

Part I

,... given the general tendency of African languages towards postposing the modifiers to the noun and the well-known fact, that in comparison with other types of modifiers, relative clauses are particularly prone to follow the noun they modify. Consequently, **the predominance of the relativisation strategy in which embedded relatives are treated as noun modifiers that follow the noun they modify, already noted at world level, is particularly strong among African languages**" Creissels (2000:256).

Relative marker *màŋ* < class pronoun *ma* + =ŋ

1. Relativised subjects

The structure follows the order 'head-qualifier' of nominal phrases:

RC: Subjet + *màŋ* + predicate (+ object/adverb) + MC: subjet (resumptive pronoun) + predicate (+ object/adverb)

(1) [bá-màŋ pàà], bá gbáá sùúr.

)

CR₂-REL to_pay:PF RSP₂ can to_enter
Those who have paid can enter. DTL < *pá/páá* 'to pay'

(2) [yéíé-ŋó màŋ ká húŋkúósì-nnì sí yùó.

)

álààŋ],
goat-1 REL to_cry:IPF thirst-4 NEG OJE:RSP₁
The goat that is crying is not thirsty. Prov/102 < *yéíé-ŋó* 'goat; *kàál/kááláá/káálàáŋ* 'to cry'

(3) [nâ-ŋgá màŋ sà síyààŋ míél-má], ká = í kàànú = ŋ.

)

arm-5 REL NEG to_accept:IPF to_twist:NV-9 RSP₅=FOC to_break=SUB ?
The arm that does not accept to be moved, will break. Prov/27 < *nâ-ŋgà* 'arm'; *sìé/síyáá/síyàáŋ* 'to accept'; *kàànú/kááyáànú* 'to break'

(4) cúò káál, cíkáá pèrìèŋ [vâà-ŋ màŋ nàà tíé].

)

ó
morning_dawn₁ To dawn Tikan to_finish dog-1 REL PAS to_rest

The next morning, Tikan killed the last dog. 3-4/47

(5) [dííló-ŋó màŋ kà dà kòró-ŋó = nà], ù bí ú yáá = í fínfírù-ŋgú.

)

á
rain-1 REL ALL rain monkey-1=LOC SJ₁ call RSP₁ FOC=DEF fog-3
The monkey considers the rain that rains on him as fog. Prov/53

(6) wúò "dùgùtígì [ŋ tǎrbíè-ŋ màŋ bámbáá-lé wùò- gúólááyà bói dé!"

)

ó
QUO₁ chef:VOC PS_{2SG} ram-1 REL big-7 APR-1 to_spoil:PF much IJ

He said: "Chef, your big ram has spoiled a lot (of animals)!" 3-1/42

(7) [ú-màŋ hǎl-má = ná] wúó gbé mól-ŋò = í wùò : ...

CR₁-REL mid-9=LOC NR:RSP₁ to_adress elder_brother-1=DEF QUO₁

He who is in the middle (the second of three brothers) addressed his elder brother saying: ...
3- 5/125

(8) [tû-ŋgú màŋ dìí báá múò], ... dá-ŋ bì húrè kùò, ú bí páŋ

medicine-3 REL CP with EPH_{1SG} CD-SJ_{2SG} also to_smear OJE:RSP₃ SJ₁ also immediately

cìréré níé hói húś- fá-ηgú = ná.
ηgù
to_soothe OJE_{2SG} only moment-₃ DEM-CR₃=LOC
The medicine that I have with me, ... if you apply it, it soothes you immediately. 2-3/40

2. Conditional relative clauses

(9) dǐlò-ηó = ì nàà jìèná ù bìlò-η àà bí bímbáá-mbá = í híéré, wùś
) ó
God-₁=FOC PAS put:PF PS₁ child-₁ CJ:MS invit animal-₂=DEF all QUO₁
e

[ú-màη d-úò súś ù yé-rré = í] ú há = yò bàá = yó.
CR₁-REL CD-CR₁ know PS₁ name-₈=DEF SJ₁ give=OJ:RSP₁ with=OJ₁
God put down his daughter and invited all the animals, saying that he would give her to whoever knew her name. 3-1/2

(10) [ú-màη d-úò t-úś còr], ù bí = yò ú jí sáár ù húó-ηgù = í.
SJ₁-REL CD-CR₁ CT-CR₁ to_pass SJ₁ to_invite=OJ₁ SBJ₁ VEN to_wash PS₁ back-₃=DEF
She (the hyena) asked whoever passed to wash her back. 3-1/5

3. Relativised objects

The structure follows the head-final order of associative constructions:

RC – MC or MC – RC; RC: Subject=N + predicate + **object** + *màη* (+adverbial)

Order RC - MC

(11) [mì = η dáá bísáǎ mb màη] bà cíí.
á
SJ_{1SG}=SUB to_see:PF child-₂ REL RSP₂ fall_down:PF
The children I saw fell down. DTL

(11a) mì dáá [bísáǎ mb màη bà cíí].
á
SJ_{1SG} to_see:PF child-₂ REL RSP₂ fall_down:PF
I saw the children ...

(12) [hùrǔ-ηò = η nyóη hú-mmá màη] ù yúúl báá = mà yáà = í
bird-₁=SUB to_drink water-₉ REL CR₁ to_fly with=OJ:RSP₉ FOC=DEF
The bird drinks that (amount of) water with which he (is able) to fly. Prov/36

(13) [mì = η júś báá térbíé-ηó màη] ù kúś = yò ísúò-ηgù = ná.
SJ_{1SG}=SUB to_come with ram-₁ REL SJ₁ kill:PF=OJ night-₃=LOC
1
The ram with which I came, he (the bull) killed him last night. 3-1/56 (< *těrbîè-ηò*)

(14) túó-η wúò « [ná = η cálàànú bíηkú-ηgú mà tí], náη kà húú = kú
:
father- QUO₁ SJ_{2PI}=SUB to_divide:PF item-₃ η REL finish PER_{2SG} ALL to_take=OJ:RSP₃
N

húú-ŋ há-mà=ì tèm-mà=ì ? »
to_take:NV-N IR-CR₉=FOC equal=FOC
(His) father said : “After having divided the items, which (further item) will you take (for you)?” 3-3/69

(15) ù há= m̀ì báá= k ù há= m̀ì gbèí-ŋà= í.
ú.
SJ₁ to_give=OJ_{1SG} with=OJ₃ SJ₁ to_give=OJ_{1SG} money-₈=DEF
He gives it to me. He gives me money. DTL

(16) [m̀ì= ŋ háá náácòmbilõ-ŋ màŋ hú-mmá- ù tààrà ú wúó níwúó-ní.´
) ó í],
SJ_{1SG}=SUB to_give:PF boy-₁ REL water-₉=DEF SJ₁ to_want SBJ₁ to_eat food-₄
The boy to whom I gave water wants to eat. DTL

Order MC – RC

(17) bíncúó-ŋ nèl-má ná-mmà sáá mààr [ǹì= ŋ wááŋ má-màŋ
old_people-N speech-₉ IND-₉ NEG:PAS to_surpass SJ_{2SG}=SUB to_say:PF CR₉-REL
dáá-mà= ì].
DEM-₉=FOC
The speech of old people never surpassed what you have said. 3-3/36

(18) wúò « kàrààŋ ná tú-nnì= í ná nú [fàná-ŋ d-úó-léí-ŋ
:
QUO₁ to_cut:IMP_{PL} PS_{2PL} ear-₄=DEF SBJ_{2PL} to_listen balafonist-N DEM-CR₁-DEM-SUB
háł kú-màŋ bàà ú gbúó-ŋá= í]. »
to_sing CR₃-REL avec PS:RSP₁ balafon-₈=DEF
He said: “Prick up your ears, so that you may listen to what the (other) balafonist is singing with his balafon!” 4-7/16

(19) tìèná + húrrú= í sùyááŋ [fàná-ŋ ù= ŋ kúl kú-màŋ].
to_sit+much=FOC to_know:IPF blacksmith-N CR₁=SUB to_forge CR₃-REL
The one who sits much knows what the blacksmith forges. Prov/37 < sùó/sùyáá/sùyàáŋ ‘to know’

4. Other subordinating co-markers within the object relative clause formation

(20) [d-úò bí ú- ú wáŋ máádúó-má àá còr.
) màŋ],
CD-CR₁ to_call SJ₁-REL SJ₁ to_tal same_matter-₉ CJ:MS to_pass
k
She said the same to everybody who passed by. 3-1/9

(21) [d-úò káá hí ú-màŋ càánú= ì], wúò : « m̀ì sùòr nyádúò-lè bàà
CD-CR₁ to_go:PF to_arrive CR₁-REL near=FOC QUO₁ SJ_{1SG} to_sell fish-trap-₇ with
náá-ŋó báá ú bìlò-ŋó. »
cow-₁ with PS₁ child-₁
To everyone who came near (to him) he said: “I will sell a fish-trap for a cow and her calf.” 1-
3/40

- (22) nèl dáá-mà fúó, [cìcòr-ηò = η ηá nàà há múò pélié-ηgú màη],
speech- DEM-CR₉ EPH₁:TOP old_woman-₁=SUB SUB PAS to_give OJ:EPH_{1SG} tail-₃ REL
mí ká cé = kù né.
SJ_{1SG} FU to_do=OJ:RSP₃ to_look
T

According to what she said when she gave me the tail, I must use it. (Lit. As for the speech, ... I shall look to use it). 3-5/133

- (23 [mì = η ηá nàà há = nì bà ndíí màη] mì bì há = nì bà yáà = í.
)
SJ_{1SG}=SUB SUB PAS to_give=OJ_{2SG} CR₂ five REL CR_{1SG} also to_give=OJ_{2SG} RSP₂ FOC=DEF
The five (cows), I would have given (them) to you, I would have given them to you in any case.
3-3/89

5. Relativised possessors

- (24 [dú-ηgú mà kù-tié-ηó] sí dìi hínní kù cáá.
)
η
house-₃ REL CR₃-owner-₁ NEG CP humid RSP₃ to_burn:PF
The house, the owner of which is ill, caught fire. DTL

6. Relativised adverbials

- (25) [bà = η yúú kúmús- ndíí bē-llé màη nùóí], bē-llé fá-η díé kúólá.
ηà
SJ₂=SUB to_fill:PF twenty-₈ five year-₇ REL LOC:FO year-₇ DEM- NR₇ to_harden
C N
The year when they (the number of the beasts) reached a hundred, this year was hard. 3-3/49

- (26) [pámparáá- ù = η pósól fúó-ηgú mà nùóí], ù cēl
)
η η
lizard-N:TOP CR₁=SUB to_grow thin hole-₃ REL LOC:FOC CR₁ to_grow_bigger
kù-fá-ηgú fúó-ηgú = í nùóí.
CR₃-DEM-₃ hole-₃=FOC LOC:FOC
In exactly that hole where the lizard became thin, he becomes big. Prov/13

- (27) cìká_ sáá sùò [ù = η ká cè dùmà
á- á].
Tikan NEG:PAS to_know SJ₁=SUB FUT to_d manner
o
Tikan didn't know how he could do it. 3-4/73

7. Lexicalised relative clauses

- (28) ní_má = í_sì, bàà gbúú tá-bà kó jùměl-mbá = í [yí-nní mà jó = η].
)
η
otherwise NR₂ very CT-CR₂ to_kill hare-₂=DEF day-₄ REL to_come=SUB
Otherwise, they would continue to kill the hares every day. 1-2/19

- (29) kù-fá-ηgù bér-rù yáà dìi bá tá-bà cé = dù [hǒ-nní mà jó = η].
)
η
CR₃-DEM-₃ war₁₀ FOC CP SJ₂ CT-CR₂ to_do=OJ₁₀ moment-₄ REL to_come=SUB
It is the war they are fighting every day. 4-3/26

8. Relatives without semantic reference

(30) ìj sùyàà [ú-màŋ sùùrù wéí]?
)

SJ_{2SG} to_know:PF CR₁-REL to_enter:PF IR
Do you know who entered? DTL

(31) ná sùyàà [kú- ciè] kòró-ŋó t-úó bíénà jíjàá-ŋà = í wéí
màŋ ?

SJ_{2PL} to_know:PF CR₃-REL to_do:PF monkey-1 CT-CR₁ to_spoi maize-8=DEF IR
1

Do you know why the monkey spoils the maize? (lit. ... what made the monkey to spoil ...) 3-5/1

9. Comparative Remarks

« Dans la plupart des langues voltaïques, il n'existe pas de pronoms relatifs distincts des démonstratifs et des anaphoriques. Il en résulte que la définition de la proposition relative y est difficile à établir ... »
Manessy (1963: 260)

Cuuramma (Suggett 2014)

(32) [(gùú) cijal-w maa wù júó], wù blára.
EPH woman-C₁ REL C1 to_come:P C₁ be_bad
F

'The woman (there) who came, she is mean.'

(33) [(gùú) cijal-w nən júó], wù blára.
EPH woman-C₁ REL to_come:PF C₁ be_bad

'The woman (there) who came, she is mean.'

(34) [(gù) cijal-w maa wù múú] wù kúú.
ú) á = yə],

EPH woman-C₁ REL C1 to_hit:PF=C1 C₁ to_die:PF

'The woman (there) whom he hit, she died.' [... he has hit she]

(35) wù múúlá [(gùú) cijal-w maa], wù kúú.
)

C1 to_hit:PF=C1 EPH woman-C₁ REL C₁ to_die:PF

'The woman (there) whom he hit, she died.' [~ He hit the woman, she died.]

Prost (1964)

dyuru ma mi n wuya du, du dol. 'Le tô que j'ai mangé lui, il est bon'. (The tô I have eaten, it is good)

(38) [júú-r màŋ mì = ŋ wùyàà = dú], dù dól.
ú

tô-10 REL SJ_{1SG}=SUB to_eat:PF=OJ₁₀ RSP₁₀ be_good

Part II

1. The nasal clitic in relative clauses and elsewhere

(1) **dú-ŋgú** 'house' > **dú-ŋgú = nà** or **dú-ŋgú = ñ** 'in a house'

(2) **nì sáá dól-nĩ-ŋ.**

)

SJ₄ NEG:PAS to_please-OJ_{2SG}-nu

It (cl.4) does not please you. < dól-nù 'to please à' Vb, derived from dól Iib 'be good, fine', cp. the adjective dɔdɔl 'good, fine'

- (3) **múnsúl-mù = η júś sùúr-ǝ-η, wúś círà : ..**

shade-6=SUB VEN:PF to_be_reconcled-OJ1-nu NR1 say
When the shade had refreshed him, he said : ... 2-2/10 < *sùúrnù* ‘to be reconciled, become friends’
Vb,
derived from *sùúr* IIb ‘to enter, to adhere’

- (4) [**ciê-ηó màη híyààη = bá = η], wúś híèl bitó- d-ùó sáár = ní, àá**
nní = í

woman-1 REL to_cook:IPF= OJ2=SUB NR1 to_raise pot-4=DEF FIN-CR1 to_wash=OJ4 CJ:MS

pàál júkǝ-llú = í à kùnná.

to_scrape residue-10=DEF MS to_pour

The woman who cooked for them took up the pot in order to wash it, she scraped out the residue and poured (it) out. 2-3/11 < *hǝ/híyáá/híyààη* ‘to cook’

- (5) [**bísàlàá-η màη píyààη bíncúś-mbá = í], ù háàlà wéí-má bôí.**
) **ó**

child-1 REL to_approach:IP old-2=DEF RSP1 to_learn affair-9 much
F

The child who is near to the elder people learns much. Prov/65 < *píé/píyáá/píyààη* ‘to cook’

- (6) bà tá-bá cò mìé [**í = η cǝ = η dú-ηg màη nùóí**]
ú

SJ2 CT-CR2 to_spend_the_night EPH1PL SJ1PL to_spend_the_night=SUB house-3 REL LOC:FOC

They live there, where we (too) are living. Ils habitent là où nous habitons. RH-85b

- (7) nélléntié-η w « [**tǝrbíê-ηó màη cìè mà-fá-mm ù = í kà**
á = í],

chief_of_the_village- QUO1 ram-1:TOP REL to_do:PF CR9-DEM-9=DEF RSP1=FOC FUT
N

tǝǝ = mà = η; páη η bél = ó η tá-η ká báá = yó. »
to_stay=OJ9=SUB to_act_immediately:IM SBJ2SG to_entrap=OJ:RSP1 SBJ2SG CT-2SG to_go with= OJ:RSP1
P

The chief of the village said: “As for the ram who did this, it will stay with him, take him immediately and go with him.” 3-1/45

- (8) [**ù-màη wàà bà fòndùmè-búś = í = ná], ù yáà gbùù hínú = η**
)

CR1-REL CP:PF PS2 external_big_door=DEF=LOC RSP1 FOC very to_treat_sb_badly=SUB

míé yǎη.¹

OJE1SG to_let

It is he who was at the external big door and who treated me badly. 4-7/33

2. The nasal clitic in adverbial clauses

- (9) [**ná-mmà = η kúǝnà tí], mà sǝè gbáá kùǝl.**
)

oil-9=SUB to_pour:PF to_finish CR9 NEG:FUT can to_collect

When the oil has been poured, it cannot be picked up again. Prov/11

- (10) [**náácól- ù = η báálà jò dúmáá- nyúl-mú ká mál = ó báá**
η ηó = ná],

man-N SJ1=SUB to_stray:P to_come so-1=LOC hunger-9 ALL to_beat=OJ1 with
F

hǝηkúǝsí-nnì = í à kó = yò dìì híê-ηgù = ná.

thirst-4=DEF MS to_kill=OJ1 PRP bush-3=LOC

¹ *yǎη* ‘to let’ in a co-verb function has superlative meaning.

Since the mother (of the three brothers) had passed away (lit. is not existent), each (of them), when he went (to cultivate) the field, he took millet and put (it) into his pocket. 3-5/69

Abbreviations

1PL	First person plural	LOC	Locative marker
1SG	First person singular	MS	Same subject
2PL	Second person plural	N	Prefinal nominal marker N, part of the nominal class marker
2SG	Second person singular	NEG(:PAS)	Negational (past) marker
ALL	Allative	NR	Narrative pronoun
APR	Appropriative pronoun	NV	Verbal noun
CD	Conditional marker	OJ	Simple object pronoun
CJ:MS	Conjunction indicating same subject	OJE	Extended object pronoun
CP	Copula	PAS	Past auxiliary
CR	Coreferential pronoun	PF	Perfective verb stem
CT	Continuative marker	PRH	Prohibitive
DEF	Definite marker	PRP	Preposition
DEM	Demonstrative	PS	Possessive pronoun
EPH	Emphatic variant of personal pronouns	QUO	Quotative
FIN	Finality marker	REL	Relative marker
FOC	Focus marker	RSP	Resumptive pronoun
FUT	Future auxiliary	SBJ	Subjunctive
IJ	Interjection	SJ	Subject
IMP	Imperative singular	SUB	Marker of subordination
IMP _{PL}	Imperative plural	TOP	Topicalisation
IPF	Imperfective verb stem	VEN	Ventive
IR	Interrogative	VOC	Vocative

Deviant letter sequences refer to the original French terms; numbers following a gloss refer to the noun class system.

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