dat-letter' in (70b) and *nu-lala-de* 'Dat-cloth-pl' in (70c).

When we compare constituents of the independent sentences in (71) with the RCs in (70), the difference is the presence or absence of indirect object NPs in the position, the form of the verb, and the element to which the postposition dative clitic *-nu* is attached, i. e., the postposition dative clitic *-nu* is attached to the indirect object in the independent sentences and to the following words in the RCs. The indirect objects in (71a), (71b) and (71c) have become the HNs in the RC constructions in (70a), (70b) and (70c).

With regard to the function of dative clitic *-nu* in Ts'emako, Savà (2005:105) states that clitic *-nu* marks a recipient or receiver NPs. This argument seems compatible to Gawwada. The postposition dative clitic *-nu* in (70) specifies recipient NP in each clause. Therefore, the function of clitic *-nu*, which is split from the indirect object NPs and stranded in the RCs in (70), is to assigning the recipient semantic role. Besides, the stranded clitic *-nu* indicates the presence of empty element (pro) in the NP rel position.

Regarding the strategy of relativization in indirect object position in Gawwada, though the position of the NP rel is not filled by any overt lexical word, it is possible to say that the stranded postposition dative clitic *-nu* serves to refer the empty element (pro) in the NP rel positions in each RC. Therefore, it seems that the same thing happened in indirect

object relativization as the subject and direct object relativization in Gawwada, i.e., it is possible to argue that pro in situ strategy involves in indirect object relativization in Gawwada.

4.3. Relativization on Oblique Complement Position

Oblique complements are also relativizable as subject, direct and indirect objects in Gawwada. In this section we will examine the relativized oblique complements in instrumental, source, benefactive, malfactive, locative and temporal semantic roles. Oblique complements in the mentioned semantic roles are introduced by postposition clitics: *taj*, *nu*, and *na*. The postposition clitic *-taj* assigns instrumental thematic role, *-nu* marks the role of recipient and benefactive; *-na* refers to source, malfactive, locative and temporal thematic roles. Before describing oblique complement relative clause structure, considering the syntactic position of the instrumental clitics in independent sentences is essential. Therefore, the following example (72) shows the syntactic position of the above mentioned clitics in independent sentences, i.e., they are attached to the final rim of the oblique complements.

72. (a) *tikko gang-e-si-taj g-i-aff-i*
 Tikko Horse-f-DEF-Ins con-3-go-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘Tikko went by the horse’
- (b) *ganisso hiskat-o-si-nu basfo i-Ḡot-i*
 Genniso Woman-m-DEF-Benf farm 3 -plough-3sg(S)-pfv
 ‘Genniso ploughed the farm for the woman’
- (c) *jamḡ-o-si feet-te-si-na k’ričča i-ḡere?-i*
 Boy-m-DEF Girl-f-DEF-Malf ear jewellery 3-steal-3sg(s).pfv
 ‘The boy has stolen ear jewelery from the girl.’

By the time of relativization of oblique complement takes place, the postposition clitics *taj*, *nu*, and *na* are stranded in the RCs by splitting from its complements. As I discussed

in section (4.2.2) clitics cannot stand alone since they are phonologically dependent to other words. They always find a word to be attached and be meaningful. Because of this, the stranded postposition clitics are attached to the following words in the RCs. The function of these stranded postposition clitics in the RCs is to mark the thematic role of the oblique complements. We shall see the relativization of oblique complements in different thematic roles with descriptive examples as follows.

Concerning oblique complement relativization with instrumental thematic role, the following example is illustrative:

73. (a) ɟaŋɟ-e-si [tikko [e] aff - i - t - i-taj] i-far-t-i
 Horse-f-DEF Tikko go-ep-3sgf(s)-pfv-Agr (obl) 3-die-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The horse by which Tikko went died’

(b) konkol-o-si [ɟaɓassa [e] oɟaj - i - taj] i-ɟond-i
 Car-m-DEF Gabassa come-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (obl) 3-break-3sgm.pfv
 ‘The car by which Gabassa had come broke down’

(c) maɟaze-si [anat’it-o-si [e] ɟaɟo-si ɕoɕ-i-taj]
 Saw-DEF carpenter-m-DEF wood-DEF cut-3sgm(s).pfv-Agr (obl)
 i-lul - t - i
 3-blunt-3sgf(s)-pfv
 ‘The saw with which the carpenter cut the wood became blunt’

As it is observed in (73a), (73b) and (73c), the oblique complements are the HNs. The position of the relativized NP is empty as indicated by [e]. The instrumental clitic *-taj* is attached to the relative verbs in each RCs. In this function, the status of *-taj* is changed to agreement affix.

Concerning oblique complement relativization with benefactive thematic role, let us consider the following example:

74. (a) *hiskat-o-si* [*ɟanisso* [e] *nu-basfo* *ɔot - i*]
 Woman-m-DEF Genniso Benf-farm plough-3sgm(s).pfv
 ‘The woman for whom Genniso ploughed the farm’ (to the benefit of her)
- (b) *q’imak-o-si* [*ɟabassa* [e] *nu-ɟanzaɓa* *teeɲ-i*]
 Old woman-m-DEF Gabassa Benf-money give-3sgm(s).pfv
 ‘The old woman to whom Gabassa gave money’ (to the benefit of her)

As it is seen in (74a) and (74b), the oblique complements *hiskat-o-si* ‘the woman’ and *q’imako-si* ‘the old woman’ hold the HN positions. The position of the relativized NP is empty as it is indicated by [e], while the benefactive clitic *nu* is remained in the RCs and it is attached with the following words *basfo* ‘farm’ *ɟanzaɓa* ‘money’ in (74a) and (74b), respectively.

As regards relativization of oblique complements with malffective thematic role, the following example is illustrative:

75. (a) *jeet-te-si* [*ɟamɓ-o-si* [e] *na-k’ričča* *ɟereʔ-i*]
 Girl-f-DEF boy –m-DEF Sorc-ear jewellery steal-3sg(s).pfv
 ‘The girl from whom the boy stole ear jewellery’ (to the disadvantage of her)
- (b) *q’imak-o-si* [*ɟerʔ-e-si* [e] *na-ɔoll-e* *ɔiɓ-t-i*]
 Old man-m-DEF thief-pl-DEF Sorc-cattle-pl rob-3sgf(s).pfv
folisito-nu *ɟ-i-aras-n-a*
 police-Dir con-3-report- FUT-impfv.3sgm(S)
 ‘The old man from whom the robbers robbed the cattle will report to the police’

As it is observed in (75a) and (75b), the oblique complements hold the HN positions. The position of the relativized NP is empty and it is indicated by [e]. The malffective postposition clitic *-na* is stranded in each RC and it is attached to the following words *k’ričča* ‘ear jewellery’ and *ɔolle* ‘cattle’ in (75a) and (75b), respectively.

Concerning the relativization of oblique complement with locative thematic role, consider the following example:

76. (a) *t'arapesa-si* [*mat'mat'-e* [e] *na-gala* *taḅatak-o* *ɟaḅ-t- i*]
 Table-DEF trap-f Loc-under rat - m trigger-3sgf(s)-pfv
xo-dam-a
 prom-big-3sg(S).Adj
 'The table under which the trap triggered the rat is big.'

- (b) *hadamḅaḡ-o-si* [*ano* [e] *na-saḅade* *ɟiɟar- i* *ʔaɟaʔ- i*]
 Ladder-m -DEF 1sg(s) Loc-on stand-1sg(s).pfv Aux-pfv
ɟirr-e i- ɓaj-i
 slip-inf 3-begin-3sgm(S).pfv
 'The ladder on which I was standing began to slip.'

- (c) *hajit-o-si* [*ano* [e] *na-ma* *aɟɟ-i*]
 Place-m-DEF 1sgs Loc-Loc go-1sg(s).pfv
xo- awɟ-a- ɟ-a
 prom-fertile-ep- Redu-3sgm(S).adj
 'The place to which I have gone is a fertile land '

- (d) *mann-e-si* [*ano* [e] *ʔaɟ-i-na* *ɟajt-a-whe*]
 House-pl-DEF 1sgs live-1sg(S).pfv-Loc new-ep-Adj-pl
 'The house in which I have lived is new'

As it is observed in (76a), (76b), 76) and (76d), the oblique complements *t'arapesa-si* 'the table', *hadamḅaḡo-si* 'the ladder', *hajito-si* 'the place' and *manne-si* 'the house' respectively took the HN positions. The position of the NP rel is empty as indicated by [e] in each RC. The locative clitic *na* is also stranded and attached to the following word in the RCs as the other clitics do in other thematic roles.

Regarding the relativization of oblique complement with temporal thematic role, consider the following example:

77. *galaʒaʒ-o-si* [ine [e] *na-olho* *hoʒaʒ-e* *ʒoʒ-n-i*]
 Night-m-DEF 1pl(s) Temp-thing lot-pl do-pl(s)-Pfv
je-holi i-oʒaʒ-n-a
 Neg-again 3-come-FUT-impfv.3sgm(S)

‘The night in which we have done a lot of things will never come again’

In (77), the oblique complement *galaʒaʒo-si* ‘the night’ is on the HN position. The position of the NP rel is empty, so it is indicated by [e] in the position of the NP rel. The temporal postposition clitic *na* is stranded in the RC and attached to the following word *olho* ‘things’.

As it is observed in the above examples ((73), (74), (75) (76) and (77)), the position of the the relativized NP is empty. However, the postposition clitics *taj*, which is changed its status and become agreement affix, *na* and *nu* are stranded in the RCs when its complements (the preceding oblique NPs) have become the HNs. These oblique complements which are followed by postposition clitics in Gawwada could be explained as complements which are governed by postpositions.

With regard to relativization strategy on oblique complement NP in Gawwada, as subject, direct and indirect object relativization, the position of the NP rel in each RC is not filled by any explicit lexical word. It is empty [e]. However, the postpositions clitics (-*na* and -*nu*) and the post position clitic -*taj*, which is changed its status and has become agreement affix, are stranded in each RC. These stranded postposition clitics and agreement affix refer the empty elements in the NP rel positions in each RC. This means the category of the empty elements could be recoverable from the stranded postposition clitics and the agreement affixes. Therefore, the empty element which is indicated by [e] in the NP rel positions of each RC is arguably pro. In consequence, like subject, direct and indirect object RCs formation, it is possible to say relativization of oblique complement NPs position in Gawwada employs pro in situ strategy.

4.4. Relativization on Possessor NP Position

The possessor NP can also be relativizable in Gawwada. Consider the following example.

78. (a) *jeette-si* [*ʃaʃo hisi talt-e ʃitam-i*] *i-ogaj-d-i*
 Girl-DEF father 3sg.poss.adj goat-f buy-3sgm(S).pfv 3-come-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The girl whose father bought a goat has come.’

(b) *t’irak-o-si* [*nahaje tusu salham-e ʃal-t-i*] *i-far-t-i*
 Man-m-DEF Wife 3sg.Poss.adj twin-pl deliver-3sgf(S) 3-die-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The man whose wife delivered twins died

(c) *dell-e-si* [*ʔasso ʃusundi ogaj-i*] *i-aff-e*
 Child-pl-DEF Brother 3Pl.poss.adj come-3sgm(s).pfv 3-go-3pl(S).Pfv
 ‘The children whose brother has come went.’

As it is observed in (78), the possessor NPs is relativized. The position of the NP rel in each RC is filled by overt possessive adjectives: *hisi* ‘her’, *tusu* ‘his’ and *ʃusundi* ‘their’ in (78a), (78b) and (78c), respectively. On the other hand, possessive in independent sentences is marked by postposition clitic *-na*. The possessive marker is attached on the possessor noun following the inflectional affixes as shown in the example below.

79.(a) *jaje ʃamʃ-o-si-na* *i-aff-i-d-i*
 Mother boy-m-DEF-Poss 3-go-ep-pfv.sgf(S)
 ‘The boy’s mother went’

(b) *nahaje t’irak-o-si-na salham-e i-ʃal-t-i*
 Wife man-m-DEF-poss twin-pl 3- deliver-3sgf(S)-pfv
 ‘The man’s wife delivered twins.’

However, as it is observed in possessor RCs in (78), the postposition clitic has not been stranded in the RCs like direct object, indirect object and oblique complement relativization. Instead, the NP rel positions are filled by overt pronouns in each RC.

Regarding reativization strategy that employs in relativized positions of the possessor NPs in Gawwada, as it is observed in (78), the possessor NPs are represented by overt possessive adjectives such as *hisi* ‘her’ in (78a) *tusu* ‘his’ in (78b), and *ħusundi* ‘their’ in (78c) in the NP rel positions in each RC. These possessive adjectives are coreferential to the head nouns, *feette* ‘girl’, *t’irak-o-si* ‘man’ and *delle* ‘children’ in (78a), (78b) and (78c), respectively. This observable fact well fits to the criteria of pronoun retention. Therefore, it is possible to claim that relativization of possessor NP in Gawwada involves pronoun retention strategy.

One of the issues this chapter discusses is proposing the strategy of relativization in different relativised NP positions of Gawwada. Accordingly, *pro in situ* strategy is involved in subject, direct object, indirect object and oblique complements relativization, whereas pronoun retention strategy is involved in possessor relativization. In relation to the accessibility hierarchy for relativization (Comrie and Keenan 1977), Gawwada relativizes its NPs in subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique complement and possessor positions in the accessibility hierarchy. This observable linguistics fact assures that the hierarchy works for Gawwada.

Chapter Five

5. Summary and Conclusion

5.1. Summary

In this chapter, attempts have been made to summarize what has been discussed in Gawwada relative clause. The study focused on the description of facts in the formation of relative clauses in the language.

In chapter one, attempts have been made to discuss the Gawwada people and the language in general. Besides, the previous studies undertaken on the language are also reviewed.

Regarding the phonemic inventory of the language, some authors raised controversial issues in their literature. In this study; however, 27 consonant phonemes are taken as having a phonemic status in the language. In the same way, there are also some controversies over the subclassification of the language though all authors agree on the classification of Gawwada under Lowland East Cushitic.

In chapter two, some related literatures of relative clause are reviewed. External, internal and headless relative clauses are discussed thoroughly. Besides, relativization strategies, such as relative pronoun, retention pronoun, full fledged NP (non reduction); gapping, and other relativization strategies such as pro in situ and composite strategies are presented. Moreover, the accessibility hierarchy: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object > possessor > ocomp NPs, in which the accessibility to RC-formation of certain NP's realizes (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66) are discussed, whereas in chapter three and four the analysis of the relative clauses in Gawwada are presented.

5.2. Conclusion

Gawwada is a SOV language. In relation to the characteristics of such types of languages as Downing (1978) states are dominated by external headed prenominal type of RC structure. But, Downing also argues that there are some exceptional SOV languages which follow postnominal RC structure. Gawwada is a SOV language which is found to be one of the exceptional SOV languages that follow external headed postnominal RC structure. Moreover, the structure of the RCs is similar to that of the main clauses in using the same paradigms though the relative verbs drop preverbal subject markers.

Gawwada RC follows a nominal head or a pronominal particle, for instance, (a) *t'irako-si* *[[e] garmo-si bof-i-si]* 'the man who killed the lion' and (b) *xo* *[ano [e] nababi] je-je-xas-es-i* 'what I read doesn't attract me'. In (a), the RC *[[e]garmo-si bof -i- si]* 'who killed the lion' follows the nominal head *t'irako-si* 'the man', while in (b), the RC *[ano [e] nabab-i]* 'I read' follows the pronominal particle *xo* 'pronm'. When the relative clause follows a nominal head noun, there is no relative pronoun or relativizer in the RC, whereas when the relative clause follows a pronominal particle, the pronominal particle act as a head noun and a relative pronoun at the same time.

Gawwada RC is also classified into restrictive and appositive (non-restrictive). The difference of the two RCs is mainly on meaning and intonation break. Thus, the restrictive RC functions in modifying the HN, whereas the non restrictive RC mainly provides additional information, and it is set off intonationally from the main clauses in speech.

In Gawwada, finite verbs play a major role in the RC formation. In relation to the relative verbs, two types of aspectual verbs, i.e., perfective and imperfective are identified. The imperfective aspectual verb is further subdivided into progressive and improgressive: *{i/e}* marks perfective aspectual verbs and *{a}* marks the imperfective aspectual one. The perfective marker suffixes to the verb root and the imperfective marker suffixes to future marker *{-n}* and to the present marker *{-j}*. Both types of

aspectual relative verbs drop preverbal subject markers. They are inflected for person, number and gender in agreement with the HN in subject RCs.

Regarding the NP rel positions and the strategies that are used in the RC formation in Gawwada, the language seems to employ pro in situ strategy in all positions except in possessor relativization. In the position of possessor NP, relativization takes place by involving the strategy of pronoun retention.

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Appendix-1

በደራሴ ልዩ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ጊደል

በኮንሶ ልዩ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ካራት ፣

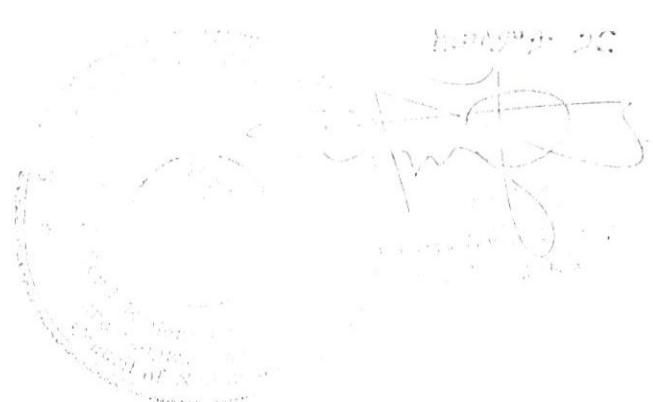
ጉዳዩ፡ የብሔረሰብ ስያሜን ይመለከታል ፣

በደራሴ ልዩ ወረዳ በኩል ደባሴ በሚል እና በኮንሶ ልዩ ወረዳ በኩል የቀዳ በሚል ማረታዎታል የሽል ብሔረሰብ የአገዛዝ ተወካዮች ከዚህ ቀደም በውስጥ የሚኖሩት የሚጠይቁ ስያሜ ትክክል አራመሆኑን ጠቅሰው ትክክለኛ የብሔረሰብ ስም እንዲሆን ይኸው በወ-ሰ-ም ካባቢ እንዲታወቅ በቀን 18/12/2001 ዓ.ም. በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ ጠይቀውናል።

ስለሆነም በወ-ሰ-ም ልዩ ወረዳዎች ይጠራ የገበረው ስያሜ ተቀይሮ የብሔረሰብ ትክክለኛ ብሎ መረጠው ስም / አል/ ተብሎ እንዲጠራ እናስታውቃለን።

ገቢዎች

- ሰነድ ም/ቤት ጽ/ቤት
- ስርዕሰ መስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
- የብሔረሰቦች ምክር ቤት አፈ ጉባኤ ጽ/ቤት አዋግ ፣
- የሽል ብሔረሰብ ተወካዮች በ አ ስ ቤ ት ፣



/አ

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other Universities and that all sources of information used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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Signature: _____

Date: September 2010

Place: A.A.U