INTERNAL RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TENYIDIE
(ANGAMI): A CASE OF HIERARCHICAL
PRECEDENCE VS. LINEAR PRECEDENCE?¹

K. V. Subbarao
Mimi Kevichüsa
University of Delhi

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to study the nature of the internal relative clause (IRC) in Tenyidie, a dialect of Angami Naga, especially as it concerns the interplay between hierarchical order and constituent word order. We attempt to show that, although in most of the cases hierarchical as well as linear order plays a crucial role in the interpretation of an IRC in Tenyidie, there is an instance where neither plays any role at all. In support of the occurrence of an NP as the head of an IRC we provide two pieces of evidence: (i) the position of occurrence of the constituents in the embedded internal relative clause, and (ii) the presence as well as the absence of overt lexical case markers with the constituent that is being relativized.

We shall show that a constituent that is not lexically case-marked in Tenyidie can head an IRC, unlike the situation in the Quechua group of

¹This work is supported by a research grant provided to the Department of Linguistics of the University of Delhi by the University Grants Commission under the Special Assistance Programme (SAP).

The transcription used in this paper is broad.

List of Abbreviations

| ABL    | Accusative | IRC       | Internal relative clause |
| AGR    | Agreement marker | LOC | Locative |
| AUX    | Auxiliary | NOM | Nominative |
| COM    | Comitative | NOMZ | Nominalizer |
| CP     | Conjunctive participial | OB | Other benefactive |
| DAT    | Dative | OO | Oblique object |
| DEF    | Definite | PP | Postpositional phrase |
| DIM    | Diminutive | PRES | Present |
| DM     | Deictic marker | PRES HAB | Present habitual |
| DO     | Direct object | PROG | Progressive |
| HAB    | Habitual | PST | Past |
| INST   | Instrumental | SG | Singular |
| IO     | Indirect object | 2 | Second person |
|        |            | 3 | Third person |

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languages (Cole et al. 1982). Although the DO that occurs with monotransitive verbs is not lexically case-marked in Tenyidie, it can still head an IRC. We shall also demonstrate that in instances involving potential ambiguity of the DO vis-à-vis other constituents (such as IO, locative PP, ablative PP), it is the DO which has hierarchical precedence over the other constituents in heading an IRC, whereas the comitative and instrumental PPs which occur as the second constituent in the embedded S have precedence in interpretation over the DO, indicating that linear precedence in constituent word order plays an important role in the interpretation of a constituent as head of an IRC. We shall also show that there is a single instance where neither the hierarchical precedence nor the linear order of constituents plays any role at all in the interpretation of an IRC. We shall demonstrate that IRCs are unmarked in Tenyidie, since the comitative permits only the IRC and no corresponding external relative clause is permissible. In the final section we hint at a way an internally headed NP is case-checked under the case and agreement theory of Chomsky 1995.

2.0. TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Tenyidie is more generally known as Angami. It is a verb-final language and it is left-branching in the unmarked word order. It has postpositions, and a postsentential complementizer occurs to the right of the embedded sentence. The auxiliary verb follows the main verb. As in other verb-final languages, such as Japanese, Korean, Telugu, Malayalam, etc., the genitive precedes the governing noun and the marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison. Time adverbs precede place adverbs (Subbarao 1984). Just as in many other verb-final languages, it has postverbal negatives. A relative-correlative construction also occurs.

However, Tenyidie exhibits certain non-verb-final language characteristics as well. The direct object precedes the indirect object in the unmarked word order, when the lexical dative case marker ki is not overtly present with the indirect object of ditransitive verbs such as tsétique ‘give’, petha ‘teach’, tschë ‘talk to’, and pesi ‘inform’. With ditransitive verbs such as ketse ‘send’, pu ‘tell, mention, report’, ketso ‘ask’, and fon chë ‘telephone’, where the lexical dative case marker ki occurs with the indirect object, Tenyidie conforms to the expected order in verb-final languages, namely, IO preceding DO. Based on evidence from internal relative clauses, we argue that the IO-DO order is the unmarked order in Tenyidie as in other verb-final languages. Adjectives, demonstrative adjectives and numerals follow the noun. Although word order is relatively free, there are certain instances where scrambling is prohibited (cf. Subbarao and Kevichüsa, in prep.).
3.0. RELATIVIZABLE POSITIONS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TENYIDIE

According to Keenan 1985, IRCs are found only in those languages whose basic word order is SOV. Tenyidie, too, has IRCs that contrast with external relative clauses in their syntactic behavior.

Cole et al. 1982 refer to internal relatives as "headless relatives" because the head (the NP that is being relativized) does not occur in the matrix clause, but only in the embedded sentence. They provide two pieces of evidence to show that relative clauses in the Quechua group of languages are headless. These arguments are based on word order and case marking. Imbabura Quechua is a verb-final language. The relativized noun phrase appears in situ "in the normal position for a direct object within a relative clause, that is to say between the subject and verb" (Cole et al. 1982:118). For example:

(1) [runa **alcu-ta** jatu shea] ali

man dog-ACC sell-PAST NOMZ good dog

alcu-mi

VALIDATOR

'The dog that the man sold is a good dog.'

The head NP occurs in the embedded clause, and the matrix sentence does not have a corresponding occurrence of the identical NP.

3.1. Case roles of the heads of internal relative clauses

In Tenyidie, too, the NP that is being relativized occurs in the embedded sentence and not in the matrix sentence. The embedded verb occurs in the infinitival form with the infinitival (nominalizing) marker ke following the verb. Both the deictic marker c* and the definite marker (which agrees in number and gender with the NP occurring internally) occur to the right of the infinitival marker ke. First we provide examples of IRCs with direct object, instrumental, locative, goal, ablative and comitative PPs as heads. As the relativization with an indirect object differs from that of the other positions, we will then provide an analysis of the internal and external relative clauses with an indirect object as head.
Direct Object as Head
(2) no lešida phri-ke-c1-01-u vi
2sg book read-NOMZ-DM-0-DEF good
‘The book that you read is good.’

Instrumental PP as Head
(3) no kutari pie nhasi le
2sg knife INST fruit cut
ke-c1-01-u puo+ vi se
NOMZ-DM-0-DEF sharpness good very
‘The knife with which you cut the fruit is very sharp.’

Locative PP as Head
(4) no mi1 gi lešida khapieba
2sg table on book keep
ke-c1-01-u si pie ch+$
NOMZ-DM-0-DEF wood INST do
‘The table on which you kept the book is made of wood.’

Goal as Head
(5) no lie1 nu tsu-ya-ke-c1-01-u
2sg field to go-PRES HAB-NOMZ-DM-0-DEF
peetse se
far very
‘The field you go to is very far.’

Ablative PP as Head
(6) no dzkhu1 nunu dz1+$ sever
2sg well from water-fetch brought
ke-c1-01-u su se
NOMZ-DM-0-DEF very deep
‘The well from which you brought the water is very deep.’