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Old Nubian Relative Clauses

Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei*

1. Introduction

In this article, I venture to offer an in-depth analysis of the structure of Old Nubian relative clauses (henceforth, rcs), in an attempt to reorganize and consolidate the observations made in Gerald M. Browne's *Old Nubian Grammar*,¹ Helmut Satzinger's earlier article "Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,"² and Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst's *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*.³ Satzinger's article, our first extensive source for the grammatical analysis of Old Nubian rcs, was written in response to a series of grammatical observations by Browne in *Studies in Old Nubian*.⁴ However, this response was unfortunately never fully incorporated into *Old Nubian Grammar*,⁵ where Browne discusses rcs in §§4.4–6.⁶ In these few dense and somewhat confusing paragraphs, Browne organizes Old Nubian rcs mainly based on word order, without clearly marking out syntactical relations, thus losing much of the insights of Satzinger's more structured approach. Bechhaus-Gerst offers the most recent analysis of Old Nubian RC constructions in *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, in an attempt to integrate the approaches of Satzinger and Browne, but remarks that "a thorough analysis [...] would go beyond the scope," of her study.⁷ During the preparation of this article we have also consulted comparative material from related contemporary Nile

* I would like to thank Issameddin Awad, Angelika Jakobi, and Giovanni Ruffini for their comments and suggestions during the various stages of writing this article.

1 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*.

2 SATZINGER, "Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen."

3 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, esp. pp. 207–11. Glossing has been occasionally adjusted to match the set of abbreviations listed in fn. 16.

4 BROWNE, *Studies in Old Nubian*.

5 Browne refers to Satzinger's approach as a "somewhat different orientation" (BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, p. 83, fn. 99).

6 Browne further combines relative constructions with temporal and adverbial subordinate clauses in *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.7, which I will not consider here. However, I touch upon conditional and final clauses in "A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme - Δ in Nominal and Verbal Predicates." See also BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, pp. 105–10.

7 BECHHAUS-GERST, *ibid.*, p. 207.

Nubian languages⁸: the dissertation of Isameddin Awad on subordination in Nobiin [fia],⁹ an article by Abdel-Hafiz Sokarno for Kenzi/Kunuz Nubian data [xnz],¹⁰ and recent work by Angelika Jakobi and El-Shafie El-Guzuuli on RCs in Dongolawi/Andaandi [dgl].¹¹

10

The present paper, glossing and methodically expanding the analyses of the examples adduced by Browne and Satzinger, aims to consolidate the sometimes divergent interpretations offered by Satzinger, Browne, and Bechhaus-Gerst, in an attempt to integrate Old Nubian RCs in a general syntactic framework and to harmonize their analyses with insights from contemporary syntactic theory and comparative material from closely related Nubian languages. This will hopefully allow us to make finer distinctions between the different types of Old Nubian RCs and discuss several pertinent overarching themes, such as leftward movement and extraposition, which owing to relatively marginal penetration of contemporary syntactical theory in Old Nubian studies have so far received little attention.

2. Brief overview

We will start with an overview of attributive RCs in §3, divided between coreferential (the subject of the RC is coreferential with the antecedent of the RC) in §3.1 and non-coreferential (the subject of the RC is not coreferential with the antecedent of the RC) in §3.2. Non-coreferential RCs are further subdivided into those with overt subjects (§3.2.1) and those without overt subjects (§3.2.2). As we will see, the presence or absence of an overt subject influences the morphology of the verb in the RC. For both coreferential and non-coreferential RCs I will also discuss exceptions to the general pattern in which RCs are seemingly postnominal. Section 3.1.1 treats coreferential RCs that have moved leftward and only allow for a restrictive reading. In §3.3.1 we will treat several exceptions with non-coreferential RCs that seem to be generated prenominally, and RCs of time, place, and manner (§3.3.2). Finally, §3.4 deals with constructions in which non-coreferential RCs show an anaphor coindexed with the antecedent. Free RCs, those without an overt antecedent, are treated in §4 according to their grammatical function in the main clause, starting with subject clauses (§4.1) and object clauses (§4.2), which also include different types of complement clauses (§4.2.1–2). Section 4.3 deals with free RCs in other, secondary positions. A specific section (§5) is devoted to RCs in combination with the so-called pred-

8 See RILLY, *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, p. 165, for a brief discussion. Language abbreviations follow the ISO 639-3 standard employed by *Ethnologue*.

9 AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*. I have adjusted some of Awad's Nobiin orthography based on suggestions by Angelika Jakobi.

10 ABDEL-HAFIZ, "Nubian Relative Clauses."

11 JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, "Relative Clauses in Andaandi."

icative suffix $-a$, including nominal predicates (§5.1), complex verbal predicates, also called periphrastic constructions (§5.2), RCS in vocative or appellative contexts (§5.3), and adjunctive/appositional clauses, which usually feature only a bare $-a$ suffix without any additional tense morphology (§5.4). Sections 5.5–7 deal with a series of more complex syntactical constructions, including the topicalization through $-c_{IN}$ of the antecedent of an RC (§5.5), RCS in the scope of quantifiers (§5.6), and finally quantifier raising through $-c_{IN}$ (§5.7). Section 6 treats with two different types of extraposition, in which (part of) the RC appears to have moved to the right of the clause, motivated by the heaviness of the RC. We have distinguished two types of extraposition, depending on whether the non-coreferential RC shows verbal agreement (§6.1) or not (§6.2). Finally, §7 deals with preterite tense morphology in RCS, which appears to be distributed according to whether the RC is coreferential or not. An concluding overview is given schematically in §8.

3. Attributive relative clauses

Attributive RCS are full clauses showing tense morphology, and may feature an overt subject and be introduced by a relative pronoun. An RC is embedded with the main clause, connected through an antecedent that has a syntactical function both in the embedded and in the main clause. If the subject of the RC coincides with its antecedent, we speak of a coreferential attributive RC. If this is not the case, the attributive RC is called non-coreferential. The distinction between coreferential and non-coreferential attributive RCS in Old Nubian is reflected in the syntax, whence Satzinger labels coreferential attributive RCS as “Type A,” and non-coreferential ones as “Type B.” Bechhaus-Gerst broadly follows Satzinger’s categorization, whereas Browne makes no descriptive distinction between the two types, lumping both under the heading “adjectival conversion.”¹²

Old Nubian is an *sov* language, like Japanese, Turkish, Dutch, or the other Nile Nubian languages.¹³ This generalization allows us to make several predictions about its general syntactic structure. First we expect all phrasal heads to align on the right side. This seems to be generally the case when we inspect verb inflection, which consistently appears on the right edge, and nominal inflection (case and determiner). Also note the fact that Old Nubian has postpositions instead of prepositions. This generalization implies that any syntactical construction that on the surface does not follow this general principle will be suspected of movement. Within Nubian languages, whose NP structure is generally very stable and predictable,¹⁴ the

¹² BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, §4.9.1.

¹⁴ Cf. ALAMIN, “Noun Phrase Construction in Nubian Languages.”

neutral or default position for attributive RCs, whether coreferential or non-coreferential, seems to be postnominal. As we will see below, the majority of Old Nubian examples in the extant literature shows this order, which is corroborated by contemporary Nile Nubian languages.¹⁵

12

- 1a *man buru* [_{rel} *ir-iin doll-ee*] *ii*
 CF 497 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-GEN love-COMP1 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-jutti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG¹⁶
 “The girl whom you love is his niece”
- 1b *tod* [_{rel} *een-gi jom-e-l*] *nog-s-u*
 NRC 497 boy woman-ACC hit-PST-COMP go-PST-3SG
 Kenzi “The boy that hit the woman left”
- 1c *ogij* [_{rel} *in kaa=r aag-il*]
 RCA 2 man DEM.PROX house=LOC live-PTCP.IPFV
 Andaandi *am-beena-n*
 1PL.POSS-uncle-COP.3SG
 “The man who lives in this house is my uncle” / “The man living in this house is my uncle”

Ex. 1a shows a non-coreferential attributive RC in Nobiin. The antecedent *man buru* does not correspond to the subject of the RC, which is the genitive-marked subject *iriin*.¹⁷ The entire subject is, as would be expected in an SOV language, marked at its left edge by first the complementizer *-ee* and then the nominative case marker *ii*. Ex. 1b

15 List of sigla: CF: AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*; HN: BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*; M.: VAN GERVEN OEI & EL-GUZUULI, *The Miracle of Saint Mina*; NRC: ABDEL-HAFIZ, “Nubian Relative Clauses”; ONG: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*; P. QI 1: PLUMLEY & BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim I*; P. QI 2: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II*; P. QI 4: RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch, and the King*; RCA: JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi”; RTA: SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen.” Other sigla follow ONG, §0.3.

16 List of abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 – first, second, third person; ACC – accusative; AFF – affirmative; app – apposition; c – coordinator/conjunction; CAUS – causative; CL – clitic; COM – comitative; COMP – complementizer; comp – complement clause; COMPL – completive; CONSUE – consuetudinal; COP – copula; DAT – dative; DEM – demonstrative pronoun; DET – determiner; DIR – directive; DIST – distal; EMP – emphatic clitic; EXCL – exclusive; FIN – final; FOC – focus; FUT – future; GEN – genitive; HUM – human; IMP – imperative; INCH – inchoative; INCL – inclusive; INTER – interrogative pronoun; IPFV – imperfective; j – juncture vowel; LOC – locative; NEG – negative; NOM – nominative; NOMLZ – nominalizer; NP – noun phrase; PASS – passive; PL – plural; PACT – pluractional; PRED – predicative/predicate; PRS – present; PST – past; PT1 – preterite 1; PT2 – preterite 2; PTCP – participle; POSS – possessive; PROX – proximal; Q – question marker; QUOTE – direct speech marker; REFL – reflexive; REL – relative pronoun; rel – relative clause; ssc – same-subject converb; t – trace; TR – transitive; VET – vetitive; VOC – vocative.

17 (Nearly) all subjects in non-coreferential relative clauses in Nile Nubian are marked with the genitive case, see §3.2.

shows a coreferential attributive RC in Kenzi, with the RC marked by the complementizer *-l*. In both examples, the RC follows the antecedent. In both Kenzi and Nobiin, the RC marker (*-ee* in ex. 1a; *-l* in ex. 1b) changes based on whether the RC is coreferential or not. As Old Nubian RCS do not feature any distinctive marking on the right edge, such morphological variation has not been observed.¹⁸

In strictly SOV languages such as Turkish and Japanese, RCS, like all other modifiers, are prenominal.¹⁹ In order to account for RCS that seem to be postnominal in SOV languages, such as Dutch and Nubian languages, the so-called head-raising analysis of RCS posits that antecedents originate within the RC and move leftward to a position preceding the RC,²⁰ leaving a gap or trace in the RC, marked by *t*.²¹

[_{rel} *tod eengi jomel*] → *tod*_i [_{rel} *t_i eengi jomel*]

2

= ex. 1b

The movement illustrated in ex. 2 itself is subjected to certain constraints, as we will find in §3.4. For the remainder of this paper we will mostly assume this movement, and for reasons of simplicity not indicate it in the examples unless necessary. In certain Nubian languages, including Old Nubian, RCS can also appear prenominally. The motivation here is always semantic. Whereas Abdel-Hafiz does not provide any other type of constituent order, Awad provides us with examples of attributive RCS that precede the antecedent.

[_{rel} *ir-iin doll-ee*]-*n* *buru ii*
 2SG-GEN love-COMP1-GEN girl NOM
tan-juti-li
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl you love is his niece”

3

CF 499
Nobiin

The postnominal RC in ex. 1a differs in two aspects from the prenominal RC in ex. 3. First, the RC is marked by the genitive case, suggesting that it has moved into the position where normally the genitive-marked possessor would appear; second, Awad indicates that *buru* can no longer be preceded by the demonstrative *man*, supposedly because all possessed nouns are by definition determinate. We will see in §3.1.1 that also in Old Nubian, leftward movement of a RC is accompanied by different morphology in the RC and is motivated by semantics. Awad also presents headless RCS as a third possibility, which we will discuss in §4 as free RCS.

18 However, there seems to be a specific distribution of the two preterite tense morphemes in attributive relative clauses. See §7.

19 Cf. PAYNE, *Describing Morphosyntax*, p. 327.

20 See, for example, KAYNE, *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, pp. 86ff.

21 Following Comrie’s classification, Old Nubian RCS are of the gap type. See COMRIE, *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*, p. 151.

3.1 Coreferential attributive relative clauses

Coreferential attributive RCS without an object basically correspond to adjectival constructions with a participle,²² such as in English “the singing man,” in the sentence “the singing man walks on the street,” which may alternatively be rendered as “the man that sings walks on the street.” The subject of the participle “singing” corresponds with the subject of the main verb “walks,” i.e., “man.” In Old Nubian, these constructions can only be formed by means of a participial form consisting of at least a verbal root, tense/aspect suffix, and the determiner $-(\epsilon/\iota)\lambda$,²³ which, however, is dropped before overt case marking. Coreferential attributive RCS generally appear after the noun, and, as a rule, number, case marking, and any other type of right edge suffix (conjunctions, focus, etc.) only appear on the right edge of the entire noun phrase that contains the RC.

We find the following general pattern for coreferential attributive RCS:

4 [... Antec-J [_{rel} ... Verb-Tense/Asp]]-Det/Num/Case

5 ḥlo pi-na ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou
 L. 113.5-6 is-lo pi-na [ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou
 ONG §4.6a inter-LOC exist-PRS.2/3SG Jew-PL-GEN king-J
 [_{rel} ounn-outak-o]]-l
 bear-PASS-PT1-DET
 “Where is the born king of the Jews?”

The RC, formed by the single embedded verb οὔνηουτακο- “born,” follows the antecedent noun phrase ἰουδαῖοις οὐροῦ “king of the Jews,” which is also its antecedent.²⁴ Note that the antecedent ἰουδαῖοις οὐροῦ ends in what I usually refer to as a juncture vowel, whereas Satzinger calls it an “Appositiv”) and Browne the “annective,” “an anaptyctic juncture vowel (‘Bindevokal’) inserted between two words that closely cohere.”²⁵ The same juncture, or epenthetic vowel may be observed in adjectival constructions and should not be confused with a case ending such as accusative or genitive, as it is purely a noun phrase-internal phenomenon.²⁶

22 Cf. SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Alt nubischen,” p. 186. Browne and Satzinger refer to participles a “verbidis.”
 23 See VAN GERVEN OEI, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” pp. 256-62. The precise distribution between the vowels ϵ and ι when following a consonant is still uncertain. In Andaandi the different vowels indicate perfective and imperfective aspect, and this may also be the case in Old Nubian. See JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi,” p. 91.
 24 I have left nominative case marking, which is $-\emptyset$ in Old Nubian, unglossed throughout.
 25 SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Alt nubischen,” p. 186 et passim; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.6.5.
 26 The same juncture vowel appears sometimes on personal pronouns, e.g. ex. 32. Its precise distribution, which seems to be of a morphosyntactic nature, has not yet been adequately described.

εΥΑϸŃ̄ ΕΙΝΝΑϸŃ̄ Τ̄ΛΛΟῩ Δ̄ΨŃ̄ ΕΙΛΑ ΔΕΙΕΡΑ ΤΟΥΡΙ
eu-a-sin ein-na-sin [till-ou [_{rel} añ]]-in
 fear-PRED-EMP be-PRS.2/3SG.PRED-EMP god-J live-GEN
ei-la deijar-a touri
 hand-DAT fall.TR-PRED ?

“(For) it is to fear to fall into the hands of the God who lives.”

6

K. 33.5-7
RTA 1

15

In this example, in which the final word *τουρι* remains unaccounted for,²⁷ the RC under the antecedent *τ̄λλου* consists of a single verb *Δ̄Ψ-*, without overt tense marking (and therefore by default present tense) and no determiner *-λ* due to the presence of the genitive case marking at the end of the noun phrase *τ̄λλου Δ̄Ψ-*, which is attributive to *ειλα*: “into the hand(s) of the living God.”

ΕΙ ΜΑΝ [ΤΑΥΚ?]ΛΟ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΓΑΔΛΓΟΥΛ ΜΕΙΘΡΑΓΟΥ ΕΝΔ̄ΗΜΑΝΑ
 [ei [_{rel} man tauk-lo doull-aη-ad]]-il-gou-l
 man DEM.DIST time-LOC exist-INCH-FUT-DET-PL-DET
meijr-a-gou en-d-immana
 disobey.TR-PRED-PL be-FUT-AFF.3PL

“The men who will come into being in that time(?) will be disobedient”

7

K. 22.14-23.2
RTA 13

Satzinger is correct to interpret the *ΜΑΝ* in the RC not as a relative pronoun, but rather as a deictic element referring to the emended noun *ταυκ-* “time.” He suggests, contra Browne,²⁸ that overt relative pronouns only appear in non-coreferential attributive clauses, which seems to be confirmed by our survey of the extant Old Nubian material. In ex. 7 we again find all nominal inflectional material on the right edge of the noun. The double determiner before and after the plural suffix is a common occurrence (see also exx. 8, 34, 35, 49, 72, 74).²⁹ Also note the truncated predicative plural *-αρου*, where we would, according to Browne, expect *-αρουε*.³⁰ Perhaps it was dropped because of the initial *ε-* of the copula. In the lines following this example, the verb *ΕΝΔ̄ΗΜΑΝΑ* is repeated several times with different adjectival predicates marked by predicative *-α*, except K. 23.4 *ϸ̄κοητκ̄ψ-* “ungrateful,” ending with the privative adjective marker *-κ̄ψ*, which seems to be directly connected to the verb, and the irregular predicative plural of K. 23.8-9 *μαΔ̄δακλε* “liars.”

The case marking in the embedded phrase is not always complete:

27 In BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 59, Browne gives the Greek gloss φοβερόν τὸ ἐμπσεῖν for *εΥΑϸŃ̄ [...]* ΔΕΙΕΡΑ ΤΟΥΡΙ. It is possible that we are dealing here with a complementizer. Angelika Jakobi (p.c.) suggests that it is an unknown form of the verb *τορ-* “to enter,” contributing to the meaning “fall into.”

28 Cf. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.6.

29 See also VAN GERVEN OEI, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” p. 260.

30 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.5.2.

8

P. QI 1 8.ii.8-10
RTA 12

ἀγγελου κολουτου ποτου κολου κωνουλογουλλον τεκκονο
 μελλαλιςανα ποτουκα ουφουνογα·
 [aggelos-ou kolot-ou [_{rel} potot-i kolot
 angel-J seven-J trumpet-J seven
 kon-l-o]]-l-gou-ll-on tek-k-ono
 have-DET-PT1-DET-PL-DET-C 3PL-ACC-REFL
 medd-il-η-is-ana potot-ka ouš-enoua
 ready-DET-INCH-PT2-3PL.PRED trumpet-ACC sound-FIN.2/3SG
 “And the seven angels who had seven trumpets readied themselves
 to sound the trumpet”

16

The attributive RC in this example clearly shows how the juncture vowels basically appear inside the noun phrase as a placeholder where we would otherwise expect number and case marking to appear, which, however, no matter how heavy the noun phrase, always appears only at the right edge of the RC. The RC ποτου κολου κωνου- has two peculiar features. First, the accusative case marking -κα that we would expect on κολου has been dropped (cf. ex. 20, below). Perhaps this is a scribal error because the author conflated it with the initial *kappa* of the verb, or perhaps we should interpret the absence of the accusative case with the verb “to have” as an intermediate stage between κo- as an active verb with an object in the accusative case, and -κο as an adjectival suffix, which is well attested elsewhere.³¹ The second curiosity is the appearance of the determiner -λ behind the verbal root κων- and before the preterite 1 suffix -ο (Browne marks it with a “sic”). Although a determiner in this position has been regularly attested in case of, for example, modal suffixes (e.g. μελλα-λ-ι- in the above example), its appearance directly preceding a tense suffix is exceedingly rare.

3.1.1 *Leftward movement: semantic restriction*

Whereas in exx. 5-8, the RC followed the antecedent, it may also precede it, as in Nobiin ex. 3. There are a few examples present in the Old Nubian corpus that show this inverse order; as is clear from the morphology, we are dealing here with a type of leftward movement that seems to be semantically motivated, and that is restricted to coreferential attributive RCs. This is also suggested by the Nobiin exx. 1 and 3, where ex. 3 has a restricted meaning.³²

9 [... [_{rel} ... Verb-Tense/Asp]_i-Det [Antec t_i]]-Det/Num/Case

Let us inspect this first example:

31 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.4.2. According to Jakobi (p.c.), in Andaandi the accusative case marker may sometimes be dropped in the context of the verb *ko*.

32 Isameddin Awad, p.c.

τἄλλῳ οὐννοῶ μαριαν εἰγοντῆλε γοῦδαλα κιᾶ
 [[_{rel} till-ik ounn-o]_i-l [maria-n t_i]]-n eigon-gille
 God-ACC bear-PT1-DET Mary-GEN icon-DIR
 goudal-a ki-a
 run?-PRED come-PRED
 “Running toward the icon of Mary Theotokos”

10
 M. 11.3-4
 RTA 34
 ONG, §4.6d

17

Here the RC τἄλλῳ οὐννοῶ, which supposedly translates the common epithet “Theotokos,” has as its antecedent and subject μαρια-ν, which itself is attributive to εἰγον-, marked with the genitive -ν. Based on our observations in the previous section, we would expect a construction like *μαρια τἄλλῳ οὐννον. In this case, however, the entire RC has moved upward and supposedly adjoined to the determiner phrase. The question is what would motivate such movement. First of all, we may observe that in the current configuration, μαρια- is in the scope of τἄλλῳ οὐννοῶ instead of the other way around. τἄλλῳ οὐννοῶ therefore restricts the meaning of μαρια-; we are not dealing here with a Mary who happened to give birth to God, but rather with the God-bearing Mary. The leftward movement of the RC may therefore be semantically driven. Satzinger suggests that the position of these RCs left of the noun is comparable to adjectival constructions such as εῦσοῦ μῆνα “Saint Mina,” although the juncture vowel -οῦ cannot appear on verbal forms. This however seems to be contradicted by the existence of a separate class of examples such as αἰ εἰλ/ πεσσι εἰπεγοῦκα “the sins that I said” (ex. 20) and εἰτσοῦ ἱῆσοῦσι χριστοσικα “Christ whom you sent” (ex. 21), which clearly show a juncture vowel instead of a determiner (see §3.3.1 below). The movement observed in ex. 10 should therefore have an analysis distinct from adjectives or RCs ending in a juncture vowel.³³

The same type of movement may be observed in the following, slightly more complicated example:

εἰσκελαδδᾶμσῶ εἰν γαδκῆφρει εῖοοκ κονδῖλ ἀφελ κενσῶνγοῦκα οὔνσῶλλα
 εἰσκοῦαννῶα:
 eiskel-ad-j-amsō [ein gad-kiññ-ei
 beseech-TR-FUT-PLACT-IMP.1PL DEM.PROX flesh-without-j
 [[_{rel} ηοοκ kon-j]_i-il [añel t_i]] kemsō]-n-gou-ka
 glory.ACC have-PLACT-DET living.being four-PL-PL-ACC
 ous-illa en-kouannōa
 love-DAT be-FIN.3PL
 “Let us beseech these four incorporeal, glorious animals that they
 may abide in love”

11
 P. QI 2 16.vii.2-6
 RTA 35

33 One example given by Browne seems to resist analysis: SC 18.5 οὔνσοῦριν τῆνιγ[ο]ῦκα οὔνκοῦνκεραν ἄοῦτῶννα.

18

If we disregard the initial material in the phrase $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\kappa\tilde{\varphi}\varphi\epsilon\iota$ ΓOOK $\kappa\text{ON}\tilde{\omicron}\iota\lambda$ $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\lambda$ $\kappa\epsilon\mu\sigma\omega-$, and focus our attention on the phrasal element ΓOOK $\kappa\text{ON}\tilde{\omicron}\iota\lambda$ $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\lambda$, we find a pattern similar to ex. 10. ΓOOK $\kappa\text{ON}\tilde{\omicron}\iota\lambda$ has moved leftward and adjoined to the determiner phrase. As in the previous example, the motivation may have been semantic in nature, restricting the meaning of $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\lambda$: the “glory-having creatures” instead of the non-restrictive “the creatures that have glory.” We will have to leave the grammatical analysis of $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$, $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\kappa\tilde{\varphi}\varphi\epsilon\iota$, and $\kappa\epsilon\mu\sigma\omega-$ aside for the moment, but let me briefly say that relative pronouns always appear in the topmost position of the determiner phrase, and numerals such as $\kappa\epsilon\mu\sigma\omega-$ always appear phrase final. Note further that the suffix $-\lambda\lambda$ in $\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\Delta\delta\alpha\mu\sigma\omega$ here should be interpreted as the transitivity marker $-\lambda\lambda$ with regressive assimilation preceding the pluractional suffix $-\delta$. If it had been the future suffix $-\lambda\lambda$, it would have followed the pluractional suffix.

3.2 Non-coreferential attributive relative clauses

Non-coreferential attributive RCs are RCs in which the subject of the RC does not coincide with the antecedent. In Old Nubian, we can distinguish two subcategories, namely those in which the subject of the RC is overtly expressed (Satzinger’s “Type B1”), and those in which it is not (Satzinger’s “Type B2”). Whereas these RCs behave similarly when in situ, we will discover that under extraposition this difference becomes morphologically explicit (§6). Also differently from coreferential attributive RCs, non-coreferential ones may feature a relative pronoun, either $\epsilon\iota\tilde{\nu}$ “this” or $\mu\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ “that.”³⁴ Another difference is that non-coreferential attributive RCs cannot move to the left of the antecedent, as described in §3.1.1.

3.2.1 Non-coreferential with an overt subject in RC

In case the subject of the RC is overtly expressed, it nearly always appears in the genitive case, whereas the verb usually shows no agreement, therefore appearing similar to the embedded verbal forms found in coreferential attributive RCs.

12 [... Antec-J [_{rel} (Rel) [Subj-GEN Verb-Tense/Asp]]]-Det/Num/Case

13 $\kappa\text{OY}\mu\text{Π}\text{IOY}$ $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}\alpha$ $\kappa\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\iota}$ $\Delta\text{OY}\mu\alpha\lambda$ $\Delta\text{OY}\tau\text{P}\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\delta}\varphi\text{P}\alpha\tilde{\iota}$
 [*koumprou* [_{rel} *ein* [*tan-na kip-s*]]]-*il*
 egg REL 3SG-GEN eat-PT2-DET
doumal doutrap añ-r-añ-a
 suddenly fowl live-TR-INCH-PRED
 “The egg that he had eaten suddenly coming to life as a fowl”

M. 12.2-3
 ONG §4.6a

34 See PAYNE, *Describing Morphosyntax*, p. 333. I have been unable to find any semantic or syntactic constraint on their distribution.

We find here a non-coreferential attributive RC with a relative pronoun $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ in the topmost position. The subject of the RC $\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha$ $\kappa\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}$ -, $\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha$, is marked with the genitive case, and the entire clause is marked on the right edge with a determiner $-\lambda$. Note also that the juncture vowel that we expect after $\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\pi\omicron\gamma$ has been dropped after $-\omicron\gamma$.

19

$\alpha\bar{\eta}\kappa\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\bar{\rho}[\bar{\kappa}]na$ $\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\gamma\bar{\alpha}$ $\omicron\phi\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\alpha[\bar{\rho}]\kappa\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\omega$
anktan-gou-ka *ouskar-isna* *ter-in* *aei-laua*
 concern.PL-PL-ACC place.TR-PT2.2/3SG.PRED3PL-GEN heart-within
 [*oñ-in* *park-ou* [_{rel} *ēn* [*eir-in* *aou-s*]]]-lō
 tear-GEN valley-J REL 2SG-GEN make-PT2-LOC
 “He placed concerns within their heart in the valley of tears that
 you made.” (Ps. 83:5-6)

14

P. QI 12.ii.8-10
 RTA 8
 ONG §4.6a

Apart from the slightly erroneous translation of Psalm 83:5-6, which *inter alia* seems to omit a rendering of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and misinterprets $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as $\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$, the clause itself is grammatical and the attributive construction straightforward. The RC with overt subject $\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa$ - “that you made” has as its antecedent $\omicron\phi\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\alpha[\bar{\rho}]\kappa\omicron\gamma$, ending in a juncture vowel. The embedded verb $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa$ - shows no agreement marking because of the overt subject. Finally the locative marker $-\lambda\omega$ is attached to the entire noun phrase on the right edge. Satzinger suggests, *pace* Browne, that $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\omega$ ought to be analyzed as $*aous-il-lō$, with some type of regressive assimilation. However, none of the extant forms in the Old Nubian corpus suggest that this analysis is correct, nor that it is necessary; the $-(i/e)l$ that Browne and Satzinger assume as the marker of the participle or “verbid” only appears in a nominative context as a determiner, and forms no intrinsic part of any “participial” morphology.

3.2.2 Non-coreferential without an overt subject in RC

In case the subject of the RC is not overtly expressed, we find agreement marking on the main verb of the RC. The following pattern emerges:

[... Antec-J [_{rel} (Rel) [Verb-Tense/Asp/Agr]]]-Det/Num/Case

15

$\epsilon\bar{\lambda}\omicron\eta$ $\eta\eta\kappa\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\kappa}\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{\kappa}\iota\Delta\bar{\rho}\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\mu\bar{\lambda}\lambda\iota\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ $\Delta\epsilon\phi\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\omicron$
el-on [*mēstēr-ou* [_{rel} *eik-ka* *ekid-rou*]]-ka *ou-ka*
 now-C mystery-J 2SG-ACC ask-PRS.1/2PL-ACC 1PL-ACC
pill-igr-a *deñ-j-eso*
 shine-CAUS-PRED give.1-PLACT-IMP.2SG
 “And now reveal us the mystery that we ask you about”

16

St. 5.4-7
 RTA 5
 ONG §4.6a

20

The verb of the RC $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma-$ shows agreement marking, as the subject “we” is not overtly expressed, and the indirect object of the ditransitive $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma-$, $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha$, is marked with the accusative case. The verb phrase $\pi\lambda\lambda\iota\tau\bar{\rho}\alpha \Delta\epsilon\psi\theta\epsilon\sigma\omicron$ in the main clause consists of the verb $\pi\lambda\lambda-$ “to shine,” which, together with the causative suffix is usually translated by “to reveal.” The verb $\Delta\epsilon\psi-$ here functions as a benefactive or applicative, adding the semantic role of the indirect object $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ “to us.”³⁵

17
K. 20.15-17
ONG, p. 83, n. 100

$\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\bar{\lambda} \kappa\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha \pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta \pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda \kappa\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\bar{\rho}\alpha\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$
alesin ouetr-il keik-a pes-en
truly anyone-DET blaspheme-PRED say-PRS.2/3SG
[*proskol* [_{rel} *kisse-llo ken-j-ran*]]-*gou-ka*
offering church-LOC place-PLACT-PRS.3PL-PL-ACC
“If anyone blasphemes and says about the offerings that they place in the church”

Like ex. 16, we find here a non-coreferential attributive RC, with the antecedent $\pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda$, without a juncture vowel, perhaps because we are dealing here with a loanword from Greek,³⁶ or because of the phonologically unstable nature of $-\lambda$. The RC $\kappa\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\bar{\rho}\alpha\eta-$ has as its subject a non-overt third person plural, as can be determined from the morphology on the verb. The object of the verb $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\theta\bar{\rho}\alpha\eta-$ is the antecedent $\pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda$.

18
P. QI 2 13.ii.24-28
RTA 7

$\epsilon\alpha\sigma\omicron\delta\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\bar{\eta} \omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha \tau\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda} \tau\alpha\rbar{\eta} \sigma\epsilon\gamma\bar{\delta}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha \dots \bar{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\iota\eta \gamma\alpha\delta\omicron\theta\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho} \eta\eta$
 $\omicron\gamma\sigma\sigma\bar{\eta}\Delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha$
nas-j-ara-sin ou-ka till-il tar-in
choose-PLACT-PT1.PRED-EMP 1PL-ACC God-DET 3SG-GEN
seu-ae-gar-a
inherit-NMLZ.PL-CAUS-PRED
[*iakob-in gajjour* [_{rel} *en [ous-s-in]*]]-*dekel-ka*
Jacob-GEN beauty REL LOVE-PT2-2/3SG-C-ACC
“God chose us to cause (us) to be his inheritors of the beauty of Jacob which he loved” (Ps. 46:5)

This example is syntactically rather complex, as it seems that the scribe attempted to imitate the Greek word order of Psalm 46:5 in this bilingual fragment: $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron \langle \eta\mu\alpha\varsigma \rangle \bar{\omicron} \bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma} \tau\eta\eta\kappa \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\eta \bar{\epsilon}\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta\omicron \dots \tau\bar{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta$ $\bar{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\delta\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ (P. QI 2 13.ii.23-26, the Septuagint reads as follows: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron \eta\mu\bar{\iota}\nu \tau\eta\eta\kappa \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon, \tau\eta\eta\kappa \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\eta \bar{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta, \eta\eta \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$). The interpretation of the sentence

35 For an overview of the benefactive/applicative in Old Nubian and Nobiin, see BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, pp. 142-7.

36 Cf. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 152.

depends on whether the attributive RC ἰακῶβιν [...] οὐσσεῖνδεκεκα is interpreted as the object of γασῶρασῆ or of σεῦδεγαρα. Browne opts for neither, translating with the rather puzzling “God chose us, making (us) his heirs and the beauty of Jacob, which he loved,” somehow attempting to coordinate σεῦδεγαρα with the RC, ignoring the accusative case marker. If οὐκα is interpreted as the direct object of γασῶρασῆ, the entire attributive RC ἰακῶβιν [...] οὐσσεῖνδεκεκα can only be read as an object to the verbal root σεῦ- “inherit,” with possibly the nominalizing predicative plural suffix -δε,³⁷ causative, and predicative suffix. The interpretation of the attributive construction itself is straightforward. The RC ἡν` οὐσσεῖν- is dependent on the antecedent ἰακῶβιν γασῶρα, here without a juncture vowel because of the presence of the clause-initial relative pronoun ἡν.

21

In a few rare cases, we find that both the genitive subject and person morphology on the verb may be overt in the RC:

ἔλονδεεῖον δεκκιγῖρμενδρέλο· ἔσειογ εἷν οὐννα αἰκα ἔκιδροῦκον
elon-de-eeion dekk-igir-men-dre-lo [ησει-ου [rel ein
 now-C-C conceal-CAUS-NEG-FUT.1SG.PRED-FOC thing-J REL
 [oun-na ai-ka ekid-rou]]]-k-on
 1PL.EXCL/2PL-GEN 1SG-ACC ask-PRS.1/2PL-ACC-C
 “And now also I will not conceal the thing that you asked me”

19

St. 6.4-7
 RTA 9

The RC, indicated by the relative pronoun εἷν has as its antecedent ἔσειογ, ending in a juncture vowel, and the entire attributive RC is the object of the verb δεκκιγῖρμενδρέλο. What is curious about the RC is that it features both an overt subject οὐννα in the genitive case and the verb ἔκιδροῦ-, with overt person morphology. Satzinger suggests an interpretation of this double occurrence of overt subject and agreement marking by supposing a disambiguation strategy, mistakenly assuming that οὐννα is exclusively the genitive-marked pronoun for the second person plural, which is not the case. So neither the overt subject, nor the overt person marking disambiguates the other; it is the indirect object αἰκα that makes a reading “the thing that we (EXCL) asked myself” rather implausible.

3.3 More on the left

There are several examples of non-coreferential attributive clauses appearing in a position that precedes the antecedent. In these cases we are dealing with two patterns. In the first pattern, RCs seem to have been generated in situ, and are marked with the juncture vowel that we normally find on the antecedent when it precedes the RC, whereas the antecedent is marked with the customary number and

37 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.5.2e.

suggests that we are dealing here with a different type of construction. However, there is not enough Old Nubian data and an absence of comparative data from modern Nile Nubian languages to allow for a full explanation.

3.3.2 *Non-coreferential relative clauses of time, place, and manner*

23

As already suggested by Browne and Satzinger in their respective treatments of RCS, expressions of place and time follow a different template, in which the RC is marked with a genitive case and always precedes its antecedent.

<p> MARION IĪHCOYĀN [Δ]OYĒCĀN GOYΛLO{N} KIEN <i>mari-on</i> [[_{rel} <i>iēsous-in dou-es-in goul</i>]-lo <i>ki-en</i> Mary-C Jesus-GEN be-PT2-GEN place-LOC come-PRS.2/3SG “And when Mary came to the place where Jesus stayed” </p>	<p>22 P. QI 1 4.11.1-2 RTA 45</p>
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The attributive relative construction could also be literally translated as “to the place of Jesus’s staying,” and is otherwise grammatically unremarkable. The following examples provide further illustration:

<p> TENNA ΔOYĒCĀN TAΥKA HĪOYANNHO[EIO]N OYĒPOYELΔΔΛ ΓTTACCANA· [[_{rel} <i>ten-na dou-es-in tauk</i>]-a <i>miššan-no-eion</i> 3PL-GEN be-PT2-GEN time-PRED all-FOC-C <i>ouerouel-dal gittas-sana</i> each.other-COM be.like?-PT2.3PL.PRED “And all the time that they existed they were like each other” </p>	<p>23 P. QI 2 10.A.ii.9-10 RTA 46</p>
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<p> [I]EPYOCALIMKA EKKĀ ΔACAN TAΥK[Λ]OIE<O>N· [[_{rel} <i>ierousalim-ka ekkid da-san</i>] <i>tauk</i>]-lo-eion Jerusalem-ACC be.near.TR be-PT2.3PL.GEN time-LOC-C “And at the time that they were near Jerusalem” </p>	<p>24 P. QI 2 14.i.1-2 RTA 47</p>
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Note that in this example the genitive -N has merged with the tense/person marker -CAN.

<p> TAPIO OOO[KK]A KAPESOYN OYKOYPPW [_{rel} [Ø [_{rel} <i>tar-io joo</i>]]-k-ka <i>kap-es-ou</i>]-n <i>oukour-rō</i> 3SG-LOC go-DET-ACC eat-PT2-2PL-GEN day-LOC “On the day that you have eaten that which comes from it”³⁸ </p>	<p>25 SC 213-4 OND §4.6C</p>
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The same strategy may be observed in Nobiin, where RCS of place and time always seem to precede their antecedents, and are marked with the genitive case. For example:

38 This example contains a free relative clause, see §4.

RC, and Browne's translation of $\Delta\kappa[\Delta]\Delta\tau\dot{\tau}$ - as "construction" and subject of $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Gamma\epsilon\epsilon\dot{\eta}\eta\Delta$ is incorrect. Moreover, it follows none of the patterns observed in §3.3.1; in that case we would expect something like **gadañesi akdatt*-. The only remaining option is that we are dealing with some type of RC of place, time, or manner, which ends in a genitive and precedes its antecedent. This assumption allows us to explain the agreement suffix $-\bar{n}$ (the RC is non-coreferential without explicit subject), the subsequent genitive $-n$ (RC of time, place, or manner), and its position in front of the antecedent. However, the $-\Delta$ would remain unaccounted for; in exx. 22–5 the genitive case always appeared as $-(i)n$. If we observe the following example from Nobiin, however, it becomes clear that we are dealing here with a predicative $-\Delta$, which may have been preserved in Nobiin in RCS of manner as a same-subject converb:

25

<i>man</i>	<i>ideen</i>	<i>an-een</i>	<i>aaw-ee-n</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kir</i>	28
DEM.DIST	woman	1SG.POSS-mother	do-COMPI-GEN	SSC	way	CF 551
<i>jelli-ga</i>	<i>aaw-i</i>					Nobiin
job-ACC	do-PRS.3SG					
"The woman does her job in the same way as my mother does" ³⁹						

We may observe here that the RC *aneen aaween-a* preceding the antecedent *kir* is marked by both the genitive and *a*, here glossed as same-subject converb. However, recall that one of the functions of the Old Nubian predicative suffix $-\Delta$ is precisely marking verbs with the same subject. I suggest that the same is the case in ex. 27, and that consequently the translation of $\Delta\kappa[\Delta]\Delta\tau\dot{\tau}$ - in ex. 26 as "construction" is erroneous. In his *Old Nubian Dictionary*, Browne rightly observes that we are probably dealing with some type of nominalized form with $-\tau$ of the habitual verb $\Delta\kappa-$, or its derivative $\Delta\kappa\Delta\Delta\kappa-$ "to set up," which already suggests a mode or manner of doing things. The suggested Greek retrotranslation $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ suggests something similar. I have therefore opted here tentatively for the neutral translation "order" while suggesting that just like in Nobiin ex. 28 we are dealing with a RC of manner.

3.4 Anaphors

According to the head raising analysis of RCS, antecedents of an RC are originally generated within the RC and subsequently move up to a higher (in the case of Old Nubian, leftward) position. Without delving into the technical details, this movement may explain the appearance of the juncture vowel that we mentioned before, and the fact that the neutral position of attributive clauses seems to be

39 Cf. also AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*, ex. 633.

following the noun, rather than preceding it. It also predicts that there are certain syntactic positions within the RC, organized on a hierarchical scale,⁴⁰ that do not allow for relativization, such as possessor and postposition phrases. Old Nubian seems to conform this generalization: subjects and objects can be relativized (also called extracted), whereas other syntactic functions cannot.⁴¹ In case relativization is impossible, we find an anaphor – also called PRO or “resumptive pronoun”⁴² – which in Old Nubian is always a form of the third person singular pronoun ταρ.

29a
P. QI 11.i.7-8
RTA 4
ἀΓΕΝΔΑΛΩ ΕΙΤΟΥ ΕΟ[ΔΙΝΑ] ΤΑΝ ΓΑΠΕΓΟΥΚΑ ΔΗΚΙΘΗΜΕΝΔΕΛ
agend-a-lō [*eit-ou* [_{rel} *ηod-ina tan_i ηape-gou-ka*
blessed-PRED-FOC man-J lord-GEN 3SG.GEN sin-PL-ACC
ank-ij-men-d]]-el
remember-PLACT-NEG-FUT-DET
“Blessed is the man whose sins the Lord will not remember”
(Ps. 31:2)

29b
RCA 14a
Andaandi
in tannan [*ogij_i* [_{rel} *tenn_i ossi*
DEM.PROX COP man 3SG.GEN leg
bud-s-in-tirti]]
dislocated-PT2-3SG-HUM.COMP
“This is the man whose leg was dislocated”

Ex. 29a follows the pattern of non-coreferential attributive clauses discussed in §3.2.1, but this time we find an anaphor ταν “his” coindexed with the antecedent ειτου, as possessor phrases do not allow extraction. The same occurs in Andaandi in ex. 29b, where we find the anaphor tenn in a similar position. Anaphors also appear in the case of oblique phrases such as locatives:

30a
P. QI 11.ii.4-5
ONG §4.6a
...ΓΔΔΔΡΕ ΔΔΥ ΕΝ ΤΑΡΙΟ ΟΥΕΝΝΩ
-gad-d-re [*dau_i* [_{rel} *ein* [*tar_i-io jō-en*]]]-nō
-CAUS-FUT-PRS.1SG.PRED path REL 3SG-LOC go-PRS.2/3SG-LOC
“I will [guide (*vel sim.*) you] on the path on which you go” (Ps. 31:8)

30b
RCA 17b
Andaandi
in tannan [*beled_i* [_{rel} *ay ter_i=do ogol=lo*
DEM.PROX COP country 1SG 3SG=LOC before=LOC
taa-s-i]]
come-PT2-1SG

40 See KEENAN & COMRIE, “Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar.”

41 Owing to a lack of examples, it is unclear whether indirect objects can be extracted, that is, can become an antecedent to an RC in which its syntactical function would be that of an indirect object, e.g. “the person John wanted to give a present to.”

42 JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi,” p. 97.

“This is the country to which I came before”

Just like εἶτοϥ in ex. 29a, ΔΔΥ cannot be extracted from a postpositional phrase in the RC, which is the reason why we find the locative-marked anaphor ταριϥ. Browne’s suggestion that εἷ is here a postponed “regular” demonstrative pronoun is erroneous; demonstrative pronouns in Old Nubian never follow nominal heads. The same construction can be found in Andaandi, ex. 30b. A similar anaphor construction is found in the next example, which however cannot be faithfully rendered in English:

27

κοεῖρ εἷ ελ ταριϥ ὄωκ[κα] κ[Δ]παταμνα
 [koeir_i [_{rel} ein [el tar_i-io jōo]]]-k-ka
 tree REL NOW 3SG-LOC go-DET-ACC
 kap-a-tamē-a

31

SC 22.6–9
 ONG §3.9.15

eat-PRED-VET.2SG-QUOTE

“Do not eat that which now comes from the tree’ (lit. ‘do not eat the tree which now comes from it’)”

Finally, anaphors also appear in contexts in which raising is impossible due to intervening constituents, such as adjectival phrases:

ΔΟΥΚῖμε ην εεγανε ἑοοκκολ τῗλλιοκω ταροϥ εετακῗκα
 douk-imme [ēn eḡgane_i ḡookko-l
 pay.homage-AFF.1SG 2SG.GEN brotherhood glorious-DET
 [_{rel} till-iloḡō tar_i-ou ei-tak]]-il-ka

32

P. QI 4 110.v.1–2

God-by 3SG-J bless-PASS-DET-ACC

“I pay homage to your glorious brotherhood, blessed by God”

In this example, the adjective ἑοοκκολ intervenes between the antecedent εεγανε and the RC τῗλλιοκω ταροϥ εετακῗ-, hence the appearance of the anaphor ταροϥ.

The strategies of exx. 31 and 32 may also appear together:

εΔΔΡω καθκα εἷ Διγῗ: εῗ ταΔοϥ εεγοϥλα [ο]γεννα ταΔΔω ακιμῗσικα
 ed-d-rō [kaj_i-ka [_{rel} ein [dig]]]-el
 find-FUT-PRS.2PL colt-ACC REL bound-DET
 [_{rel} eil tad_i-ou [ei-gou-la ouen-na tad_i-dō ak-imis-s]]-ika
 now 3SG-J man-PL-DAT one-GEN 3SG-upon sit-NEG-PT2-ACC

33

P. QI 2 14.i.9–11
 RTA 43

“You will find a colt that is bound, one upon which no one among men has yet sat” (Mk. 11:2)

In this example, καθκα is coindexed with both ταΔοϥ and ταΔΔω in the RC dependent on it, in the first case because of the intervening

ein eis-sana [Ø [_{rel} *ḡarmit-in eigon-ka*
 DEM.PROX be-PT2.3PL.PRED beast-GEN image-ACC
douk]]-il-gou-l
 worship-DET-PL-DET
 [Ø [_{rel} *tan taḡs-in eid-k-on ten koñ-in*
 3SG.GEN name-GEN sign-ACC-C 3PL.GEN face-GEN
tinnatt-iddō ett-o]]-l-gou-l
 front.NMLZ-upon receive-PT1-DET-PL-DET
 “Those have been the ones who worship the image of the beast, who
 received the sign of his name upon their forehead.” (Rev. 14:9)

29

Just like the previous example, the interpretation here is straightforward. The subjects of εἰςσανα are two subject clauses coordinated by the suffix -on in the noun phrase ταν ταḡσῆ εἰκον. Both subject clauses are fully marked with a plural suffix and the double determiner construction we have seen previously.

A final example is slightly puzzling, in the sense that we are not strictly dealing with a subject sentence, but rather with a sentence that as a whole seems to have been nominalized:

εἰννῆκα οὔ[Δ]γῖλλε πεσιḡερḡ
 [Ø [_{rel} *einnin-ka oud-gille pes-ij-eri]]-l
 DEM.PROX.PL-ACC 2PL-DIR say-PLACT-PRS.1SG-DET
 “(The fact that) I say these things to you” (Jn. 16:33)*

36

L. 106.4-5
 ONG §4.5.1b

To take εἰννῆκα here as the antecedent of the RC οὔ[Δ]γῖλλε πεσιḡερḡ makes no sense, as it would not be marked with the accusative case (but cf. καḡκα in ex. 33); it can be nothing but the direct object of πεσιḡερḡ. However, this leaves the occurrence of the determiner -l unexplained. Perhaps the scribe was attempting to render the perfect tense found in the Greek (ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν) by nominalizing the entire sentence. Again, lack of comparative evidence prevents further speculation.

4.2 Object clauses

Object clauses follow the same pattern as subject clauses, but are obviously marked by the accusative case -κα, sometimes preceded by the determiner -λ. As yet it remains unclear in which contexts the determiner may precede the accusative suffix.

37 τῶν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἑὐδοκίᾳ κοῦρρανλο ἑαυτοῦ ἀνασῶ·
 K. 22.10-13 [∅_[rel] *till-in* *taŋs-il-do* *auou-j-ou*]-*ka*
 ONG §4.6a God-GEN name-DET-in do-PLACT-PRS.2PL-ACC

kourran-lo auou-j-anasō
 joyful-LOC do-PLACT-IMP.2/3PL

30 “Do the things you do in God’s name joyfully”

The free RC τῶν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἑὐδοκίᾳ is here the object of ἑαυτοῦ ἀνασῶ. Note that the implicit antecedent of the RC is plural, as signified by the pluractional marker -σ on both the embedded verb ἑαυτοῦ ἑὐδοκίᾳ and the main verb ἑαυτοῦ ἀνασῶ.

38 εἰρή οὖν εἰᾶρι ἀλλοικῶ οὔκκα εἰᾶρ ἄγαρσεν
 SE A.i.11-13 *eihi* [∅_[rel] *ou-n* *ei-ar-i* *doll-is*]-*il-ka* *ouk-ka*
 RTA 2 lo 2PL-GEN know-PRED? want-PT2-DET-ACC 2PL-ACC

ea-ir-il-gas-se-sin
 know-DET-CAUS-PT2.1SG.PRED-EMP

“Lo, I have informed you about what you wanted to know.”

Observe that in ex. 38 we find two instances of a determiner that are relatively rare, the first preceding the accusative case in ἀλλοικῶ (cf. ex. 25, 31 ὄδοκ[κα] and ex. 32 εἰτακῶ) and the second directly following the verbal root in εἰᾶρ ἄγαρσεν (cf. ex. 8 κοῦρρανλο). As for the curious form εἰᾶρι, with either a phonologically reduced predicative suffix or a juncture vowel, cf. ex. 21 εἰᾶρι.

39 παππιαδῶς γαλλὰ εἰδῶς εἰτρεσεν ἀππια·
 P. QI 4.124.r.2-3 [∅_[rel] *pappajja ŋal-da* *eid-is*]-*ka* *eit-ere-sin*
 Pappajja son-COM send-PT2-ACC take-PRS.1SG.PRED-EMP

dippi-la
 village-DAT

“I take what was sent with the son (of) Pappajja to the village”

Ruffini’s translation is different here, analyzing εἰδῶς as a serial verb consisting of εἰτ- “to take” and ῶ- “to take, bring” with the accusative case, rendering it with “receipt.” However, it seems to me that an analysis as a free RC, just like ex. 38, is more likely. I also take εἰδῶ- to be a rare instance of the verb εἰδῶ- “to send?,” but obviously “to take” remains a valid option as well.

4.2.1 Complement clauses with verbs of reporting and desiring

Object clauses are a subcategory of complement clauses which may appear with verbs of reporting and desiring such as “believe,” “say,” “wish,” “think,” “write,” and so on. Grammatically speaking, Old

Nubian complement clauses do not differ from regular object clauses, or non-coreferential RCS in general. The subject of the complement clause, if overtly expressed, will appear in the genitive case, and the entire clause will be marked by the accusative case. As with regular non-coreferential attributive RCS, there is a complementary distribution between overt subject and the presence of agreement morphology.

31

π|CTEY[ei]CANA eñ aík eITPEKA
pisteu-eis-ana [_{comp} *ein ai-k eitr-es*]-ka
 believe-PT2-3PL 2SG.GEN 1SG-ACC send.TR-PT2-ACC
 “They believed that you sent me”

40

L. 107.11-12
ONG §4.7.1.2a

Here we find a complement clause dependent on the verb π|CTEY[ei]CANA, with a genitive subject and an embedded verb solely marked for tense. There is no overt agreement marking because the subject is explicit. The object clause eñ aík eITPEKA is marked with the accusative case as an object of the main verb π|CTEY[ei]CANA. Cf. also L. 107.4-5 ΚΟΜΟCΙΛ Δ[ΚΚΟΝ]ΝΟΔ̄ ΕΙΝ ΔΙΚ ΕΙΤΡΕΚΑ (*sic*) “So that the world knows that you sent me.”

ΔΟΛΛῪΜΟ ΟΥΚΑ ΕΙΔΡῪΓΔΔΘ̄ΔΕΝΚΑ
doll-immo [_{comp} *ou-ka*
 wish-AFF.1/2PL 1PL.EXCL-ACC
ear-il-gad-j-ad-en]-ka
 know-DET-CAUS-PLACT-FUT-PRS.2/3SG-ACC
 “We wish that you will inform (lit. cause to know) us”

41

St. 6.12-7.2
ONG §4.7.1.2b

In this example we find explicit person marking on the embedded verb owing to the absence of explicit subject. The object clause ΟΥΚΑ ΕΙΔΡῪΓΔΔΘ̄ΔΕΝΚΑ is marked with the accusative case as the object of the main verb ΔΟΛΛῪΜΟ.

If there is an explicit subject in the complement clause, it is marked by the accusative case.

ΔΙΟΝ' ΕΚ̄ΚΑ ΤΑΡΙΟΚΟΝ CΠΙΤΟΡ ΔΝΝΕΙΚΑ ΤῪΜΕΝΚΑ ΕΔ̄ΔΟ ΟΥΝΝΙΡΑΜΑ
ai-on [_{comp} *eik-ka tar-io-kon sipitor ann-eika*
 1SG-C 2SG-ACC 3SG-LOC-C foundation 1SG.GEN-ACC
tir-men]-ka *eid-do ounn-ir-a-ma*
 give.2/3-NEG-ACC 2SG-from love-PRS-PRED-COP
 “And I want from you to not give from it to you and to my founda-
 tion.”

42

P. QI 4 91.r.6-7

The subject of the complement clause $\epsilon\bar{k}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ is here marked by the accusative.⁴³ Ruffini translates slightly differently here, choosing to render $\epsilon\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Delta}\bar{a}\bar{o}$ as “for you.” This example shows several curious features, such as the absence of tense and agreement morphology in the verb of the complement clause $\tau\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{a}$.⁴⁴ Observe also the so-called copulative suffix $-n\bar{a}$ on the main verb,⁴⁵ with the element $-n$ that otherwise appears in emphatic environments such as the affirmative and vetitive. Finally, note the inverse order of possessed and possessor in $\text{CIPPTOP } \Delta\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{a}$, with the genitive $\Delta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ - following CIPPTOP .

- 43
SC 22.5-7
- $\Gamma\bar{\Delta}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{n} \text{ } \bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{y} \text{ } \epsilon\bar{k}\bar{k}\bar{a} \text{ } \epsilon\bar{k}\bar{k}\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{p}[\bar{\epsilon}]\bar{c}\bar{a} \text{ } \tau\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{a}$
 $\eta\bar{a}\bar{i}\text{-sin} \text{ } [\text{comp } \bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{u} \text{ } \bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{k}]\text{-ka } \bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{k}\text{-ka } \bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{s}\text{-a } \bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{r}\text{-r-a}$
 who-EMP naked be-ACC 2SG-ACC say-PRED give.2/3-PRS-PRED
 “Who told you that you were naked?” (Gen. 3:11)

In ex. 43 we find a double object construction, with indirect object $\epsilon\bar{k}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ and complement clause $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{y} \epsilon\bar{k}\bar{k}\bar{a}$. The double object construction is supported by the applicative verb $\tau\bar{r}$ -, usually translated with “to give.”

For comparison, observe the following two examples from Nobiin, respectively with an intransitive and transitive verb in the complement clause, which feature a similar construction with genitive-marked subject and accusative marker on the complement clause:

- 44
CF 365
Nobiin
- $[\text{comp } \bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{r}\text{-i}\bar{i}\bar{n} \text{ } \bar{k}\bar{i}\bar{r}\text{-e}\bar{e}] \text{ } \bar{k}\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{i}\text{-ri}$
 3SG-GEN come-COMP1 ACC wish/love-PRS.1SG
 “I wish him to come”

- 45
CF 378
Nobiin
- $[\text{comp } \bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{r}\text{-i}\bar{i}\bar{n} \text{ } \bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{a}\text{-ka } \bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{b}\text{-e}\bar{e}] \text{ } \bar{k}\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{f}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{g}\bar{i}\text{-ri}$
 3SG-GEN food-ACC eat-COMP1 ACC want-PRS.1SG
 “I want him to eat the food”

4.2.2 Complement clauses with verbs of ability

Other types of complement clauses have been attested in combination with variants of the verb $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{p}$ - “to be able,” which, just as the verbs of reporting in §2.2.1, takes a complement clause marked by the accusative case. The two following examples show such a complement clause construction embedded under $\epsilon\bar{i}\bar{p}$ -.

43 See also P. QI 1 4.3-4 *elon eimme tillika [...] tiddekka*.

44 The morphology of negative contexts is still not completely understood for Old Nubian. But cf. Nobiin example *tar fentiga kab-i* “He eats the date,” with tense/agreement suffix, and *tar fentiga kam-muun* with a negative portmanteau suffix (AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*, §3.1.1.1, table 31). Perhaps the same is the case with $\tau\bar{r}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{a}$.

45 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.10.

ċkeɣɪtt̄λdekeɣka \\ Δɪɾɪω τακ[κ]α αγογλōc̄κ̄ εɪρλγɪλλε
 iskel-itt-il-dekel-ka [∅ [_{rel} [_{comp} diar-iō tak-ka
 pray-NMLZ-DET-C-ACC death-LOC 3SG-ACC
 auoul-os]-ik eir]]-il-gille
 save-COMPL-ACC be.able-DET-DIR
 "...and prayer (ACC) to whom is able to save him (away/completely)
 from death."

46
 L. 105.12-13
 RTA 14

33

The complement clause Δɪɾɪω τακ[κ]α αγογλōc̄κ̄ is the object of the verb εɪρ- and therefore marked with the accusative -ċ. The entire free RC Δɪɾɪω τακ[κ]α αγογλōc̄κ̄ εɪρλγɪλλε is then marked with a determiner and directive suffix: "to whom is able to save him (away) from death." According to Bechhaus-Gerst, the suffix -ōc̄ in αγογλōc̄- should be interpreted as a "movement away from a [...] deictic center,"⁴⁶ which can also carry the meaning of fully completing a certain action, in casu the saving.

ṙm̄enta· eñ Δoyɛñ̄ maʔan trika· p̄kkɪgarol eñketaλ Δɪm̄innaɣarɪka/
 ir-men-ta [∅ [_{rel} ein douɲ-in mañan tri-ka
 be.able-NEG-NEG DEM.PROX blind-GEN eye.PL-ACC
 pikk-igar-o]]-l [_{comp} ein-ketal di-minn-a-gar]-ika
 awaken-CAUS-PT1.DET DEM.PROX-also die-NEG-PRED-CAUS-ACC
 "Is the one who opened the eyes of this blind man not also able to
 raise this one from the dead?" (Jn 11:37)

47
 P. QI 14.ii.13-15
 RTA 3

The main verb ṙm̄enta here shows the compounding of the two negative suffixes -m̄en and -ta, which is only attested with the verb ṙ- "to be able" and Δɪ- "to die."⁴⁷ Again note the absence of person morphology in the negative verb, as observed in ex. 42 τṙm̄enka. Assuming, with Browne, that we are dealing here with the introduction to a question "Is (he) not able to...?", the clause eñketaλ Δɪm̄innaɣarɪka is a complement to ṙm̄enta, marked by the accusative case -ka. The subject of ṙm̄enta is formed by the subject clause eñ Δoyɛñ̄ [...] p̄kkɪgarol "the one who opened the eyes of this blind man." eñ should not be interpreted as a relative pronoun, as these never appear in free RCs.

Again we find a similar construction in Nobiin:

[_{comp} ay sirig-ka kay-inan]-ga esk-ir-i
 1SG boat-ACC make-INF-ACC be.able-PRS-1SG
 "I am able to make a boat"

48
 CF 353
 Nobiin

46 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, 156. The directionality of the perfective suffix is contested by JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, "Semantic Change and Heterosemy of Dongolawi ed," pp. 128-9.

47 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.20. See also BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 163, and SMAGINA, "Einige Probleme der Morphologie des Altnubischen," p. 395.

4.3 Other free relative clauses

Except for subject and object positions, free RCS may also appear in other positions in the sentence.

34 49 ογελ τῚλ ἀλλιογῖακα ψαλλῖγογλαδᾶλ ψαλῖμενεῖν τῖλογ τακκα ἀγολκα
 K. 29.8-11 δειραλο·
 HN, p. 208 ouel tir-l [Ø [rel allilouia-ka psall]]-il-gou-l-dal
 anyone-DET Alleluia-ACC sing.psalms-DET-PL-DET-COM
 psal-ēmen-en
 sing.psalms-NEG-PRS.2/3SG
 [till-ou [rel tak-ka au-o]]-l-ka aeir-a-lo
 God-J 3SG-ACC make-PT1-DET-ACC insult-PRED-FOC
 “If anyone does not sing with those who sing Alleluia, he insults the
 God who made him”

The free RC here is ἀλλιογῖακα ψαλλῖγογλαδᾶλ⁴⁸ “with those who sing Alleluia,” with the antecedent “those” implied.

50 ΓΕΝῚΤΚΑ· ΟΝΚΕΛ· ΔΙΠΑ· ΤῖΛῖ· ΟΥΝΤῖΔᾶλ· ΠΕΛῖ· ΟΥῚΡΑϸῖ· ΕῖΝᾶϸῖ·
 P. QI 2 18.iv.2-6 [Ø [rel genkit-ka on-ke]]-l appa
 RTA 26 goodness.NMLZ-ACC love-CONSUE-DET for
 [Ø [rel till-in ount-il-dal pel]]-in ouer-a-sin
 God-GEN love-DET-COM be-GEN one-PRED-EMP
 enn-a-sin
 be-PRED-EMP
 “For who loves goodness is one of those who are with the love of
 God”

This example contains two free RCS, the first ΓΕΝῚΤΚΑ· ΟΝΚΕΛ as subject of the sentence and the second ΤῖΛῖ· ΟΥΝΤῖΔᾶλ· ΠΕΛῖ as a genitive belonging to ΟΥῚΡΑϸῖ. Satzinger suggests an “unexpected” interpretation of the suffix -ῖ in ΠΕΛῖ as third person singular morpheme, whereas the fact that the RC precedes its antecedent and the presence of the verb ΠΕΛ-, which besides “to be” can also mean “to come out,” suggest here a genitive case.

We are now able to analyze a complicated sentence such as the complete verse of Heb. 6:7, which contains a number of embedded RCS:

51 ἘΚΤΟΥ ΓΕΔΙΑΝΝΟ ἄ[ΡΟΥ ΤΑ]ΔᾶΩ ὄΩΝΑ ΣΟΥΚΚΟΛΚΑ ΣΙΡΙΠΑ ΕΤΑ ΤΟ[ΡΑ(?)]
 P. QI 1.17.1.12-15 ΔΕϸ ΔΕϸϸΟΥ ΕΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΚΑ· ΕῖΝ ΤΑΚ<Κ>Α ΤΟΡ[ΠΑ]ΚΚῖΓΟΥΚΑ ΠΕΕΙᾶ ὄϸΑ
 RTA 40 ῖὄῖᾶΔε τῖλλῖοῶ[α] ταογῖκα ἔταραγογελο·

48 Browne writes ψαλλῖ γογλαδᾶλ.

[iskt-ou [_{rel} [_{app} *nedian-no* [arou [_{rel} *tad-dō jōn-a*
 earth-J often-LOC rain 3SG-upon strike-PRED
soukk-o]]-l-ka *sirip-a et-a tor-a*]
 descend-PT1-DET-ACC drink-PRED take-PRED enter-PRED
 [*des dess-ou* [_{rel} *el-takk-ou*]]-l-ka
 crop green-J obtain-PASS-PT1-DET-ACC
 [∅ [_{rel} *ein* [*tak-ka torpak-k*]]]-il-gou-ka
 REL 3SG-ACC harvest-CONSUEP-DET-PL-ACC
peei-a os-a tij-j]]-il-de
 produce-PRED come.out-PRED give.2/3-PLACT-DET-C
till-illo-jōa taoue-ka et-ara-goue-lo
 God-LOC-through blessing-ACC receive-PT1.PRED-PL.PRED-FOC
 “And the earth which, drinking up the rain that often strikes upon
 it, produces obtained green crops for those who harvest it, received
 blessing(s?) from God” (*Heb. 6:7*)

The subject of the verb at the end of the sentence, ἔταρα- is the entire clause ἔκτοϋ [...] πεειᾶ ὄσα τῶδιλλε “and the earth which produces....” The RC ending in the verbal complex πεειᾶ ὄσα τῶδιλλε- has as its object ΔΕC ΔΕCCOY ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΚΑ “obtained green crops,” with a slightly curious verb ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛ-. I have opted here to interpret the morpheme -ΟΥ as a variant of the preterite 1 morpheme, both because it is a coreferential attributive RC (cf. §7 below) and an interpretation as an agreement suffix would make no sense. The indirect object, supported by the applicative verb τῶ-, is the free RC Εἰ τὰκ<κ>α τῶρ[ια]κκλγοϋκα “for those who harvest it.” All of this is preceded by a lengthy apposition ΕΛΔΙΑΝΝΟ [...] ΣΙΡΙΠΑ ΕΤΑ ΤΟ[ΡΑ(?)] “drinking up the rain that often strikes upon it,” which in turn contains a coreferential attributive RC with antecedent ἄ[ροϋ. Note that both COYKOKKA and ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΚΑ retain the determiner before the accusative case.

5 Relative clauses and predicative -α

As Satzinger points out, in case the antecedent of an RC is marked with the predicative, both the RC and its antecedent will feature the predicative suffix. The predicative -α therefore behaves differently from genuine case markings such as the accusative -κα and genitive -να, which only appear at the right edge of the noun phrase. The precise syntactical structure underlying the assignment of the predicative case, however, still lacks clarification. What follows will therefore be a description of the different types of RCs that we have

encountered in the previous sections in the different contexts in which a predicative suffix appears.⁴⁹

5.1 *Nominal predicates*

36

The predicative suffix -*a* first of all indicates the main verbal or nominal predicate of a sentence. In case the nominal predicate is accompanied by a RC, it is also marked with the predicative.

52
L. 111.7-9
ONG §4.6a

καταπετασμα ογογκαλο παλα κιλλον \\\ εαγειρα εεε[ιγογ]να εεεααλο
οκτακνη \\\

[\emptyset [_{rel} *katapetasma ouou-ka-lo pal-a kil*]]-*l-on*
veil second-ACC-FOC come.out-PRED come-DET-C

[*ηαueir-a* [_{rel} *ηiss-igou-na ηiss-a-a-lo*
tent-PRED holy-PL-GEN holy-PRED-QUOTE-FOC
ok-tak-n]]-*a*

call-PASS-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

“And that which comes after the second veil is the tabernacle, which is called the Holy of Holies” (*Heb. 9:3*)

The subject of the nominal predicate εαγειρα is a subject clause καταπετασμα ογογκαλο παλα κιλλον, and it is accompanied by the attributive RC εεε[ιγογ]να εεεααλο οκτακνη. As we expect, both the nominal predicate and the RC are marked by the predicative suffix.

5.2 *Complex verbal predicates*

What Browne calls “periphrastic” constructions are in fact not essentially different from the complement clauses we have discussed above in §4.2.1-2, namely a full sentence embedded under a verb. In most instances of such constructions,⁵⁰ the main verb is a copula without any overt tense marking, whereas the RC is marked with the predicative, like a regular nominal or verbal predicate. The embedded verb can either appear with or without agreement morphology. I will just give a number of representative examples.

53
M. 1.8-11
ONG §3.9.14

ταρον μιρα εγεμεδε ογνηναρα μενναλω'

tar-on mir-a ag-ende

3SG-C be.barren-PRED remain-NEG

[[*ounn-ar*]-*a men-n*]-*a-lō*

bear-PT1-PRED NEG-PRS.2/3SG-PRED-FOC

“And she, remaining barren, did not bear”

49 I follow here the observations made in “A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme -*a* in Nominal and Verbal Predicates.”

50 I include here only what Browne refers to as “predicative” and “indicative” periphrastic constructions (*Browne, Old Nubian Grammar*, §§3.9.14-15).

τῖκῖῖνον ἡῶρκλο παῶανασῶ· ἡῶρκῶ Δεῖαρκα Γεγρα ἔνεῖνεῶῶγῖ
tikkin-non imjirk-lo paj-anasō
 nevertheless-C disobedience-LOC cease-IMP.3PL
imjirk-il [[*deiar-ka neg-r*]-a
 disobedience-DET death-ACC produce-PRS-PRED
en-en]-nejoun
 be-PRS.2/3SG-because
 “But nevertheless disobedience, because disobedience produces death”

54
K. 24.4-7
ONG §3.9.14

37

ἀρῖςτακκαεῖον εῖῖῖῖῖ εῖῖῖῖῖε τῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ
 [[*armis-tak-k*]-a-eion *ein-d-n*]-a
 judge-PASS-PRS-PRED-C be-FUT-PRS.2/3SG-PRED
eig-il-de tiaf-il-dekel-lo
 fire-DET-C sulphur-DET-C-LOC
 “And he will be judged in fire and sulphur” (Rev. 14:10)

55
P. QI 19.i.22-ii.2
ONG §3.9.14

In this example, the copula εῖῖῖῖῖ contains the modal suffix -ῖ, giving the entire verbal complex a future sense. Note also the progressive assimilation of the present (or neutral) tense marker -ῖ after -τακ in ἀρῖςτακκαεῖον.

As we have observed above, agreement morphology appears in the embedded verb at the moment the subject of the embedded verb is not coreferential with the subject of the copula:

ἄλεσῖ ὀγῖῖῖῖ ἔνεῖῖῖῖῖ· χριστιῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ
ale-sin [[*ounn-r-e*] *en-en*]-non
 truly-EMP bear-PRS-1SG.PRED be-PRS.2/3SG-C
khristianos-aj-ad-imme
 Christian-INCH-FUT-AFF.1SG.PRED
 “If I give birth, I will become a Christian”

56
M. 6.8-10
ONG §3.9.15

ὄῶῖῖκα ἡῖῖῖῖ ἡῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ ἡῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ
 [-*jouri-ka mindi mindi-lo pes-in*]-a
 -about-ACC individually-LOC say-PRS.2/3SG-PRED
doum-men-ess-in
 exist-NEG-PT2-2/3SG
 “... about ... it is impossible to speak individually” (Heb. 9:5)

57
L. 112.1-2
ONG §4.6C

Browne analyzes the verb here as *doum-men-es-sin*, with the emphatic marker -cῖ. However, the positioning of a verb marked with this suffix at the end of sentence is unexpected, and with the beginning of the sentence missing no definitive grammatical analysis can be given.

Complex verbal predicates can of course in turn be embedded, such as in the following example:

- 58 ΔΟΓΔΡΙΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΦΑΛΟΣΚΛΩ ΤΑΡΑ [\\] ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜΙΩ ΚΙΣΑΝΑ ΠΕΣΡΔΓΟΥ[Ē]
 38 L. 113.3-5
 ONG §3.9.14
dogd-ri-gou-l mašalosk-lo tar-a ierousalm-io
 magus-PL-PL-DET east-LOC come-PRED Jerusalem-LOC
ki-s-an-a [_{rel} [*pes-r*]-a-goue ein]-il
 come-PT2-3PL-PRED say-PRS-PRED-PL-PRED be-DET
 “The magi, coming from the east, arrived in Jerusalem, and said: ...”

The RC ΠΕΣΡΔΓΟΥ[Ē] ΕΙΝΙΛ is attributive to ΔΟΓΔΡΙΓΟΥΛ in spite of its distance. And although it is nominalized with the determiner -ιλ, the internal structure of the clause remains the same: the copula ΕΙΝ- preceded by an RC marked by the predicative suffix, as well as number agreement with its antecedent.

5.3 Vocative or appellative contexts

The predicative -α appears also in vocative or appellative environments, where someone is called or called upon.

- 59 ΟΝΤΑΚΡΑΓΟΥĒΚΕ
 M. 1.5; St. 2.9
 et passim
 RTA 23
 [∅ [_{rel} *on-tak-r*]]-a-goue-ke
 love-PASS-PRS-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
 “You, beloved”

- 60 ΤΑΝΝΑΣΩ ΔΠΟΝΑ ΤΑΡΟΥΑΣΑΓΟΥĒΚΕ
 St. 29.10-12
 RTA 24
tan-nasō [∅ [_{rel} *apo-na*
 come-IMP.2PL 1SG.POSS.father-GEN
tarou-as-s]]-a-goue-ke
 bless-TR-PT2-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
 “Come, you, whom my father blessed”

Both examples contain a free RC which is marked by a predicative -α, with plural predicative suffix -ουĒ, and in both cases a special vocative suffix that refers to the second person plural “you,” -κε. Otherwise the RC seems to behave grammatically like the ones discussed above, such as marking the subject with a genitive case.

Other examples are grammatically a bit more complex:

ΕΟΚΚΟΡΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟCῆ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟCΟΥ ΕCῆCΟΥ ΜΗΝΑΝΑ ΔΥCΑΛΩ
 [ηokkor-a [_{rel} khristos-in marturos-ou ηiss-ou
 miracle-PRED Christ-GEN martyr-J holy-J
 mēna-na au-s]-a-lō
 Mina-GEN do-PT2-PRED-FOC

“(It is) a miracle performed by Mina, the holy martyr of Christ”

61
 M. 1.1-3
 ONG §4.6a
 RTA 21

We are dealing here with regular non-coreferential attributive RC in which both the antecedent ΕΟΚΚΟΡΑ and RC ΧΡΙCΤΟCῆ [...] ΔΥCΑ- are marked with the predicative -α. The RC shows no agreement marking, as the subject is overtly expressed, with a genitive suffix. The example in question is the first sentence of the text known as the Miracle of St Mina (or Menas) and as such functions as a type of announcement or caption for the entire story.

This vocative-like usage of the predicative suffix also appears in other contexts, for example in one of Griffith’s graffiti. I give here an extensive fragment:

ΠΕΤΡΟCῆ ΖΑΡΜΙ ΖῆΤῆ ΤΕΡΕΓΟΥΚΑ ΚΟΦῆΡΑ ΔΙ ΕΙ Δ’ ΠΕCῆCΙ ΓΑΠΕΓΟΥΚΑ
 ΤΟΚΑΡΑ ΔΙΝΕCΩ ΔΗΝΑ ΔΦΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΡΡΩ ΔΙΚΑ ΜΑΤΤΑΚΑ ΚΙΠΡΑ ΓῆΤΑΜΙCΩ
 petros-i [_{rel} harm-i kolotit-in tere-gou-ka koñ-j-r]-a
 Peter-J heaven-J seventh-GEN key-PL-ACC have-PLACT-PRS-PRED
 [_{rel} [_{rel} ai ei-a pes-s]-i ηape]-gou-ka tok-ar]-a
 1SG say-PRED say-PT2-J sins-PL-ACC forgive-PT1-PRED
 din-esō an-na añ-en oukour-rō
 give.1-IMP.2SG 1SG-GEN life-GEN day-LOC
 ai-ka matta-ka kivr-a git-tamisō
 1SG-ACC affliction-ACC eat.TR-PRED CAUS-VET.2SG

“Peter, who has the keys of the seventh heaven, who has forgiven the sins that I have spoken, give, do not cause my affliction to consume me in the days of my life”⁵¹

62
 gr. 4.1-3
 RTA 38
 = ex. 20

Peter, the one who is called upon here by the author of the graffiti, is qualified by two coreferential attributive RCs, both ending in the predicative suffix -α. The first coreferential attributive RC shows the pattern we have seen before, whereas the second one contains an additional non-coreferential attributive RC ΔΙ ΕΙ Δ’ ΠΕCῆCΙ, with the antecedent ΓΑΠΕΓΟΥΚΑ (see ex. 20 for discussion). This lengthy appellation to Peter is then followed by an imperative ΔΙΝΕCΩ and a vetitive ΚΙΠΡΑ ΓῆΤΑΜΙCΩ.

51 BROWNE, “Griffith’s Old Nubian Graffito 4,” p. 19, translates “O Peter, you who have the keys of the 7 heavens, forgive me for the sins that I uttered. Cause me not to eat tribulation in the time of my life,” interpreting ΤΟΚΑΡΑ as an imperative and ΔΙΚΑ as the object of ΓῆΤΑΜΙCΩ instead of ΚΙΠΡΑ.

5.4 *Adjunctive/appositional clauses*

Satzinger gives a few other examples in which the predicative -a appears. These, however, are not proper RCS, i.e. with a fully developed clausal structure including tense and subject and/or agreement morphology, but rather embedded verb phrases without any higher projection, without possible subject, and without ever featuring a relative pronoun. Needless to say, all of them are coreferential.

40

63

St. 175-8
RTA 19

παπα Γαλλα ΔΟΥλλα· Γα παπαλ̄ ΔΟΥλλα·

pap-a [_{app} *ɲal-la* *doull*]-*a* *ɲa* [_{app} *pap-la* *doull*]-*a*
father-PRED son-DAT exist-PRED son.PRED father-DAT exist-PRED
“Father being in the son, son being in the father”

64

P. QI 110.C.ii.7
RTA 20

οΥρογ̄ τ̄κα οΥννα

ourou-a [_{app} *til-ka* *ounn*]-*a*
king-PRED God-ACC love-PRED
“God-loving king”

65

P. QI 2 16.vi.11-vii.2
RTA 22

ē k̄π̄τα χριστοσικα οΥνναγοϋεκε

e [_{app} *k̄ipt-a* [*khristos-ka* *ounn*]]-*a-goue-ke*
oh people-PRED Christ-ACC love-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
“O Christ-loving people”

5.5 *Topicalization of the antecedent*

There are a few recorded cases of RCS with an antecedent marked by the predicative suffix that seems to have moved to a more leftward position. In all of these cases we are dealing with a topicalized antecedent, as signaled by the appearance of the “emphatic” suffix -c̄n⁵² and the predicative suffix. However, as predicative morphology is not always present in the RC itself (as in exx. 52–62), it may be the case that this assignment only takes place after movement of the antecedent. In all examples below, the movement is not visible on the surface. The intuition that leftward movement is involved derives from 1) the fact that -c̄n does not always appear in these contexts and that its presence must be linked to a specific syntactic position in the sentence, and 2) the abundant presence of -c̄n in contexts of quantifier raising, which in other languages explicitly features leftward movement (see §5.6). This type of c̄n-topicalization is allowed from both coreferential and non-coreferential attributive clauses.

52 There is no room here for a full discussion of the -c̄n morpheme, which has been analyzed by SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,” pp. 195ff; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.10; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary: Appendices*, pp. 28–37, esp. p. 31 “Predicative + -c̄n as Antecedent”; and Bechhaus-Gerst, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, pp. 103–4.

CTAΥTOCĀ ʌʌΦIKEPALŌ· TĻʌCĀŅ ĞʌʌʌO TʌʌʌO OʌʌʌOʌOʌ
stauros-il adñike-r-a-lo till-a-sin_i
 CROSS-DET life.giving-PRS-PRED-FOC God-PRED-EMP
 [t_i [_{rel} *gad-lo tad-dō oll-o*]-l-lojō-a
 flesh-LOC 3SG-upon hang-PTI-DET-because-PRED
 “The cross is life-giving, because of God who hung upon it in the
 flesh”

66
 St. 277-10
 ONG §4.6a
 RTA 49

41

In this example, TĻʌCĀŅ has apparently moved to the left, and has been marked by the emphatic suffix -cñ. Note that the RC ĞʌʌʌO OʌʌʌOʌOʌ is marked with the predicative -ʌ.

EʌOʌA TĻʌʌ OYŅʌ· OYŅ ʌEʌĜOYŅʌEION ĒCOYĜIʌEPʌ· ʌĪĜOYĒCĀŅ EʌPEʌO
 TOYKŅʌ KOPKA ĒTOʌĜOYŅʌEION İʌTOPOʌʌ·
ηod-a till-a ou-na
 Lord-PRED God-PRED 1PL.EXCL-GEN
ou-n aeil-gou-na-eion esoggi-der-a
 1PL.EXCL-GEN heart-PL-GEN-C release-NMLZ-PRED
ai-a-goue-sin_i ηape-lo toukm-a
 heart-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP sin-LOC stink-PRED
 [t_i [_{rel} *kor-ka et-o*]-l-gou-na-eion iatoros-a
 wound-ACC receive-PTI-DET-PL-GEN-C doctor-PRED
 “God, our Lord, and deliverance of our hearts, and doctor of wound-
 ed hearts, stinking in sin”

67
 St. 4.7-5.1
 RTA 50

This series of appeals to God contains one RC KOPKA ĒTOʌĜOYŅʌEION, with the antecedent ʌĪĜOYĒCĀŅ, which clearly has moved out of genitive construction into a higher position in the phrase, where it has been marked with the emphatic marker -cñ, and the predicative marker -ʌ. More clear than ex. 66, this example is perhaps evidence of cñ-topicalization as both the predicative -ʌ and -cñ are assigned in the target position, whereas the RC is not marked by the predicative, but rather with the genitive, as attributive to İʌTOPOʌʌ.

XPICTIʌNOCIGOYŅ EIHŅYTOYĻ ΠECPAN OYĻĜPA· TʌWĒKʌGOYĒCĀŅ EʌCOY
 MŅNAŅʌ MʌPEʌŌTŅŅ KĒCEʌʌ ʌYʌĜOYKʌ·
kristianos-igou-n eilēu-gou-l pes-ran oulgr-a
 Christian-PL-GEN woman.PL-PL-DET talk-PRS.3PL hear-PRED
tōek-a-goue-sin_i [t_i [_{rel} ηiss-ou mēna-na
 miracle-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP holy-J Mina-GEN
mareōt-in kisse-la au-j]]-il-gou-ka
 Mareotis-GEN church-DAT do-PLACT-DET-PL-ACC
 “Hearing the women of the Christians talk about the miracles that
 Saint Mina performed in the church of Mareotis”

68
 M. 2.14-17
 RTA 51

respectively. Also note that the plural object marker -οδ in τΙΟΔΙCΝΑ refers to the antecedent Μ[Ω]ΥΑΝ-.

5.7 Quantifier raising

44

Satzinger points out that it is “remarkable” that the construction with -cñ as discussed in §5.3 often appears in the context of the quantifiers ΜΩΥΑΝ “all” and ΟΜΙΜΛ “everyone.” This fact, however, seems to support our initial intuition that a constituent marked by predicative and -cñ has moved out of its original position to a higher position (cf. §5.4). This type of movement in the scope of quantifiers is commonly referred to as “quantifier raising,” a result of the interaction between semantics and syntax levels of representation. I repeat here the examples given by Satzinger, which are otherwise grammatically akin to the examples adduced in the previous sections.

72
K. 22.4-9
RTA 53

ΕΙΤΑ ΜΩΥΑΝΑCΙΝ ΤΛΛ ΤΑCΕΛΔΟ ΑΥΟΥΓΟΥΓΛ ΔΙΟΥΓΞΝ· ΤΛΛΩΡΟ ΟΥΕΚΑ
ΕΛΜΕΝΔΙΝΝΑΛΟ·
[*eit-a miššan*]-a-sin_i [t_i [_{rel} *till-il taŋs-il-do*
man-PRED all-PRED-EMP God-DET(sic!) name-DET-in
auou]]-l-gou-l *aiouil-en till-il-oro*
do-DET-PL-DET be.grudging?-PRS.2/3SG God-DET-from
ouel-ka el-men-d-inna-lo
one-ACC obtain-NEG-FUT-PRS.2/3SG.PRED-FOC
“All men who act in God’s name, when grudging(?), will obtain
nothing from God”

73
P. QI 1 4.i.12-13
RTA 54

ΔΨΙΡΑ ΜΩΥΑΝΑ{Δ}CÑ· ΔΙΔΓΛΛΕ ΠCΤΕΥΛΟΝ ΔΙΜΕΝΤΑΛΟ ΕΛΛΕΝΓΟΥΛΟ
ΚCΚΛΛΟ·
[*añir-a miššan*]-a-sin_i [t_i [_{rel} *ai-agille pisteu*]]-l-on
living.being-PRED all-PRED-EMP 1SG-DIR believe-DET-C
di-men-ta-lo ellen-gou-lo kiskil-lo
die-NEG-NEG-FOC eternity-PL-LOC until-LOC
“And all living beings who believe in me do not die until eternity”
(Jn. 11:27)

74
St. 3.3-8
RTA 57
ONG §4.6a

ΟΜΙΜΛΔΓΟΥΞCÑ ΤΕΝ ΔΕΞ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΛΟ CΤΑΥΡΟCΔΓΛΛΕ ΠΙCΤΕΥΟΛΓΟΥΛΛΟΝ
ΤΑΥΩΛΟ ΓΟΝΟΔ ΔΟΥΔΙΝΝΑ·
jimmil-a-goue-sin_i [t_i [_{rel} *ten aeil ouatto-loi*
everyone-PRED-PL.PRED 3PL.GEN heart entire-LOC
stauros-lagille pisteu-o]]-l-gou-ll-on *tauō-lo ŋonj-il*
cross-DIR believe-PT1-DET-PL-DET-C under-LOC stand-DET
dou-d-inna
exist-FUT-PRS.2/3SG.PRED
“And everyone who believed in the cross with their entire heart will
stand under (it)”

In all three examples we find that the constituent including the quantifier has moved to the first position in the clause, leaving behind the RC. Note that we have observed in §5.6 that in a neutral environment RCs always precede a quantifier. In exx. 72–4, however, we find that they all have moved and have been marked by the predicative marker -a and the emphatic marker -cñ.

45

Whereas exx. 72–4 all showed subjects containing a quantifier, the following examples all feature an object containing a quantifier. In each case the quantifier has moved up to the left edge of the constituent.

ē an p̄ḏṭa petrōci on oγpoy an eḷḷaeyōyēke· oγλλo eiēpa
 ɛ[ɛ]eiḏ m̄w̄ḡanaγoyēcñ· ioyḏaiōcpi mam̄c{·}kayeyōyna ai[ḏ]r̄llē
 ayeyōcānγoyṅka·

75

St. 8.5–10
 RTA 55

e an pidt-a petros-i on
 oh 1SG.GEN friend-PRED Peter-J C
our-ou an eyhae-goue-ke
 2PL-J 1SG.GEN brother.PL.PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
oul-lo eier-a [neyi-a miššan]-a-goue-sin_i
 2PL-FOC know.PRS-PRED thing-PRED all-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP
 [t_i [_{rel} ioudaios-ri mamiskaei-gou-na ai-agille
 Jew-PL unjust.PL-PL-GEN 1SG-DIR
au-eij-s-an]]-gou-n-ka
 do-PLACT-PT2-3PL-PL-?-ACC
 “Oh Peter, my friend, and you, my brothers, you know all the things
 that the unjust Jews did to me”

Note here the presence of both an overt subject ioyḏaiōcpi mam̄c{·}kayeyōyna and agreement morphology in the embedded verb ayeyōcān- (cf. ex. 69), and also observe the curious presence of the *nu* before the accusative -ka, which unfortunately remains unexplained.

onketalle ḏpoyāγaramh· ḏimlāγoyēcñ tan c̄ṭayp[oc̄l]ḏw teelγoyka·
 on-ketalle arouagar-a-mē
 c-also protect.CAUS-PRED-IMP.2/3SG

76

St. 29.3–6
 RTA 56

jimmil-a-goue-sin_i
 everyone-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP
 [t_i [_{rel} tan istauros-il-dō teei]]-l-gou-ka
 3SG.GEN cross-DET-in hope-DET-PL-ACC
 “And also protect everyone who hopes in his cross”

77
SC 7.14-16
RTA 64

ΚΟΛΑΤΚΗΜΑ ΤΛΛΛ' ΕΙΤΑ ΟΥΕΛ ΤΙΔΑΔΟΝ ΟΥΕΡΛΑΔΩ ΔΚΑ ΘΑΛΑΔΟΥ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΚΑ
ΓΛΛΑ ΕΚΚΚΚΑ'
kolat-k-imma till-il [eit-a ouel tid]-a-sin_i
like-CONSUET-AFF.2/3SG God-DET man-PRED anyone-PRED-EMP
ouer-il-dō ak-a
mountain-DET-upon sit-PRED
[_{t_i} [_{rel} *thalas-ou ouatto-ka gill-a ηik-k*]]-ik-ka
sea-J entire-ACC consider-PRED see-CONSUET?-DET-ACC
“God is like any man, sitting upon a mountain, who is considering
the entire sea”

46

I would like to emphasize again that in all above examples of cñ-topicalization, the topicalized antecedent cannot move out of its constituent, but only moves to its leftmost position, as in above example. This only makes sense under the assumption of head raising movement, a possible interpretative framework for Old Nubian RCs that I have referred to earlier. This becomes clear when we contrast exx. 72-7 with an example in which the constituent that is topicalized by -cñ is not the antecedent of an attributive RC.

78
P. QI 2 16.1.1-2
RTA 52
ONG §4.6a

ΘΡ<ε>ΣΕΝ ΣΑΛΑΔΙΝ ΠΕΣΣΙΝΑΔΩ ΤΛΛΙΝΑ ΟΥΝΕΚΑΤΤΟΥ ΕΣΣΟΥ' ΚΙΡΙΛΛΩΣΕΙ
ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΙΜΙΝΑ ΠΑΠΑΔΟΥ ΕΣΣΕΝΩΚΛ:
[ōrese-n sal]-a-sin_i pes-s-in-a-lo_j
praise-GEN speech-PRED-EMP say-PT2-3SG-PRED-FOC
till-ina ounekatt-ou ηiss-ou kirillōs-ei ierusalim-ina
God-GEN wise-J holy-J Cyril-J Jerusalem-GEN
papas-ou ηissenōk-il t_i t_j
father-J holy-DET
“(It is) a speech of praise made by the holy wise man of God, Cyril
holy father of Jerusalem.”

Superficially, this example is similar to ex. 61, functioning as a sort of captioning to the text that follows, in this case a sermon on the four creatures. There are however, notable differences. First of all, it features the suffix -CIN, which we are by now acquainted with. Furthermore, it seems that the verb has moved out of its original position at the end of the clause. Observe also that the verb has person morphology, while the subject of the clause ΤΛΛΙΝΑ [...] ΕΣΣΕΝΩΚΛ is simply marked with a determiner, as we would expect in a regular sentence. So it seems that we are not dealing with an extraction of an antecedent from an RC, as is suggested by Satzinger, but rather with a different kind of inversion, based on a regular SOV sentence; the translation with a passive in English therefore only imitates the word order, but not the morphology. What we are dealing with is

ⲁⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ - starting out as an object of ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲓⲛⲁ-, within the usual SOV order of an Old Nubian sentence, but which is subsequently topicalized with the predicative and -ⲥⲓⲛ, moving to the leftmost position in the sentence. What the head raising analysis of RC predicts, is that this type of long-distance movement would be impossible for antecedents in an RC. This seems to be confirmed by exx. 72-7.

47

6 Extraposition

Old Nubian is an SOV language, meaning that modifiers in general precede heads. We have already seen that most attributive RCS, except for certain non-coreferential attributive RCS (§3.3.1), RCS of time, place, and manner (§3.3.2), and RCS in the scope of quantifiers (§5.6), do not follow this pattern. This situation can be accounted for through the head raising analysis of RCS, an analysis that is empirically supported by the existence of anaphors (§3.4), and the constraints on ⲥⲓⲛ-topicalization and quantifier raising (§5.7). However, in some cases we find that material is transported to the right edge of the clause, usually in a position following the main verb of the sentence. We speak of extraposition when a constituent is partially or fully moved to the right edge of the main clause, therefore appearing after the main verb in its original position.⁵⁶ Extraposition regularly happens in case of “heavy” constituents, such as coordinated noun phrases, as can be noticed from the following examples. Extraposition only seems to appear in the case of non-coreferential RCS.

ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲧⲓⲟⲛⲓ ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩⲧⲕⲁ ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲛ
 ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲟⲥⲓⲕⲁ
ein-mon ein-na aṛj ellen ketallen
 DEM.PROX-C be-PRS.2/3SG life eternal
 [*eir-ou till-ou tijn-i aurot*]-ka ⲧ_i *ear-i*
 2SG-J God-J true-J alone-ACC know-PRED?
 [*on* [_{rel} *eit-iss*]-*ou iēsous-i khristos*]-ika_i
 c send-PT2-J Jesus-J Christ-ACC
 “And this is the eternal life: to know you, the only true God and
 Jesus Christ whom you sent” (Jn. 17:3)

79

SC 9.11-14
 ONG §4.6a
 = ex. 21

The extraposition of the second part of the coordinated noun phrase that is the object of ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲣⲓ is straightforward, as it is moved to the right edge of the main clause. The extraposed clause ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲟⲥ- itself contains a RC without, however, an explicit subject, as

⁵⁶ Verbs marked by -ⲗⲟ or with affirmative or imperative case marking often move to a position higher up in the sentence. See also the commentary to ex. 80.

48

we would expect. Perhaps the fact that the subject is very obvious (i.e., God), allows for it to remain implicit. The interpretation of the verb εἰδῆρι is less straightforward. Browne rightly indicates a parallel, if fragmentary, passage in L. 106.18, where again we find εἰδῆρι \\ ON €[i]-. Scribal error therefore seems to be unlikely. The parallel Textus Receptus of *Jn.* 17:3 has the regular active form γινώσκωσιν. Considering the fact that the entire phrase εἰροϋ [...] χριστοσικα is an apposition to the predicate ἀφ᾽ ἑλλεν κεταλλεν, the expected morpheme would be a predicative -α. Perhaps we are dealing here with a weakening of -α > -ι. This intuition seems to be supported by ex. 38, in which we find εἰδῆρι Δολλιεῖκα, again with an *iota* instead of an *alpha*.

80

P. QI 2 13.ii.2-5
RTA 29

[ΓΟΔΛ̄] ΠΕΣΑΔ̄ΙΜΑ ΠΑΑΡΤΛΑ Κ̄Π̄ΤΟΥΓ[Ο]Υ[Λ]ΔΕ / ΟΝ̄ ΕΙΝ̄ΓΟΥΝ
 ΦΙΚΕΡΙΓΟΥΛΔΕΚΕΛΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΝΝΩ ΚΑΕΙ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ //
 ηod-il pes-ad-imma paar-t-la [kipt-ougou-l-de on
 Lord-DET say-FUT-AFF.2/3SG write-NMLZ-DAT people-PL-DET-C C
 τ̄i ein-in]-gou-n [ʃike-ri-gou-l-dekel-gou-l
 be-PRS.3SG-PL-GEN ruler-PL-PL-DET-C-PL-DET
 [rel man-nō kaei doull-a]]-n_i
 DEM.DIST-LOC born.PRED? exist-PT1-GEN
 “God will say in the writing of the people and the rulers who were
 born there” (Ps. 86:6)

Browne translates this sentence with “The Lord will say in the writing: “The people and the rulers of these who are born here.” The issue with this translation is that it fails to account for the genitives on both ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ and the auxiliary verb ΕΙΝ̄ΓΟΥΝ depending on ΠΑΑΡΤΛΑ, with the heavy noun phrase ΦΙΚΕΡΙΓΟΥΛΔΕΚΕΛΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΝΝΩ ΚΑΕΙ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ extraposed to the right edge of the sentence. The actual translation is therefore much closer to the Greek of *Ps.* 86:6 ἐν γραφῇ λαῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων... than Browne’s rendering suggests. The question however remains why the Old Nubian here uses the auxiliary verb ΕΙΝ-. Perhaps this again has to do with the weight of the noun phrase “of the people and the princes who are born there.” Note also that unlike the previous ex. 79, the conjunction ΟΝ̄ is left behind in the first part of the coordinated noun phrase. Note also that the verb ΠΕΣΑΔ̄ΙΜΑ has moved leftward, as can be also seen in other examples, such as exx. 32, 41, 77, 87. This leftward verb movement is supposedly related to the presence of the affirmative suffix -ΜΑ.⁵⁷

This type of extraposition appears to happen with certain RCS, where the entirety of the attributive RC is extraposed to the right edge of the main clause, that is, after the main verb. There seems to

57 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.10.

be a difference between extraposition of RCS that contain an overt subject and those who do not. Whereas the former do not repeat the case marking of their antecedent on the right edge, the latter do. It remains unclear, however, why this difference exists.

6.1 Relative clauses without overt subject/with agreement

49

...]λαππα ακδακτακαρα[cñ] \\ [ταρι]α λιχхинδινδε \\ τρεπιτσιλα[ε]
 [παρ]ογ ουσκογρτñ`γογλ'δεκεννα ΔΟΥΕσαν
 [...lappa_i t_j] akdak-tak-ara-sin [rel tar-ia_i likkhindin-de
 tabernacle set.up-PASS-PT1.PRED-EMP 3SG-DAT lampstand-C
 trapis-il-de parou ouskourt-in-gou-l-deken-na dou-esan]_j
 altar-DET-C bread display-GEN-PL-DET-C-GEN be-PT2.3PL
 “(For) the tabernacle was set up in which the lampstand, altar, and
 bread displays were”

81

L. 111.3-6

In this example, the long RC with the incomplete subject ...]λαππα “tabernacle” as its antecedent is extraposed and placed after the main verb ακδακτακαρα- with an emended emphatic suffix -cñ. The RC itself includes both a subject in the genitive case and verb with person marking. The noun ουσκογρτñ`γογλ'δεκεννα contains a double genitive case marking both before and after the conjunctive suffix -δεκεν “and” (with regressive assimilation) with the plural -γογλ written on top of it, which I have tentatively inserted before -δεκεν, although we cannot be certain whether this is the correct position. In this and other examples in which the extraposed RC contains a verb with person marking, case marking is not repeated.

χη[λ?]ε [...] μι [.]γκα αγου[c]αν ουκογρ[p]ο αγουσαν ταρε γαδκκολ
 sēle ... [mi??ul t_i]-ka [rel auou-s-an oukour-ro auou-s-an]_i
 everyone mi??ul -ACC make-PT2-3PL day-LOC make-PT2-3PL
 tare gaj-il-ko-l
 bless.PRED rejoice-DET-PERF-DET
 “Everyone who has blessed and rejoiced at the mi??ul that they
 made, made in one day”

82

St. 32.3-4, 33.4-8
RTA 33

The entire clause ending in ταρε γαδκκολ is dependent on χη[λ?]ε from the previous page is a case of quantifier raising (§5.7). The verb form ταρε, from ταρογ-/ταρι- “to bless, praise” is supposedly marked by the predicative, with the common -i + α > ε.⁵⁸ The RC αγου[c]αν ουκογρ[p]ο αγουσαν, with a repeated verb, is extraposed from the noun phrase μι [.]γκα, and is, as in the previous example, not additionally marked for the accusative case.

⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, §3.9.6.1b.

83

St. 16.4-8

RTA 30

ONG §3.9.14, 4.6c

καρκ ἀγ[λ]ενδρᾱ εἰνῆ̄ κο[ν]κοαννοῶ̄· ον γογῆᾶ̄ τογλιῖς εἰνῆ̄·
 [kar t_i]-k [rel aul-en-d-ra ein-in t_j]_i
 shield -ACC save-?-FUT-PRS.PRED be-PRS.2/3SG
 kon-koannoa [rel on goue-a toull-is ein-in]_j
 have-FIN.3PL c armor-PRED strong-PT2 be-PRS.2/3SG

50

“So that they may have a shield that will save and has been strong armor”

We see in this example a construction that is essentially similar to the previous one, save for the clause ον γογῆᾶ̄ τογλιῖς εἰνῆ̄, which is extraposed completely to the right edge of the sentence, after the main verb κο[ν]κοαννοῶ̄ in a construction that is similar to ex 80. Note that although τογλιῖς, with a diaeresis on the iota indicating a new syllable, is indexed as separate hapax adjective,⁵⁹ it definitely looks like the verb τογλλ- with a preterite 2 suffix -ις. In any case, the placement of a possible adjective τογλιῖς after predicative-marked γογῆᾶ̄ would be curious, and something like *gouea toullisa would be expected. Perhaps a predicative suffix has been lost here before εἰνῆ̄, cf. ἀγ[λ]ενδρᾱ εἰνῆ̄, whose suffix -εν I cannot explain. ἀγ[λ]ενδρᾱ εἰνῆ̄ and possibly τογλιῖς εἰνῆ̄ are complex verbal predicates as discussed in §5.2.

6.2 Relative clauses with overt subject/without agreement

In contrast with the examples from §6.1, in case the verb in the extraposed RC is not explicitly marked for person, it carries the same case marking as its antecedent. Just like regular RCs, these extraposed RCs may feature a relative pronoun. As yet it is unclear why an overt subject and/or the absence of agreement marking triggers the repetition of the case marking on the extraposed RC. Perhaps we are in these cases not dealing with extraposition proper as in §6.1, but rather with a full clause adjoined to the right edge of the main clause, in which the case marking signals which constituent the RC is coindexed with.

84

M. 8.15-9.3

HN, p. 208

ONG §4.6b

παπο εἰροϋ εἶκα ἀγκιμῆ̄ναῖ εἵτοϋ οϋε̄ννα εκκᾱ δ̄ενῶ̄τκᾱ
 pap-o eir-ou ein-ka_i ank-imin-na-i
 father-VOC 2SG-J DEM.PROX-ACC remember-NEG-PRS.2/3SG-Q
 [rel eitt-ou ouen-na ek-ka den-j-is]-ka_i
 woman-J one-GEN 1PL.INCL-ACC give.1-PLACT-PT2-ACC

“Father, don’t you remember what a woman gave us?”

The extraposed RC εἵτοϋ οϋε̄ννα εκκᾱ δ̄ενῶ̄τκᾱ, moved to the right edge of the verb ἀγκιμῆ̄ναῖ, is marked with the accusative case, just

59 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 163.

like its antecedent in the main sentence ε̄νκα. The following two examples both show a relative pronoun:

ΜΑΝ ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚΑ ... ΕΑΛΕΝ ΗΝ ΤΑΝ ΟΥΣΚΡΑ ΔΓΟΡῚΣΚΑ
 [man koumpou]-ka_i ηal-en [_{rel} ēn [tan
 DEM.DIST egg-ACC see-PRS.2/3SG REL 3SG.GEN
 ouskr-a agor-iss]]-ka_i
 place.TR-PRED forget-PT2-ACC
 “When he saw that egg that he had put away and forgotten”

85
 M. 8.7-12
 RTA 42
 ONG §4.6b

51

The extraposed RC ΗΝ ΤΑΝ ΟΥΣΚΡΑ ΔΓΟΡῚΣΚΑ, extraposed to the right edge after the main verb ΕΑΛΕΝ, is here marked with the same accusative case as its antecedent, ΜΑΝ ΚΟΥΜΠΟΥΚΑ and introduced by a relative pronoun ΗΝ. A similar extraposition can be found in the following example:

ΟΥΚΚΟΝΟ ΚΑΠΟΠΙ ΔΥΡΟΥΤΚΑ ΤΟΙΤΑΝΑῚΩ Ε̄Ν ΕΛΛΕ Ε̄ΛΗ ΟΥΚ ΟΥΣΚΡΑ
 ΤΙῚῚΑΡΡΙΚΑ
 ouk-k-ono [kapop-i aurout]-ka_i tojt-anasō
 2PL-ACC-REFL pearl-J self-ACC make.worthy-IMP.3PL
 [_{rel} ein [elle elē ou-k
 REL in.the.future today 2PL-ACC
 ouskr-a tij-j-arr]]-ika_i
 place.TR-PRED give.2/3-PLACT-FUT-ACC
 “Make yourselves worthy(?) of the pearl itself, that some day I will place before you”

86
 SC 5.15-17
 RTA 44
 ONG §4.6b

The pattern of this example follows the previous one, with an extraposed RC on the right side of ΤΟΙΤΑΝΑῚΩ, marked with an accusative case, just like the object of the main verb.

Sometimes the antecedent is extraposed together with the RC:

ᾹΙ ΤΑ Π̄ΣΤΕΥΕ̄ΙΜΕ Ε̄ΙΡ Ε̄ΝΕΝΚΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΣΔ̄ ΚΡΟΛ
 ai ta pisteue-imme [_{comp} eir t_i en-en]-ka
 1SG CL believe-AFF.1SG 2SG(sic!) be-PRS.2/3SG-ACC
 [khristos-i [_{rel} kosmos-la kr-o]]-l_i
 Christ-J world-DAT come-PT1-DET
 “I believe that you are the Christ who came to the world” (Jn. 11:27)

87
 P. Q1 14.i.15-17

In this example, the complement clause Ε̄ΙΡ Ε̄ΝΕΝΚΑ, dependent on the verb Π̄ΣΤΕΥΕ̄ΙΜΕ “I believe,” is marked as expected with the accusative case -Ε̄ΙΡ Ε̄ΝΕΝΚΑ, although the subject Ε̄ΙΡ appears in the nominative and the embedded verb is marked for person. The nominal predicate ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΣΔ̄ ΚΡΟΛ, which otherwise contains a well-

behaved attributive RC, is extraposed in its entirety to the right edge of the main clause. According to Browne, the clitic τα should be interpreted as an “intensifying prefix.”⁶⁰ Its status, however, is uncertain.

52 Bechhaus-Gerst notes that similar constructions exist in Nobiin, where the antecedent is carried together with the RC to the right edge of the main verb.⁶¹ She gives two examples:

- 88a *gelb-on* [*ideen* [_{rel} *aaw-o*]]-*ka* *tiiraa*
 HN, p. 212 look.around-PST.3SG woman do-PST.PTCP-ACC to
 Nobiin “and he looked around to the woman who had done this”
- 88b *kuñir-oos-on* [*turba* [_{rel} *mulee-l finda-fi-i*]
 HN, p. 212 bury-COMPL-PST.3SG tomb hill-in quarry.out-STAT-PTCP
 Nobiin *wee]-laa*
 one-in
 “he buries him in a tomb which had been hewn out in the rock”

A final example recapitulates the antecedent in the RC through a personal pronoun, combining extraposition with an anaphor:

- 84 εΔΔΡΩ καῶκα ἐν Διτλ: εἷ τᾶΔΟΥ ΕΙΓΟΥΛᾶ [Ο]ΥΕΝΝΑ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΔΚΙΜῚΣΙΚΑ·
 = ex. 33 *ed-d-rō* *kaj-ka_i* [_{rel} *ein* [*dig*]]-*el*
 find-FUT-PRS.2PL colt-ACC REL bound-DET
 [_{rel} *eil tad-ou* [*ei-gou-la ouen-na tad-dō ak-imis-s*]]-*ika_i*
 now 3SG-J man-PL-DAT one-GEN 3SG-upon sit-NEG-PT2-ACC
 “You will find a colt that is bound, one upon which no one among
 men has yet sat” (Mk. 11:2)

The entire extraposed clause εἷ τᾶΔΟΥ ΕΙΓΟΥΛᾶ [Ο]ΥΕΝΝΑ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΔΚΙΜῚΣΙΚΑ is marked with the accusative case, just like the object of εΔΔΡΩ, καῶκα. The border between an extraposed RC and an right-adjoined clause is vague here, because grammatically speaking the antecedent of ΕΙΓΟΥΛᾶ [Ο]ΥΕΝΝΑ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΔΚΙΜῚΣΙΚΑ is not καῶκα, but τᾶΔΟΥ. We should however note the other attributive RC in this example, καῶκα ἐν Διτλ, which is exceptional both because of the case marking on καῶκα instead of on the RC and the presence of a relative pronoun ἐν, which is unusual in coreferential clauses; we would expect either something like **kajou digika* or **digel kajka*. It may be posited provisionally that the curious placement of the accusative case and the appearance of the complementizer are related, but for the moment I am unable venture a syntactical explanation.

60 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 167.
 61 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, p. 212.

7 Preterite tense morphology

In his *Old Nubian Grammar*, Browne suggests that the distinction between the preterite 1 and preterite 2 forms of the verb is to be found in the broad realm of aspectual difference. However, he makes a cursory remark that the preterite 2 forms are always found when the subject is marked with the genitive case, and that in other cases the preterite 1 form is used.⁶² We recall here that a genitive subject only appears in non-coreferential attributive clauses. Therefore we could tentatively reformulate Browne's casual observation more rigorously: In order to express the past tense, preterite 1 suffixes are used within coreferential attributive clauses, whereas preterite 2 suffixes are used within non-coreferential attributive clauses.

53

Please consider the following typical examples:

ἔλο πινα ἰουδαϊοϋοῦν οὔροϋοῦ οὔννοϋτακοῶ
is-lo pi-na [ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou 90a
 inter-LOC exist-PRS.2/3SG Jew-PL-GEN king-J = ex. 5
 [rel *ounn-outak-o*]-l
 bear-PASS-PT1-DET
 "Where is the born king of the Jews?" (coreferential)

κοῦμπου εἶν ταν'να κῖπς ἄουμαλ ἄουτραπ' ἄφρασα
 [koumpou [rel ein [tan-na kip-s]]]-il 90b
 egg REL 3SG-GEN eat-PT2-DET = ex. 13
doumal doutrap añ-r-ah-a
 suddenly fowl live-TR-INCH-PRED
 "The egg that he had eaten suddenly coming to life as a fowl"
 (non-coreferential)

The first example shows a coreferential attributive clause οὔννοϋτακοῶ, with a preterite 1 suffix -o, whereas the second example features a non-coreferential attributive clause εἶν ταν'να κῖπς, with a preterite 2 suffix -c. This distinction holds for all previously cited examples.

The morphological distinction between these two classes of attributive RCS with preterite/past tense morphology may still be found, albeit sometimes morphologically or phonologically reduced (and glossed differently), in Nobiin:

62 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.7a.

91a *man* *buru* [_{rel} *ik-ka* *doll-o*] *ii*
 CF 502 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-ACC love-COMP4 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-juti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl who loved you is his niece” (coreferential)

91b *man* *buru* [_{rel} *ir-iin* *doll-siin*] *ii*
 CF 498 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-GEN love-COMP2 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-juti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl whom you loved is his niece” (non-coreferential)

And in Kenzi:

92a *tod* [_{rel} *een-gi* *jom-e*]-*l* *nog-s-u*
 = ex. 1b boy woman-ACC hit-PST-REL go-PST-3SG
 “The boy that hit the woman left” (coreferential)

92b *tod* [_{rel} *een* *jom-si*]-*n* *nog-s-u*
 NRC 2ci boy woman hit-PST.3SG-REL go-PST-3SG
 Kenzi “The boy that the woman hit left” (non-coreferential)

This morphological distinction between preterite verb morphology in coreferential and non-coreferential RCS is absent in Andaandi, although Jakobi and El-Guzuuli point out that the innovative preterite 1 suffix *-ko* is always substituted by preterite 2 suffix *-s*.

93a *ar in* *kaa=gi* *goñ-kor-u*
 RCA 8c 1PL DEM.PROX house=ACC build-PT1-1PL
 Andaandi “We have built this house”

93b *in* *tannan kaa* [_{rel} *ar goñ-s-u*]
 RCA 8b DEM.PROX COP house 1PL build-PT2-1PL
 Andaandi “This is the house we have built”

8 Conclusions

In this article I have given an overview of Old Nubian RCS based on a thorough investigation of the examples and explanations in extant scholarly literature, complemented with new material, both from Old Nubian and modern Nile Nubian languages. As I have shown, comparative evidence from modern languages is at several instances of invaluable assistance for formulating the right analyses for Old Nubian grammar.

Based on our observations as regards Old Nubian RCS, we could summarize our findings as follows, split along the three types originally described by Satzinger as “A,” “B1,” and “B2.”

	Coreferential RC (“A”)	Non-coreferential RC with overt subject/ without agreement (“B1”)	Non-coreferential RC without overt subject/ with agreement (“B2”)
Relative pronoun $\epsilon\text{IN}/\text{HAN}$	No	Yes	Yes
Anaphoric construction	No	Yes	Yes
Extraposition	No	Yes, with doubled case morphology	Yes, without doubled case morphology
Prenominal RC	Marked with determiner - ix and with restrictive meaning (left dislocation)	Marked with juncture vowel - $\text{o}\gamma$, subject possibly in nominative case(?)	Marked with juncture vowel - $\text{o}\gamma$
Topicalization with - $\text{c}\bar{\text{n}}$	Yes	Yes	Yes
Preterite tense morphology	Preterite 1 (- Δ /- o)	Preterite 2 (- ϵC /- IC)	Preterite 2 (- ϵC /- IC)

Table 1. Overview of Old Nubian RCS

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