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## THE STRUCTURE AND TYPOLOGY OF YEMSA RELATIVE CLAUSES: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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**Abstract.** This study explores the internal structure of relative clauses in Yemsa, an area yet to be examined in existing literature. The research aims to address this gap by answering the following questions: What is the internal structure of the Yemsa relative clause? What kind of relative clause types occur in Yemsa, and what morphological markers are involved in the relativization process? What are the strategies in relative clause formation? What are the relativized noun phrase (NP) positions in Yemsa? Empirical data were collected through the elicitation technique through informant interviews about the structure of relative clauses in Yemsa. A descriptive approach was employed for analysis, independent of any theoretical framework. The findings reveal that headed relative clauses in Yemsa are prenominal, allowing for the relativization of subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique, and possessor NPs. The relativization strategy for the subject, direct or indirect object, is pro in situ. The oblique NP position employs a gap strategy. The relativization of possessor NP has a possessive person suffix in the possessed noun. The indicative verb is relativized in its perfective and imperfective forms. The relative verbs do not have a relativizer. The headless relative clause appears without an overt nominal head. The relativized noun phrase can be a subject, an object, or an oblique noun phrase in the headless relative clause. The role of the noun phrase within the relative clause is recoverable from the agreement suffixes attached to the relative verb. The negative relative clause is formed through the suffixation of a negative morpheme. The negative morpheme neutralizes aspects and person markers. This study contributes syntactic data to the comparative syntactic analysis of Omotic languages, enhancing our understanding of this linguistic group.

**Keywords:** relativized NP, relativization strategy, prenominal relative clause, negative relative clause.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Yemsa is an Omotic language that belongs to the Yem-Kefoid sub-group of the TN group languages (Bender, 2000; Azeb, 2017). The total population of Yem is 159,923 (CSA, 2007). The total population of the Yem ethnic group in their special district was 73,075. However, this figure indicates that more than half of the Yem live outside their homeland. The Yem ethnic group prefers to call themselves Yem or Yemma (Aklilu, 1992; Getachew, 2001; Derib, 2004; Zaugg-Correti, 2013). Yemsa is spoken by the Yem people in the southwestern part of Ethiopia, in the former SNNP (Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region) and the present Central Ethiopia regional state, particularly in the Fofa area. This paper is aimed at providing a detailed description of the relative clause in Yemsa.

The Yem people have a very positive attitude towards their mother tongue, which they use at home, school, and the office (Aklilu et al., 2002). Yemsa has institutional value in schools and administrative offices in Yemsa Special District. On the other hand, it also serves as a media language on South FM radio and newspapers. The writing system of the language uses Latin script as orthography.

Grammatical descriptions have been produced for Yemsa in the past. However, the depth of the description of relative clauses is limited. For instance, Derib (2004) and Teshome (2007) describe the structure of noun phrases and simple verbal and nominal clauses in Yemsa in the light of Parameter and Principle Theory and the Minimalist Theory, respectively. However, they did not describe relative clauses in detail.

As a result, the description of the internal structure of relative clauses in an Omotic language of southwestern Ethiopia presents fertile ground for linguistic exploration. A detailed description focusing on the internal structure of the relative clause is not available. This gap exposes a crucial area of linguistic inquiry, considering the potential of such studies to illuminate the interconnection between morphology, syntax, and semantics in lesser-documented languages.

There is a research gap in the internal structure of the relative clause. The existing studies are phonological or morphological and predominantly catalog the phonological and basic morphosyntactic properties of Yemsa, with limited attention to relative clause structure. This oversight leaves a substantial knowledge gap in the relative clause of Yemsa, in the relativized NP features, the relativized NP positions, and the relativization strategies.

The aim of this study is to fill the identified gap by analysing the relative clauses in Yemsa. Through this examination, the study seeks to identify Yemsa's relative clause types, the relativized position, the relativized element, the relativization strategies, and syntactical features to describe its linguistic framework and contribute to the comparative studies of relative clauses in Afroasiatic languages. Specifically, the study seeks to analyse the relativized element and the relativization strategies of the relative clause, thereby contributing to a better understanding of its grammatical and syntactical facts. Through this examination, the research aims to fill a significant gap in the

existing literature by providing comprehensive data on the relative clause structure in Yemsa. This activity will enhance the knowledge of Yemsa's relative clause structure, offer comparative perspectives with other Afroasiatic languages, and contribute to broader discussions in linguistic typology.

The study addresses the following research questions: 1. What is the internal structure of the Yemsa relative clause? 2. What kinds of relative clauses occur in Yemsa, and what morphological markers are involved in the relativization? 3. What are the strategies used to form a relative clause and the relativized position? There are three properties of relative clauses (RC): dependency, a statement about the relativized noun phrase (NP), and modification of the head noun (HN) (Downing, 1978). However, the study focuses on the HN and the internal structure of the relative clauses.

The paper is organized into five sections, the first of which is an introductory section. Section two is concerned with a cross-linguistic overview of relative clauses. Section three introduces the method used in this study. Section four is devoted to a detailed description of relative clauses in Yemsa. Section five concludes the paper.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The relative clause is a subordinate or embedded clause that modifies a head noun inside a noun phrase (Givón, 1993; Miller, 2002; Hermann, 2005; Dixon, 2009; Van Lier, 2009). Of which shares the same semantic pivot, or NP, with the matrix clause (De Vries 2001, 2002).

Cross-linguistically, there are different criteria to classify RCs in typology. In terms of the position of the head noun, RCs are classified into externally headed postnominal or prenominal, internally headed, double-headed, headless, correlative, adjoined, and mixed (Payne, 1997; De Vries, 2002; Herrmann, 2003; Dryer, 2005b; Andrews, 2007; Cinque, 2020). Externally-headed RCs classification into postnominal and prenominal is strongly related to the language's word order typology (Downing, 1978; Comrie, 1989; Payne, 1997). The OV (object-verb) and RelN languages are languages in which the object precedes the verb; the RC precedes the HN (Dryer, 2005c). Postnominal RCs are common in VO (verb-object) languages, while prenominal RCs are found almost exclusively in OV languages (Cinque, 2005). Cinque (2005) proposes the following word order-RC type relationship: a. If VO, then NRel; b. If rigid OV, then RelN. c. If non-rigid OV, then NRel or both NRel and RelN (Cinque, 2005). Cinque (2013) argues that the RC and the word order relationship can be generalized into two categories: a.  $VO \supset NRel$ ; b.  $RelN \supset OV$ .

RCs are classified as restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses based on function (Comrie, 1989; Payne, 1997; Givón, 2001b; De Vries, 2002; Castillo, 2003; Hermann, 2005; Andrews, 2007). While the restrictive relative clause gives essential formation about the head noun, the non-restrictive relative clauses add information about an identified NP (Comrie, 1989; Fabb, 1990; Cinque, 2020). Restrictive relative clauses are considered more common than non-restrictive relative clauses (Givón, 1993). The restrictive relative clauses have some general features (Antinckel et al., 1979). The non-restrictive relative clauses provide non-specific information about NP (Huddleston, 1984; Quirk et al., 1985; Castillo, 2003). The non-restrictive relative clause can give some information about proper names, but the restrictive relative clause cannot (Del Gobbo, 2007). The RC headed by the proper names cannot be a restrictive relative clause; however, they are non-restrictive relative clauses (Castillo, 2003). Proper nouns and other naming expressions usually do not occur with a modifier since the name refers to a specific person, place, or institution (Biber et al., 1999). The non-restrictive relative clause differs from the restrictive relative clause in several ways, including differences concerning possible antecedents, scope, and relative elements (De

Vires, 2006). The non-restrictive relative clauses were separated from their HN by an intonational break or pause, indicated by a comma in written English (Givon, 1993).

The head noun appears in the surface structure, or a visible head noun occurs in the relative clause construction in headed relative clauses, whereas headless relative clauses lack an NP in the surface structure or are without a visible head noun (Andrews, 1975; Friedmann et al., 2009; De Vires, 2018). Caponigro (2020) lists the features of headless relative clauses. The NP rel is either a pronoun or a full NP; most languages have headless RCs in which the NP rel is a pronoun (Andrews, 1975). The headless RC can be in the subject position, direct object position, or dative object position (Van Riemsdijk, 2006). Locative and temporal-free relatives can occur, which share the distributional properties of both NPs and PPs (Bresnan & Grimshaw, 1978).

There are strategies to relativize NP elements of RC (Comrie, 1989; Payne, 1997; Comrie, 1998; Comrie & Kuteva, 2005). The strategies are the non-embedding strategy, the gap (zero) strategy, the anaphoric pronoun strategy, the relative pronoun strategy, the verb agreement strategy, the word-order strategy, the equi-case strategy, the verb-coding strategy, and the stranded case marking strategy (Givón, 2001b). However, the more common strategies are pronoun retention, relative pronouns, nonreduction, and gapping (Comrie, 1989; Payne, 1997). In the gapping strategy, the RC characterizes the absence of a marker or the lack of indication of the HN within the RC (Comrie, 1989; Payne, 1997).

The pronoun retention strategy is a personal pronoun in the restricting clause, which is co-referential with the HN (Comrie, 1989; Song, 2001). The use of the pronoun retention strategy is considered one of the factors affecting the degree of accessibility (Ariel 1990; 1999). The factors affecting the degree of accessibility are the distance between the head and the relativized NP, the restrictiveness of an RC, the complexity of a head noun, and the obligatoriness of a relativized NP (Ariel, 1999). The pro in situ strategy uses the agreement element. In pro in situ, an empty or phonetically unrealized category is identified or licensed by an agreement marker in the RC (Jaeggli, 1984; Andrews, 2007).

As Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Comrie and Keenan (1979) argue, the cross-linguistic distributions of resumptive pronouns and gaps in RCs differ. In resumptive pronouns, the pronoun is co-referential with the HN of the RC (Francis et al., 2015). The RC in many languages has resumptive pronouns, which are overt phonological realizations of gaps in the RC (Doron, 2011). Personal, possessive, demonstrative, existential (there), and adverbial (demonstrative) are examples of resumptive pronouns (Herrmann, 2003). Furthermore, different factors influence the use of the resumptive pronoun, such as definiteness and animacy (Prince, 1990). If a language uses resumptive pronouns in its accessibility hierarchy, it also uses them for all types to the right (Moravcsik, 2011).

There is an accessibility hierarchy in which some elements are more relativized than others. As Keenan and Comrie (1977) argue, different languages follow one universal hierarchy in relativization. They develop an outline of the accessibility hierarchy, as shown below.

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object > possessor > object of comparison

If a language allows relativization of the oblique object position, other positions to the left in the hierarchy, such as indirect and direct objects and subject NPs, can be relativized (Keenan & Comrie, 1977; Comrie & Keenan, 1979; Comrie, 1989). The zero-coded co-referent noun inside the RC occupies an indirect object role (Givon, 1993). A zero relativizer is an RC that omits a relativizer (Biber et al., 2002).

The possessive constructions have a possessee and possessor, where the possessor refers to

persons, third-person possessors, genitive agents, and possessor classes (Ulan, 1978). The possessor is represented by a noun, a pronoun, a separate word, and a morpheme attached to the possessed noun (Karvovskaya, 2018). As Aikhenvald (2013) argues, formal marking of possessive NPs includes simple juxtaposition, genitive case marking, marking on the possessor or possessee, or both, and an independent marker.

The most common sentence structure appears to be one in which the NP subject performs the action denoted by the verb (thus having the semantic role of an agent) (Kim and Sells, 2008). The indirect object's multiple semantic roles are goal, recipient, allative, and ablative (Givón, 2010a; Kim & Sells, 2008). An oblique phrase is an NP or an adpositional phrase (prepositional or postpositional) that serves as an adverbial modifier (adjunct) to the verb, such as source, goal, instruments, benefactives, and comitative (Dryer, 2005a). An instrument, a recipient, a beneficiary, a time, a place, a manner, or a variety of thematic roles are peripheral arguments (Dixon, 2010). The benefactive thematic role is the entity that benefits from the action (Kim & Sells, 2008). As Blake (2004a, 2004b) argues, case-marking strategies in a subordinate clause are (a) no change from the schema used in an independent clause, (b) a nonfinite predicate, and (c) nominalization. Most languages form a negative sentence from an affirmative sentence through the negative element (Bhat, 2004).

### 3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The description of relative clauses uses the typology of Keenan and Comrie (1977), Comrie and Keenan (1979), Comrie (1989), and Fabb (1990). The typologies corresponding to the objectives apply to the analyses. This consideration shows that a descriptive approach applies to the analyses. Wells (1963) argues that descriptive linguistics is a set of prescriptions for description. In addition, it is supplemented by the disclosure of the semantic and functional components of the relative clauses.

The informants were selected based on their language competence. All informants are native speakers of Yemsa. The data for this study were collected from the Saja and Fofa areas, where the native speakers of the language live. Four informants, Demeke Jenbere, Tekalegn Ayalew, Almaz Tesfaye, and Adanche Kebede, were used as key informants. Due to time and financial issues, the number of informants is four, whose speeches are the source of Yemsa's examples. In terms of age, Demeke is 42, Tekalegn is 60, Almaz is 40, and Adanche is 54. In terms of gender, two male and two female informants were consulted. All of them worked on supplying linguistic data and conducting discussion sessions.

The data were collected mainly through informant interviews using the elicitation technique about the internal structure of relative clauses in Yemsa based on sentences. The elicited sentences were uttered for the informants in Amharic. Then, the informants were requested to offer Yemsa equivalents for the sentences. The data were supplemented by texts. After this event, discussion sessions with the informants were held to clarify the data and minimize confusion.

The data were analysed qualitatively. The data were analysed based on observable facts to show how the language is used. The data were analysed using a descriptive approach to show the structure of the Yemsa relative clause. The data were carefully transcribed, annotated, segmented, analysed, translated, and interpreted. According to the data, the grammatical facts and regular patterns that occurred in the structures are described. Some shortcomings are unavoidable due to time limitations. The data were transcribed phonetically and phonemically through IPA (International



Phonetic Alphabet) symbols. When there is a difference between phonetic and phonemic forms, four-line glossing is used: (i) phonetic form; (ii) morphological form with morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation; (iii) morphological glossing; (iv) free translation.

## 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1. Subject relativization

Languages differ in terms of the position of the NP that they turn relativized. The subject NP is relativized in Yemsa. *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’ is relativized, as in 1. The woman is the subject of the RC. In addition, the -f is an imperfective marker that appears with the person marker - ē ‘3MS’.

- 1      [kèjāasōn wāagèfà ʔàsūus míʔifà]  
          kèjāa-s-ōn                      wāagè-f-à                      ʔàsūu-s                      míʔ-f-à  
          house-DEF-ACC              buy-IPFV-3FS              woman-DEF              laugh-IPFV-3FS  
          ‘The woman who is to buy the house laughs.’

The RCs are typically classified depending on the syntactic function of the relativized HN inside the RC. For example, the RC appearing before the head noun that functions as the subject of the RC is termed subject relativization. Therefore, it occurs in 1 and 2 (a and b) because the HN inside the RC is the subject of the RC.

- (2)    a.      sàabòo-s-ōn                      ʔúf                      ʔàsūu-s                      kàssè-dīf-ē  
                  milk-DEF-ACC                      drink.PFV.3MS                      man-DEF                      play-PROG-3MS  
                  ‘The man who drank the milk is playing’  
           b.      [kòʔūusōn ʔòp’ kànàas tàp’ità wà]  
                  kòʔūu-s-ōn                      ʔòp’                      kànàa-s                      tàp’tà                      wà  
                  rat-DEF-ACC                      catch.PFV.3FS                      dog-DEF                      fast                      COP.PRES  
                  ‘The dog who caught the rat is fast.’

Typologically, verb-final languages use prenominal RCs with RelNP deletion and sometimes verb-marking, but never any relative pronouns or movement of RelNP (Downing 1978). Yemsa is a verb-final language. As shown in 3 (a and b), the RCs appear before the HN. The RCs are prenominal. They are RelN  $\supset$  OV.

- (3)    a.      [nàgàdnī jòwònnò kūtīfē nàasā ʔàbà]  
                  nàgàd-nī                      jòwònnò                      kūt-f-ē                      nàa-s-ā                      ʔàbà  
                  business-on                      lot                      travel-IPFV-3MS                      boy-DEF-GEN                      father  
                  [ʔèskàbàk dʒimmàsī wà]  
                  ʔèskàbàkdʒimmà-sī                      wà  
                  moment                      jimma-IN                      COP.PRES  
                  ‘The boy’s father who travels a lot on business is in Jimma at the moment.’  
           b.      [kàamà ʔàssidīfē ʔàssinjāas mèʃnétibāasōn]  
                  kàamà                      ʔàss-dīf-ē                      ʔàssinjāa-s                      mèʃnét-bāa-s-ōn  
                  language                      teach-PROG-3MS                      teacher-DEF                      lunch-3MS.POSS-DEF-ACC  
                  [kàafèsī mée]

kàafè-sī                      mée  
 café-IN                      eat.PFV.3MS  
 ‘The teacher who is teaching language had eaten his lunch in the cafe.’

There is no relative pronoun in Ethiopian prenominal languages (Tong, 2012), but there are many other relativizers, linkers, complementizers, and zero relativizers (Tong, 2012). As shown in 3 (a and b), Yemsa is a prenominal language. No relativizer introduces the clause as an RC or zero relativizer. There is no relative pronoun, relativizer, or particle in the RCs of Yemsa. The agreement marker indicates the HNs in the RCS.

The imperfective and future relative verbs are inflected for the 3MS (3d person masculine singular) and 3FS (3d person feminine singular). In 4 (a and b), for example, *mèr-f-ē* ‘wins’ and *hàmà-nī-r* ‘will go’ inflect for 3MS and 3FS. *-ē* and *-nī* are person markers in relative verbs. They indicate an empty or pro element (NP rel) in each restricting clause.

- (4) a. [wòssàmàas-ōn mèrìfē ?àsùu-s mí?dīfē]  
          wòssàmàa-s-ōn              mèr-f-ē                      ?àsùu-s              mí?-dīf-e  
          prize-DEF-ACC              win-IPFV-3MS              man-DEF              laugh-PROG-3MS  
          ‘The man who is to win the prize is laughing.’  
       b. fòfà-kī              hà-m-à-nī              ?àsūu-s              màajàa-s-ōn              wàagè-dīf-ā  
          fofa-ALL              go-IRR-3FS              woman-DEF              cloth-DEF-ACC              buy-PROG-3FS  
          ‘The woman who will go to Fofa is buying the cloth.’

As shown in 4 (a and b), the relativized NPs are covert (empty) in the relative clauses. Hence, any overt lexical item does not occupy the position of the NP rel in relative clauses. The HNs *?àsùu-s* ‘the man’ and *?àsūu-s* ‘the woman’ are covert (empty) elements in the relative clauses.

The empty element is recoverable from the person markers of *-ē* 3MS and *-nī* 3FS, which are attached to the relative verbs in each relative clause. Hence, the person agreements *-ē* 3MS and *-nī* 3FS are co-referential with the HNs *?àsùu-s* ‘the man’ and *?àsūu-s* ‘the woman’ in 4 (a and b).

In the above examples, we do not find relative pronouns, overt pronouns, or full-fledged nouns in the relativized NP position. This indicates that those strategies do not apply to subject NP relativization. The subject NPs are covert or phonetically unrealized in the RCs. Hence, we find the inflectional morphemes (agreement markers) *-à* 3FS, *-ē* 3MS, and *-nī* 3FS in each RC. The inflectional morphemes are co-referential with the HNs. One could argue that subject NP relativization follows a pro in situ strategy because the agreement markers can represent the covert NP in the relative clause.

The RC modifies the subject, or the HN. As shown in the above examples, the RCs modify HNs. However, the HN can be modified by possessive construction, as in 5.

- (5) kējàa-s-ōn              wàagè              náa-s-ā              ?ijf              hà-m  
       house-DEF-ACC              buy.PFV.3MS              boy-DEF-GEN              uncle              go.PFV.3MS  
       ‘The boy’s uncle who bought the house went.’

The RC modifies the possessive NP, which is the subject of the matrix clause. As shown in 5, the HN is modified by the genitive case. The possessive NP occurs between the HN and the RC.

The NP subject serves as the agent in the above examples. For instance, the semantic role of

the NP rel is an agent, as in 5. The HN *ʔiɸ* ‘uncle’ is the agent of the relative verb. The nominative case is unmarked in the RCs. As a result, in the case-marking strategy in the subordinate clause, Yemsa belongs to group a, which is unchanged from the schema used in the independent clause.

## 4.2. Object relativization

A transitive verb has a direct object. A ditransitive verb has both direct and indirect objects. The RC can modify the object of the embedded construction. The relativization of direct and indirect objects depends on the nature of the verb. Under 4.2.1. and 4.2.2. subtitles, direct and indirect object relativizations are shown in Yemsa.

### 4.2.1. Direct object relativization

As shown in 6 (a and b), *ʔéetóo-s* ‘the lion’ and *fàntùu-s* ‘the sheep’ are direct objects of the RCs. Hence, the direct object is relativized. Direct object relativization is one type of non-subject relativization that modifies a nominal expression, which is the object in 6 (a and b).

- (6) a. [wòtàdèriis k’àwwèk wóríná ʔéetóos]  
           wòtàdèr-s           k’àwwè-k           wóri-ná                           ʔéetóo-s  
           solider-DEF       gun-INST           kill.PVF.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj       lion-DEF  
           [digàbàafà wà]  
           digàbàafà                           wà  
           brave                               COP.PRES  
           ‘The lion which the solider killed with a gun is brave.’
- b. [ʔéetóos kàbgìfēná fàntùus ʔàatè]  
           ʔéetóo-s           kàbg-f-ē-ná                           fàntùu-s           ʔàatè  
           lion-DEF       chase-IPFV-3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj       sheep-DEF       escape.PFV.3MS  
           ‘The sheep which the lion chases escaped.’

The perfective and imperfective relative verbs contain object agreement markers *-ná* in *wóríná* ‘killed’ and *kàbgì-f-ē-ná* ‘chases’, as shown in 6 (a and b). The direct objects do not appear phonetically in the RCs. However, they are recoverable from the object agreement. The object agreement markings indicate the role of the HNs in the RCs. As a result, direct object relativized NP is represented by *-ná* in the RCs.

The relativized direct objects can be animate or inanimate, as shown in 7 (a and b). The *ʔéetóo-s* ‘the lion’ and *kèjàa-s* ‘the house’ are animate and inanimate nouns, respectively.

- (7) a. [wòtàdèriis ʔíɸíná ʔéetóos kítí]  
           wòtàdèr-s           ʔíɸi-ná                           ʔéetóo-s           kítí  
           solider-DEF       hit.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj       lion-DEF       die.PFV.3MS  
           ‘The lion which the soldier hit died.’
- b. nàa-s           kár-ná                           kòdàa-s           ʔàkàmà           wà  
           boy-DEF   make.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj   chair-DEF   big               COP.PRES  
           ‘The chair that the boy made is big.’

The direct object relativization strategy is compatible with a pro in situ. The covert or empty



element (pro) is recovered from the object agreement -ná. It is attached to the relative verbs in each RC. We can argue that the relativization strategy of the direct object is pro in situ, as in 6 (a and b) and 7 (a and b).

As in 6 (a) and 7 (a), the direct objects are patients of the relative verbs. The NP rel is the direct object of the relative verb. The NP rel is the subject of the main clause.

The word order of transitive verbs is SOV, as in 8 (a). The subject is placed in a clause-initial position. Hence, *wòtadèrii-s* ‘the soldier’ is the subject of the main verb, whereas *ʔéetóo-s-ōn* ‘the lion’ is the object of the main verb. The object agreement marker is optional in the main verb form, as in 8(a), but not in the relative verb, as in 8(b). Therefore, an object marker is mandatory in the RC.

- (8) a. [wòtadèriis ʔéetóosōn wórí]  
           wòtadèr-s                      ʔéetóo-s-ōn                      wórí  
           solider-DEF                      lion-DEF-ACC                      kill.PVF.3MS  
           ‘The soldier killed the lion.’
- b. [wòtadèriis k’áwwèk wóriná ʔéetóos]  
           wòtadèr-s                      k’áwwè-k                      wórí-ná                      éetóo-s  
           solider-DEF                      gun-INST                      kill.PVF.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj                      lion-DEF  
           [digàbàafà wà]  
           dìgàbàafà                      wà  
           brave                      COP.PRES  
           ‘The lion which the soldier killed with the gun is brave.’

The object agreement marker should always be present. If not, the whole sentence becomes ungrammatical. As shown in 9, the absence of the object marker makes the entire clause structure ungrammatical.

- (9)\*                      ʔàsúu-s                      wíisē                      fízoo-s                      ʔàkàmà                      wà  
                           man-DEF                      steal.PFV.3MS                      goat.DEF                      big                      COP.PRES  
                           ‘The goat which the man stole is big.’

#### 4.2.2. Indirect object relativization

The indirect object is relativized in Yemsa. The following examples show indirect object relativization:

- (10) a. [ʔàsūus màajà ʔīmītènà nàwàas]  
           ʔàsūu-s                      màajà                      ʔīm-tè-nà                      nàwàa-s  
           woman-DEF                      cloth                      give.PFV.3FS.Sj-APPL-3FS.Oj                      girl-DEF  
           [hàm]  
           hàm  
           go.PFV.3FS  
           ‘The girl to whom the woman was given a cloth went.’
- b. [ʔàbàas bìsikilèt wàagèténà nàas]  
           ʔàbàa-s                      bìsikilèt                      wàagè-tè-ná                      nàa-s  
           father-DEF                      bicycle                      buy.PFV.3MS.Sj-APPL-3MS.Oj                      boy-DEF  
           [dànàsè]

dàràsè

dance.PFV.3MS

‘The boy to whom the father bought a bicycle danced.’

The indirect object is relativized, as in 10 (a and b) *nàwàa-s* ‘the girl’ and *náa-s* ‘the boy’ are HN of RCs. The relative verb suffixes *-tè*, which appears in indirect object relativization. The indirect object relativization is done through the suffix *-tè*.

As shown in 10 (a and b), the NPs in the RCs have an indirect object role. They are empty or covert in the RCs. Accordingly, overt lexical NP does not exist in RCs that correspond to HN in RCs. The indirect NPs are covert in RCs.

As shown in 11 (b), the indirect object is relativized. The indirect object relativization is impossible without the applicative marker *-tè*. In the simple form, the main verb does not have the suffix *-te*, as in 11 (a), whereas the relative verb has the applicative marker *-tè*, as in 11 (b). Compare 11 (a) with 11 (b).

- (11) a. [wòtàdèriis ʔàsūusik dèebdàabèesin tíʃĩ]  
           wòtàdèr-s           ʔàsūu-s-k           dèebdàabèe-s-in   tíʃĩ  
           solider-DEF       woman-DEF-DAT   letter-DEF-ACC   write.PFV.3MS  
           ‘The soldier wrote the letter to the woman.’
- b. [wòtàdèriis dèebdàabèesin tíʃĩtèná ʔàsūus]  
           wòtàdèr-s       dèebdàabèe-s-in   tíʃĩ-tè-ná                           ʔàsūu-s  
           solider-DEF   letter-DEF-ACC   write.PFV.3MS.Sj-APPL-3MS.Oj   woman-DEF  
           [tàsōnòn jóoní]  
           tàsōnòn           jóo-ní  
           soon               come.IRR-3MS  
           ‘The woman to whom the soldier wrote the letter will come soon.’

The NP rel is covert in RCs. It is possible to say that the morpheme *-tè* in the relative verb indicates the empty element (NP rel) in each relative clause. Regarding the strategy, indirect object relativization is like a subject, and direct object relativization is used pro in situ as a strategy.

### 4.3. Oblique relativization

The oblique complements are relativizable in Yemsa. The following discussion shows the relativization of the oblique complement. For the convenience of the discussion, the markers of source, instrumental, and benefactive thematic roles are discussed in the following paragraph.

The presence of instruments does not indicate the presence of a patient; it shows how the motion event is carried out, which is not a structurally or syntactically defined case but a semantically defined case that marks peripheral participants and adjuncts (Narrog, 2009). The instrumental case in the phrase *fàz-k* ‘by horse’, indicates how the action is carried out. It is marked by *-k*. There is an instrument, but not a patient. In the phrase *ʔàsūusik* ‘for the women’, the benefactive thematic role is indicated through *-k*.

The oblique NP is relativized. Hence, the relativized oblique NPs have instrumental, benefactive, malfactive, locative, and temporal semantic roles. The following examples demonstrate instrumental case relativization:

- (12) a. [wòtàdèriis ʔéetóosōn wóriná k’àwwès]

- wòtàdèr-s      ?éetóo-s-ōn      wórí-ná      k'áwwè-s  
 solider-DEF    lion-DEF-ACC    kill.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj    gun-DEF  
 [ʔákàmə wà]  
 ?ákàmə                      wà  
 big                              COP.PRES  
 'The gun with which the soldier killed the lion is big.'
- b.    [tàddèsè hám-ná fàzìs kítí]  
 tàddèsè      hám-ná                      fàz-s      kítí  
 tadesse      go.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj      horse-DEF      die.PFV.3FS  
 'The horse by which Tadesse went died.'

In 12 (a and b), the instrumental thematic role is an HN of RC. As a result, the oblique construction is relativized. The relativized NP is empty in the RCs. There is no instrumental case marker in *wòrì-ná* 'killed' and *hám-ná* 'went'. Therefore, the instrumental case marker does not appear in the relative verbs. As a result, it uses gapping as a strategy. The HN of RCs is a non-animate noun, as in *k'áwwè-s* 'the gun' in 12 (a), or an animate noun, as in *fàz-s* 'the horse' in 12 (b).

The benefactive thematic role is relativized, as shown in 13 (a and b).

- (13) a.    sèlèmòn      wàgà      ?īm-ná                      nàa-s      hám  
 Solomon      money      give.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj      boy-DEF      go.PFV.3MS  
 'The boy to whom Solomon gave money went.' (For the advantage of his)
- b.    tàddèsè      bùlō-bàa-s-ōn                      bùlè-ná                      ?àsūu-s  
 tadesse      farm-3FS.POSS-DEF-ACC      plough.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj      woman-DEF  
 zàgà                      wà  
 clever                      COP.PRES  
 'The woman for whom Tadesse ploughed the farm is clever.' (For the benefit of her)

In 13 (a and b), the HNs of RCs are the oblique cases. The relativized NP is empty in each RC. There is no oblique case marking in the relative verb.

An NP with a malefactive thematic role can be relativized. The following example shows oblique relativization with a malefactive thematic role:

- (14)    [wìisiis wàrk'èbàasōn wìisēnà nàwàas]  
 wìis-s      wàrk'è-bàa-s-ōn                      wìisē-ná                      nàwàa-s  
 thief-DEF    gold-3FS.POSS-DEF-ACC      steal.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj      girl-DEF  
 [hám]  
 hám  
 go.PFV.3FS  
 'The girl from whom the thief stole a gold went.' (For the disadvantage of her)

The malefactive thematic role appears in the HN of RC, as in 14. The relativized NP is empty in RC. There is no malefactive case marking on the relative verb in the RC.

An NP with a temporal thematic role can be relativized in Yemsa. Consider the following example:

- (15)    [fāwō wùzāsikitònòn zàgná kòontònī]

jàwō wùzāa-s-kitò-nòn zàg-ná kòontònī  
 lot thing-DEF-PL-ACC do.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj birthday  
 [wònà ʔaaf-wà jóoní]  
 wònà ʔaa-fáwà jóo-ní  
 again NEG-be.there.3MS come.IRR-3MS  
 ‘The birthday on which we have done a lot of things will never come again.’

In (15), the oblique phrase *kòontònī* ‘the birth day’ is HN of RC. The NP rel is empty in RC, which is not recoverable from the relative verb structure.

As in 12 (a and b), 13 (a and b), 14, and 15, oblique case marking does not occur in the relative verb. The NP rel in each RC, i.e. the empty element or pro, is not recoverable from the case marker. One could argue that Yemsa’s relativization of oblique NP employs a gap strategy.

#### 4.4. Possessor relativization

The possessor NP can also be relativizable under the RC. As shown in 16, the possessive construction has a possessor, *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’. On the other hand, *kán-bà* ‘her dog’, is a possessed noun.

(16) [wònnàwònnà kánbà ʔàagifàna ʔàsūs]  
 wònnàwònnà kán-bà ʔàag-f-à-nà ʔàsūu-s  
 all the time dog-3FS.POSS bark-IPFV-3FS.Sj-3FS.Oj woman-DEF  
 [nàwbàasnèn ʔànetū fèefà]  
 nàw-bàa-s-nèn ʔànetū fèe-f-à  
 daughter-3FS.POSS-DEF-COMIT together live-IPFV-3FS  
 ‘The woman whose dog barks all the time lives together with her daughter.’

As in 16, possessor relativization describes ownership relations.

As shown in 17 (a and b), the relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun is a kinship relation through blood and marriage, respectively.

(17) a. [ʔintōbā mùuziisōn wàagèná nàas]  
 ʔintō-bā mùuz-s-ōn wàagè-ná nàa-s  
 mother-3MS.POSS banana-DEF-ACC buy.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj boy-DEF  
 hàmm  
 go.PFV.3MS  
 ‘The boy whose mother bought the banana went.’  
 b. móo-bā mánònnònn tannè-ná ʔàsūu-s giràa  
 wife-3MS.POSS twin deliver.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj man-DEF happy  
 sìn  
 become.PFV.3MS  
 ‘The man whose wife delivered twins became happy.’

Nouns can be alienable or inalienable (Aikhenvald, 2013). As shown in 16, it describes own-

ership relations as alienably possessive, whereas, as shown in 17 (a and b), they describe kinship relations through blood and marriage as inalienably possessive, as indicated by the possessor relativization.

As shown in 16 and 17 (a and b), the possessor noun is the HN of RCs. The possessor nouns are *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’, *náa-s* ‘the boy’, and *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the man’. Accordingly, the possessed nouns *kán-bà* ‘dog’, *ʔintō-bā* ‘mother’, and *móo-bā* ‘wife’ appear in the relative clause, whose suffixes for possessive persons are *-bā* and *-bà*. As a result, the possessed noun is suffixed with a possessive person suffix. The possessive person suffix represents the possessor noun.

The possessor NP is covert (empty) in the relative clause. The possessive person suffixes appear in the possessed noun. Therefore, the possessive person suffixes appear overtly in the relative clause, as in 18 (a and b). These possessive person suffixes represent the possessor in the RC.

- (18) a. [ʔàrùnjàabā dèebdàabè tíʃĩná]  
           ʔàrùnjàa-bā                      dèebdàabè                      tíʃĩ-ná  
           student-3MS.POSS      letter                      write.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj  
           [ʔássinjàas zòmòtāa wà]  
           ʔássinjàa-s                      zòmò-tāa                      wà  
           teacher-DEF                      friend-1SG.POSS                      COP.PRES  
           ‘The teacher whose student wrote a letter is my friend.’
- b. [wàagibā wiisēná ʔàsùus ʔàkàmànōn]  
           wàag-bā                      wiisē-ná                      ʔàsùu-s                      ʔàkàmànōn  
           money-3MS.POSS      steal.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj      man-DEF                      very  
           [hāré]  
           hāré  
           angry.PFV.3MS  
           ‘The man whose money was stolen is very angry.’

As shown in 18 (a and b), the possessor is a person.

The possessor and the possessed are identified by the genitive case or by their respective phrase-internal orderings (Ultan, 1978). As shown in 19, the genitive marker attaches to the possessor noun. The phrase internal order is a possessor-possessed noun.

- (19) [gàbàkī hām nàasā ʔàbà fàntùu wàagè]  
           gàbà-kī                      hām                      nàa-s-ā                      ʔàbà                      fàntùu                      wàagè  
           market-ALL      go.PFV.3MS      boy-DEF-GEN      father      sheep      buy.PFV.3MS  
           ‘The boy’s father who went to the market bought a sheep.’

As shown in 19, the possessive construction appears in the possessor noun. The genitive marker attaches to the possessor. As a result, it is compatible with b, which is the formal marking of possessive NP through the genitive case. Several features correlate with the SOV word order of Ethiopian languages; for instance, possessor (genitive) precedes the possessed (Crass & Meyer, 2008). As in 19, the possessor precedes the possessed. The occurrence of the genitive marker in a possessor noun shows that the genitive NP order is possessor-possessed.

As shown in 16, 17 (a and b), and 18 (a and b), the possessive person suffix occurs in the RCs.



As a result, possessive person suffixes are attached to the possessed noun. These possessive person suffixes are co-referential with the HNs: *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’, *náa-s* ‘the boy’, *ʔàsùu-s* ‘the man’, and *ʔássìnjàa-s* ‘the teacher’.

As shown in 17, 18 (a and b), and 19, possessive person suffixes are phonetically realized (overt) in RC. They are affixes to the possessed noun.

The possessor NP is represented in each RC by overt possessive person suffixes. For the convenience of the discussion, the following personal and possessive person suffixes are presented:

Table 1. Personal pronoun and Possessive person suffix of Yemsa adapted from Zaugg-Coretti (2013, p. 80-96)

| Personal pronoun |      |          | Possessive person suffix |      |
|------------------|------|----------|--------------------------|------|
| Person           | SG   | PL       | SG                       | PL   |
| 1                | tá   | innò     | -nà(f) -tà(m)            | -nì  |
| 2                | ně   | nittó    | -nè                      | -ntĩ |
| 2 END            | nĩĩ  |          | -ntĩ                     |      |
| 2 POL            | nì   | nìinò    | -nì                      |      |
| 3FS              | bār  | bārikītō | -bā                      | -bā  |
| 3MS              | bār  | bāsākītō | -bā                      | -bā  |
| 3POL             | bāas | bāassò   | -bēsì                    |      |

As in 16, 17 (a and b), and 18 (a and b), the possessed noun is suffixed *-bā* ‘his’ and *-bà* ‘her’ as in *kán-bà* ‘dog’, *ʔintō-bā* ‘mother’, *móo-bā* ‘wife’, *ʔàrìnjàa-bā* ‘student’, and *wàag-bā* ‘money’. The HNs *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’, *náa-s* ‘the boy’, *ʔàsùu-s* ‘the man’, and *ʔássìnjàa-s* ‘the teacher’ are possessors. The possessor NPs are represented by a possessive person suffix in each RC. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the relativization of possessor NP has a possessive person suffix in the possessed noun.

As shown in 20 (a and b), the RRCs give information about the HNs for identification. They modify the meaning of the head nominal. The HNs are identical to the NPs of the RRCs, which are missing in the RRCs.

- (20) a. *kējàa-s-ōn*                      *dání*                      *ʔàsùu-s*                      *kúní*  
house-DEF-ACC                      find.PFV.3MS                      man-DEF                      sleep.PFV.3MS  
‘The man who found the house slept.’
- b. [*nàwàasik dàabòò lósí ʔàsūs dìi*]  
*nàwàa-s-k*                      *dàabòò*                      *lósí*                      *ʔàsūu-s*                      *dìi*  
child.-DEF-DAT                      bread                      bake.PFV.3FS                      woman-DEF                      sit.PFV.3FS  
‘The woman who baked bread to the child is sat.’

The modified noun is the subject in RRC (restrictive relative clause), and the predicate is the RC (Fabb, 1990). As shown in 20 (a and b), the HNs *ʔàsùu-s* ‘the man’ and *ʔàsūu-s* ‘the woman’ are subjects of RRC, whereas the RCs are a predicate of RRC.

As shown in 21 (a and b), the NRRCs (non-restrictive relative clauses) provide additional information about the HNs.

- (21) a. [*mòobāasōn wóri tèkà ʔàfùn tàatòtā wà*]

- mòo-bāa-s-ōn                      wórí                      tèkà                      ʔàjùn                      tàatò-tà wà  
 wife-3MS.POSS-DEF-ACC      kill.PFV.3MS      teka                      still                      prison-in COP.PRES  
 ‘Teka, who killed his wife, is still in prison.’
- b. [nàwibèsí ʔàdisàabàkī hām ʔàbràhām]  
 nàwbèsí                      ʔàdisàabà-kī                      hām                      ʔàbràhām  
 son.POSS                      addis ababa-ALL                      go.PFV.3MS                      abraham  
 [fòfàsī fāafē]  
 fòfà-sī                      fāa-f-ē  
 fofa-IN                      live-IPFV-3MS  
 ‘Abraham, whose son went to Addis Ababa, lives in Fofa.’

As shown in 21 (a and b), the NRRCs provide additional information about the HNs, which are *tèka* ‘Teka’ and *ʔàbràhām* ‘Abraham’. The HNs are proper nouns. The HN of the NRRCs cannot be specified any further. The NRRC does not limit the head because names refer to unique or specific individuals.

The headed RC occurs in Yemsa. On the other hand, the headless RC appears in Yemsa too. As shown in 22, the headless RC occurs, which lacks an overt HN.

- (22) [hàn wàalsì wòstèf-ē tà wòssùmitèn]  
 hàn                      wàalsì                      wòstè-f-ē                      tà                      wòssùmitè-n  
 this                      evening                      work-IPFV-3MS                      I                      reward.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I rewarded (the one) who is to work this evening.’

As shown in 22, the NP rel does not appear in the surface structure, which is a headless RC.

As in 23, the missing head is the subject NP, which is recoverable from the agreement suffixes and satisfies the requirements of the RC of the nominative case.

- (23) [fòfàkī hāmifē tà dànfan]  
 fòfà-kī                      hām-f-ē                      tà                      dàn-f-àn  
 fofa-ALL                      go-IPFV-3MS                      I                      met-IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I met (the one) who goes to Fofa.’

The headless RC is a non-specific, deduced, or deleted HN recovered by the suffixing agreement markers of the subject or object affixing elements in the relative verb. As shown in 23, the headless RC is identified by the subject agreement marker, which attaches to the relative verb.

In headless RCs, a missing element can be an object NP. In the following examples, the missing NP is object NP:

- (24) [wòtadèrìs wórínà tà ʔàrifàn]  
 wòtadèr-s                      wórí-ná                      tà                      ʔàri-f-àn  
 solider-DEF                      kill.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj                      I                      know-IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I know what the soldier killed.’

The HN of the RC is not phonetically realized in the RC in 24; it is recoverable from the

agreement marker *-nà*, which is attached to a relative verb. The HN is covert-headed, which is the direct object of the RC.

As shown in 25, headless RC can appear, in which the missing element is an oblique complement.

- (25)    ʔàsūu-s              fée-ná                                  tà              hám-n  
          woman-DEF   vacation.PFV.3MS.Sj-3MS.Oj       I              go.PFV-1SG  
          ‘I went where the woman vacationed.’

Free relatives are all only relatives introduced by *where*, *when*, and *how*, and their cross-linguistic equivalents can be replaced and paraphrased with a PP (Caponigro, 2004). As illustrated in 25, there is a free relative in the language.

As discussed above, both the headed and headless RCs occur in the language. However, the negative RC also appears in the language. The negative RC is suffixed *-nój* ‘negative’ in the relative verb. Consider the following example:

- (26) kɛ̀jàa-s-ōn      wàag-ō-nój      ʔàbàa-s      jòonì      tùrbàn      jóo-ní  
house-DEF-ACC    buy-IRR-NEG    father-DEF    next    week    come.IRR-3MS  
'The father who did not buy the house will come next week.'

As shown in 26, the negative RC is formed by the negative morpheme, which is suffixed on the irrealis verb stem.

In many Omotic languages, negative polarity is morphologically marked; positive polarity is unmarked (Azeb, 2017). As shown in 27 (a), the positive polarity is not marked, but the negative polarity is morphologically marked, as shown in 27 (b).

- (27) a. [gàbàkī hāmìfà ʔàsūs]  
gàbà-kī hām-f-à ʔàsūu-s  
market-ALL go-IPFV-3FS woman-DEF  
[nàanggotbàasīkìtòk mùuzí wàagònàr]  
nàanggot-bàa-s-ī-kìtò-k mùuzí wàag-ò-nā  
child-POSS-DEF-GEN-PL-LOC banana buy-IRR-3FS  
‘The woman who goes to the market will buy a banana for their children.’  
b. gàbà-kī hām-à-nój ʔàsūu-s kàajà-n  
market-ALL go-IRR-NEG woman-DEF shop-ABL  
nàanggot-bàa-s-ī-kìtò-k mùuzì ʔàafá wàag-ó-wūzā  
child-POSS-DEF-GEN-PL-BENF banana not buy-IRR-thing  
‘The woman who does not go to the market will not buy a banana for their children  
from the shop.’

As illustrated in 27 (b), the suffixation of the negation marker *-nój* in affirmative form neutralized the aspect marker *-f* and person marker *-à*. Hence, the neutralization of nominal and verbal elements is done.

Negative headless RC appears in Yemsa RC construction. The following example shows a negative headless RC:

- (28) ʔéetóo-s-ōn      wór-à-nój      tà      dàn-n

lion-DEF-ACC    kill-IRR-NEG    i    find.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I found (the one) who did not kill the lion.’

## 5. CONCLUSION

The headed, restrictive, and non-restrictive clauses are present in Yemsa as prenominal relative clauses. The agreement marker signifies the relativized empty noun phrase (NP) within the relative clause (RC), which appears without an overt relativizer. Both indicative perfective and imperfective verbs can be relativized. According to the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy developed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), this hierarchy is applicable to Yemsa, with NPs positioned to the left of the possessor. For example, subject, object (direct or indirect), and oblique positions can be relativized.

Based on the above discussion, in terms of strategy, the *pro in situ* is used for the subject and object (direct and indirect) NP positions, whereas it is used as a gap for the oblique positions. However, the relativization of possessor NP involves a possessive person suffix.

Headless RC occurs without an overt HN. The negative RC attached a negative morpheme, *-nój*. The aspect and agreement markers appear in the affirmative imperfective relative verb but not in the negative. Hence, there is a neutralization of morphemes.

Yemsa holds institutional value in schools and administrative offices within the Yemsa Special District. The use of relative clauses in Yemsa may influence professional communication among the Yemsa-speaking community, particularly in teaching and cultural studies. The article's material is beneficial for teaching Yemsa to journalists, translators, and scholars engaged in cultural studies, and for incorporating the presented material into various types of professional communication. It reveals the corresponding mental structures of Yemsa native speakers, aligning with the fundamental purpose of linguistic studies: to understand the relationship between mind-language reciprocity and interaction.

This study contributes linguistic insights to the Yemsa language specifically, and to the Omotic language group more broadly. It also provides valuable syntactic data for researchers conducting comparative syntactic studies of Omotic languages. It is hoped that this work will inspire further linguistic research into lesser-studied languages. The results have contributed to the grammar book of Yemsa and the development of teaching materials for students at various educational levels. Additionally, it will serve as a resource for comparative typological studies of related languages and enhance the understanding of Yemsa's linguistic structure. Further research on utterance and cleft constructions is recommended, as these topics remain unexplored. The findings related to relative clauses may prompt scientists to undertake comparative research in other Omotic languages.

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## Appendix A. List of symbols and abbreviations

|                |                         |               |   |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------------|---|
| <b>1, 2, 3</b> | 1st, 2nd, 3rd person    | <b>IRR</b>    | Irrealis  |
| <b>-</b>       | Morpheme boundary       | <b>M</b>      | Masculine   |
| <b>*</b>       | Ungrammatical           | <b>NEG</b>    | Negative  |
| <b>[ ]</b>     | Phonetic representation | <b>NP</b>     | Noun phrase   |
| <b>ABL</b>     | Ablative                | <b>NRRC</b>   | Nonrestrictive relative clause                              |
| <b>ACC</b>     | Accusative              | <b>Oj</b>     | Object  |
| <b>APPL</b>    | Applicative             | <b>PFV</b>    | Perfective  |
| <b>BEN</b>     | Benefactive             | <b>PL</b>     | Plural  |
| <b>COP</b>     | Copula                  | <b>POSS</b>   | Possessive  |
| <b>DAT</b>     | Dative                  | <b>PRES</b>   | Present   |
| <b>DEF</b>     | Definite marker         | <b>PROG</b>   | Progressive   |
| <b>F</b>       | Feminine                | <b>RC</b>     | Relative clause   |
| <b>FUT</b>     | Future                  | <b>RRC</b>    | Restrictive relative clause                                 |
| <b>GEN</b>     | Genitive                | <b>SG</b>     | Singular  |
| <b>HN</b>      | Head noun               | <b>Sj</b>     | Subject   |
| <b>INST</b>    | Instrumental            | <b>SOV</b>    | Subject-Object-Verb   |
| <b>IPFV</b>    | Imperfective            | <b>SNNPRS</b> | Southern Nation, nationalities, and People's Regional State |