

Project TYP

Relativsätze in typologischer Sicht (Relative Clauses in a Typological View)

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„Um etwas über die Sprache des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit herauszufinden, sind Forscher auf die überlieferten Texte angewiesen, da es keine Sprecher gibt, die sie befragen können. Textkorpora helfen hier, Wörter und Strukturen in ihrem Zusammenhang zu erfassen und zu vergleichen (...).“ (Scherer 2006: 12)

1. Research Method

- Building a multilingual corpus containing biblical texts
- Developing a specific annotation for RC- and similar structures
 - Classification of RCs (restrictive, non-restrictive, continuative, free etc.)
 - Classification of pronouns, complementizers etc. (determinative- / interrogative-; resumptive pronouns).
 - Classification of other elements involved (head-nouns, prepositions, adverbs etc.)
- Annotation throughout the whole corpus

2. Explored languages

2.1 Caucasian languages:

- Caucasian-Albanian: East-Caucasian language, ancestor of Udi, corpus language (conveyed only in form of [palimpsest-]manuscripts of the 8th century); agglutinating/inflectional; ergative language; clitic chaining; three gender referential system
- Udi: East-Caucasian language, modern descendant of Caucasian-Albanian; endangered language; agglutinating/inflectional; morphological ergativity; word order: predominantly SVO; no gender.
- Abkhaz: West-Caucasian language; agglutinating; ergative structure; complex verbal system (polysynthetic verb); word order: predominantly SOV.

2.2 African languages:

- Swahili: East African Bantu language, class language (grouped according to semantic units, all elements depending on a certain noun have to be marked with the according concord marker), agglutinating; morphological sequence structure of the verb (non-optional slots marked in boldface): negation₁ – **subject** (PRO or CL) – **tense/aspect/negation₂** – relative₁ – object (PRO or CL)/reflexive – **verbal base** – derivational suffixes – **indicative/negated present tense/subjunctive/negated imperative/passive** – relative₂ *o*
- Bambara: member of the Mande language family in West Africa, tone language (high/low), isolating, predominant word order: subject – tense/aspect marker – object – verb

3. Types of Relative Clauses

At the current stage of work the classification of relative clauses (as well as of other subordinate clauses) follows a very rough semantic pattern.

3.1 Restrictive RC:

(1) Jo. 1,9

a. Engl.:

That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.
(Jo. 1,9)

b. Dt. (Luther):

Das war das wahre Licht, das alle Menschen erleuchtet, die in diese Welt kommen.
(Jo. 1,9)

c. Dt. (Rev. Elberfelder):

Das war das wahrhaftige Licht, das, in die Welt kommend, jeden Menschen erleuchtet (Jo. 1,9)

oder:

..., das jeden Menschen, der in die Welt kommt, erleuchtet. (Jo. 1,9)

3.2 Non-restrictive (appositive) RC:

(2) Mt. 22,23

a. Engl.:

The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection,
(Mt. 22,23)

b. Dt. (Luther):

An demselben Tage traten die Sadduzäer zu ihm, die lehren, es gebe keine Auferstehung, (Mt. 22,23)

c. Dt. (Rev. Elberfelder):

An jenem Tag kamen Sadduzäer zu ihm, die da sagen, es gebe keine Auferstehung;
(Mt. 22,23)

3.3 Continuative (*weiterführender*) RC:

(3) 2. Thess. 2,14

a. Engl.:

Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. (2. Thess. 2,14)

b. Dt. (Luther):

wozu er euch auch berufen hat durch unser Evangelium, damit ihr die Herrlichkeit unseres Herrn Jesus Christus erlangt. (2. Thess. 2,14)

c. Dt. (Rev. Elberfelder):

wozu er euch auch berufen hat durch unser Evangelium, zur Erlangung der Herrlichkeit unseres Herrn Jesus Christus. (2. Thess. 2,14)

3.4 Free RC:

(4) Mt. 5,21

a. Engl.:

and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement. (Mt. 5,21)

b. Dt. (Luther):

wer aber tötet, der soll des Gerichts schuldig sein. (Mt. 5,21)

c. Dt. (Rev. Elberfelder):

wer aber töten wird, der wird dem Gericht verfallen sein. (Mt. 5,21)

4. Udi (Ud.) and Caucasian-Albanian (CA)

4.1 Restrictive RC:

(1) Jo. 1,9

a. Engl.:

That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. (Jo. 1,9)

(1) d. Ud.:

bunei xaš doğri, maṭinte xašneṣṭa har adamara, dūniani eḡaltu. (Jo. 1,9)

bu-ne=i xaš doğri ma=ṭin-te xaš-ne-ṣṭ=a
be-3SGI=AOR light:ABS true which=ERG-REL/CPL enlighten-3SGI-LV=PRS

har adamar=a dūnia=ni eḡ=al=ṭ=u
each man=DATĪ world=DATĪ come=PTCP=REF=DATĪ

‘That was the true light, which enlightens every man coming into the world.’

(1) e. CA:

E xaš ʔʔegen-hē xaš-baa-hanayʔen-ke lowśow išow hegesown-h̄ke-va ayzeḡ (Jo. 1,9)

e xaš ʔʔegen-hē xaš-baa-hanay=ʔ=en-ke lowśow
ART light:ABS true-be:PST light-make:PRS-which=REF:N=ERG-REL/CPL all

išow heḡe=sown-h̄-ke-va ayz=eḡ
man:ABS come=MASD-which-REL/CPL-he world=DATIII

‘That was the true light, which makes light (for) every man which is to come into the world.’

4.2 Non-restrictive (appositive) RC:

(2) Mt. 22,23

a. Engl.:

The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, (Mt. 22,23)

(2) d. Ud.:

ʔe ḡi išaḡunbaki šeḡa ʔoḡoḡl sadduḡeux, maḡonte exḡun tenebu ʔuriḡo aizesun (Mt. 22,23)

ʔe ḡi iša-ḡun-bak=i šeḡa ʔoḡoḡl sadduḡe=ux,
that day:ABS near-3PLI-become=PST that:GEN to Sadducees=ABS.PL

ma=ḡon-te ex-ḡun te-ne-bu ʔuri=ʔ=ḡo aizesun
which=ERG.PL-REL/CPL say-3PL NEG-3SG-is dead=REF=GEN.PL resurrection:ABS.SG

‘On that day came near to him the Sadducees, who say, there is no resurrection.’

(cf. Gippert 2011: 211)

(2) e. CA:

ič ḡiya ta-pē-n oowḡow Zadoḡaowḡon owḡa-hanayā~nke-hē te-ne harzesown (Mt. 22,23)

ič ḡiy=a tapē-n o=owḡow Zadoḡa=owḡ=on
same day=DATI approach:PST-3PS he=DIR Sadducee=PL=ERG

owḡa-hanay=ā~n-ke-hē te-ne harzesown
say:PRS-which=REF:M:ERG.PL.-REL/CPL-be:PST NEG-3PS resurrection:ABS.SG

‘On that day approached him the Sadducees, who used to say, there is no resurrection.’

(cf. Gippert et al. 2008 [2009]: II-55, II-57)

4.3 Continuative (*weiterführender*) RC:

(3) 2. Thess. 2,14

a. Engl.:

Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. (2. Thess. 2,14)

(3) d. Ud. –

(3) e. CA:

hanaydowxke v^{fa} he-kal-epē-al e źowdağesownen beši karxes-biyesowna e gâğownown ź̇ē Ẏsi K̇si (2. Thess. 2,14)

hanay=dowx-ke v^{fa} he-kal-epē-al e źowdağesown=en
which=REF:N:DATIII-REL/CPL you:PL:DATI hither-call-say:PST-FOC ART gospel=ERG

beši karxes-biye=sown=a e gâğown=own ź̇ē Ẏsi
our salvation-do=MASD=DATI ART glory=GEN Lord=GEN Jesus=GEN

K̇si

Christ=GEN

‘For which he also called you by our Gospel, to the salvation of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.’

4.4 Free RC:

(4) Mt. 5,21

a. Engl.:

and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement. (Mt. 5,21)

(4) d. Ud.:

šin besbain baftalle duvana (Mt. 5,21)

šin bes-b-ai-n baft-al-le duvan-a
who:ERG kill-LV-SUBJII-3SGI fall_into-FUTI-3SGI court-DATI

‘whoever would kill will fall into the court’

(4) e. CA:

bil’a-hanayoenke b^{fa}aẋe gel-ahal-anke-va b^{fa}aẋaẋ : (Mt. 5,21)

bil’=a-hanay-o=en-ke b^{fa}aẋ=e-gel ah=al-anke-va
kill:PRS=PRS-which-REF:M=ERG-REL/CPL court=GEN-guilt(y) be:PRS=PTCP:PRS-CONJ-he:ABS

b^{fa}aẋ=aẋ

judgement=DATIII

‘For he who kills will be guilty in (front of) the court.’

(cf. Gippert et al. 2008 [2009]: II-50)

Variations concerning the relative pronouns in FR:

(5) Mt. 5,19

a. Engl.:

Therefore whoever relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever does them and teaches them will be called great in the kingdom of heaven. (Mt. 5,19)

(5) b. Dt. (Luther):

Wer nun eines von diesen kleinsten Geboten auflöst und lehrt die Leute so, der wird der Kleinste heißen im Himmelreich; wer es aber tut und lehrt, der wird groß heißen im Himmelreich. (Mt. 5,19)

(5) c. Dt. (Rev. Elberfelder):

Wer nun eins dieser geringsten Gebote auflöst und so die Menschen lehrt, wird der Geringste heißen im Reich der Himmel; wer sie aber tut und lehrt, dieser wird groß heißen im Reich der Himmel. (Mt. 5,19)

(5) d. Ud.:

metär šinte pasbain sa me lap қиқе zaķonaxo, v´ metāral zombain adamarǵox, šonoal қиқе aqegalle gognā pasčaǵluǵa, šinte tambain v´ zombain, šono kala laxegalle gognā pasčaǵluǵa. (Mt. 5,19)

metär š-in-te pas-b-ai-n sa me lap қиқе
thus who-ERG-REL/CPL destroy-LV-SUBJII-3SGI one DEM:PROX very small

zaķon-axo v´ metār-al zom-b-ai-n adamar-ǵ-ox šono-al қиқе
law-ABL and thus-FOC teach-LV-SUBJII-3SG man-PL-DATII 3SG:ABS-FOC small

aq-eǵ-al-le gög-n-ä pasčaǵluǵ-a š-in-te
be_taken-LV-FUTI-3SG heaven-E-DATI kingdom-DATI who-ERG-REL/CPL

tam-b-ai-n v´ zom-b-ai-n šono kala
complete-LV-SUBJII-3SG and teach-LV-SUBJII-3SG 3SG:ABS big

lax-eǵ-al-le gög-n-ä pasčaǵluǵ-a
be_laid_on-LV-FUTI-3SG heaven-E-DATI kingdom-DATI

,Thus, whoever destroys something of the very small commandments, and so teaches the people, he will be taken for small in the kingdom of heaven, whoever completes (them) and teaches (them), he will be considered great in the kingdom of heaven.'

(5) e. CA:

šad-ba-hanay-iše-ke sa e go-bicxesownowgoxoc mal-maledgoxoc: zahown-ba-hanayoenke yanke gowšowy-ğaraḫ mal-qa-n-oow-çi-pē cōwdow ñwxownaḫ: pon'e baa own zahown-baa-haške oow ban'i-qa-n-çi-pē cōwdow ñwxownaḫ (Mt. 5,19)

šad-ba-hanay-iš=e-ke sa e gobicxe=sown=owg=oḫoc
loose-make:PRS-which-man=ERG-REL/CPL one:ABS ART command=MASD=PL=ABLI

mal-mal=ed=g=oḫoc
small-small=REF:N=PL=ABLI

zahown-ba-hanay=oen-ke yanke gowšowy-ğar=aḫ
teaching-make:PRS-which=REF:M:SG=ERG-REL/CPL thus living-son=DATIII

mal-qa-n-o=ow-çi-pe=y cōwdow=n ñwxown=aḫ
small-HORT-3SG-he=DATI-name-say:PST=PST heaven=GEN kingdom=DATIII

pon'e baa own zahown-ba=a-haške o=ow
then do:PRS=PRS and teaching-make:PRS=PRS-who:ERG-REL/CPL he=DATI

ban'i-qa-n-çi-pe=y cōwdow=n ñwxown=aḫ
great-HORT-3SG-name-say:PST=PST heaven=GEN kingdom=DATIII

'Whosoever dissolves one of these minimal commandments (and) who teaches mankind in this way, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; (but) then he who performs and teaches (them), he will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.'

(Gippert et al. 2008 [2009]: II-39, II-63)

5. Swahili (Swa.) and Bambara (Bam.)

5.1 Restrictive RC:

(1) Jo. 1,9

a. Engl.:

That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.
(Jo. 1,9)

(1) f. Swa.:

Ndio mwanga wa kweli unaomwangaza kila mtu, tena ndio uliokuwa ukija ulimwenguni. (Jo. 1,9)

Ndio mw-anga wa kw-eli u-na-o-mw-angaz-a
It is CL3-light GEN.CL3 CL15-truth CL3-PST-CL3.REL-OBJ.3SG-elucidate-INDIC

kila m-tu, tena ndio (mw-anga wa kw-eli)
every CL1-person furthermore it is CL3-light GEN.CL3 CL15-truth

u-li-o-kuw-a u-ki-ja u-limwengu-ni
CL3-PST-CL3.REL-come into existence-INDIC CL3-SIM-come CL3-world-LOC

'It is the light of truth which elucidates every person; furthermore, it is the light which came into existence, when it came into the world.'

(1) g. Bam.:

ò kéné tòn yé kéné sèbe yé, à nàna díne la, à bé yeelen bò m̀̀gɔw b́́e ye. (Jo. 1,9)

ò kéné tòn yé kéné sèbe yé,
DEM (day)light PST PRED.EQUAL (day)light true PRED.EQUAL

à nàna díne la, à bé yeelen bɔ m̀̀gɔ-w b́́e ye.
it come-PTCP world in it PRES.AFF light come out person-PL all for

‘That mentioned light is the true light, it has come into the world, it, the light, came out for all people.’

5.2 Non-restrictive (appositive) RC:

(2) Mt. 22,23

a. Engl.:

The same day came to him the Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection, (Mt. 22,23)

(2) f. Swa.:

Siku ileile wakamjia Masadukeo wanaosema: Hakuna ufufuko, wakamwuliza. (Mt. 22,23)

Siku i-le-i-le wa-ka-m-j-i-a Ma-sadukeo
CL9.day CL9-DEM-CL9-DEM 3PL-SUBSEQ-OBJ.3SG-come-APPL-INDIC CL6-Saducee

wa-na-o-sem-a: Ha-kuna u-fufuko, wa-ka-mw-uliz-a.
3PL-PRES-CL2.REL-say-INDIC NEG-be CL11/14-resurrection 3PL-SUBSEQ-OBJ.3SG-ask-INDIC

‘(Then) That very day came to him the Sadducees, who say there is no resurrection, and asked him...’

(2) g. Bam.:

Saduseenw tun b'a fɔ kó suu kununni téna ké. ò dón yèrɛ, ù d̀̀w taara Yesu segerɛ k'̀̀à jininka. (Mt. 22,23)

Saduseen-w tòn b'̀̀à fɔ kó suu kununni téna ké.
Saducee-PL PST to him say that corpse resurrection will not happen

ò dón yèrɛ, ù d̀̀w taa-ra Yesu segerɛ k'̀̀à à
DEM day same 3PL INDEF-PL go away-PST.AFF.INTR Jesus join ask(...) him

jininka.

(...)ask

‘The Sadducees said to him that there is no resurrection of the corpse. (lit.: ‘... that resurrection of the corpse will not happen.’) That same day some of them went away, joined Jesus and asked him...’

5.3 Continuative (*weiterführender*) RC:

(3) 2. Thess. 2,14

a. Engl.:

Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. (2. Thess. 2,14)

(3) f. Swa.:

Haya (mambo) ndiyo, aliyowaitia, tulipowatangazia Utume mwena, mpate kuuchuma utukufu wa Bwana wetu Yesu Kristo. (2. Thess. 2,14)

Ha-ya (mambo) ndiyo, a-li-yo-wa-it-i-a,
DEM-CL6 (CL6.things) it is 3SG-PST-CL6.REL-OBJ.2PL-call to-APPL-INDIC

tu-li-po-wa-tangaz-i-a Utume mwena, m-pat-e
1PL-PST-LOC.REL-OBJ.3PL-proclaim-APPL-INDIC gospel 2PL-get opportunity-SUBJ

ku-u-chuma u-tukufu wa Bwana w-etu Yesu Kristo.
INF-OBJ.CL14-harvest CL11-glorify CL11.GEN CL5-Lord CL2-POSS Jesus Christ

‘These are the things to which he called you, while we proclaimed the Gospel to them, so that you may get the opportunity to harvest the glory of our Lord, Jesus Christ.’

(3) g. Bam.:

Ála yé áw wele ò kisili kamaa án ká Kibaru Duman fê, wálisa áw ka án Matigi Yesu Krisita ነጋጋር ስጋር. (2. Thess. 2,14)

Ála ye áw wele ò kisili kamaa án ká
God PST.AFF 3PL call DEM salvation because of 1PL POSS

Kibaru Duman fê, wálisa áw kaa án Matigi Yesu Krisita ነጋጋር ስጋር.
Gospel by so that 2PL shall our Lord Jesus Christ glory obtain

‘Because of the mentioned salvation God called you by our Gospel so that you shall obtain the glory of our Lord, Jesus Christ.’

5.4 Free RC:

(4) Mt. 5,21

a. Engl.:

and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement. (Mt. 5,21)

(4) f. Swa.:

Mtu akiua, itampasa, ahukumiwe. (Mt. 5,21)

M-tu a-ki-u-a, i-ta-m-pas-a, a-hukum-iw-e
CL1-person 3SG-COND-kill-INDIC CL9-FUT-OBJ.3SG-be necessary-INDIC 3SG-judge-PASS-SUBJ

‘If a person kills, it will be necessary that he is judged.’

(4) g. Bam.:

(Ko) mḡጋ ó mḡጋ bé à mḡጋ ገጋጎጎ fàga, ò ka kan ni kiri ye. (Mt. 5,21)

(Ko) mḡጋ ó mḡጋ bé à mḡጋ ገጋጎጎ fàga,
(say) man INDEF man PRES.AFF 3SG man fellow kill

ò ka kan ni kiri ye.
DEM deserve(...) judgement (...)

‘Everyone who kills another one deserves judgement.’

Bambara relative constructions with mín – ò and mínnu (mínw) – òlu and the corresponding examples from Swahili:

(6) Mt. 5,22

a. Engl.:

and whoever says, ‘You fool!’ will be liable to the hell of fire. (Mt. 5,22)

(6) b. Bam.:

Mín b'à wele fatɔ, ò ka kan ni jahanama tasuma ye. (Mt. 5,22)

(mògò ó mògò) Mín b'à wele fatɔ, ò ka kan ni
REL to him call “fatɔ” DEM deserve(...)

jahanama tasuma ye.
hell fire (...)

‘(Everyone) Who calls him (his brother) “fatɔ” deserves hellfire.’

(6) c. Swa.:

Lakini ye yote atakayesema ‘We mpumbavu ulaaniwe!’ Atapasiwa hukumu ya moto wa jehanam. (Mt. 5,22)

lakini ye yote a-taka-ye-sem-a ‘We m-pumbavu
but INDEF.PRO.SG 3SG-FUT-CL1.REL-say-INDIC PRO.2SG CL1-fool
u-laan-iw-e!’ A-ta-pas-iw-a hukumu ya m-oto
2SG-curse-PASS-SUBJ 3SG-FUT-be necessary-PASS-INDIC CL9.judgement CL9.GEN CL3-fire
wa jehanam.
CL3.GEN CL9.hell

‘But everyone who says: ‘You shall be cursed as idiot!’ deserves judgement of the fire of hell.’

(7) Mt. 5,12

a. Engl.:

for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you. (Mt. 5,12)

(7) b. Bam.:

Kira mín-nu tùn bé áw jè, mɔgɔ-w ye òlu fána tóro ten. (Mt. 5,12)

Kira mín-nu tùn bé áw jè,
prophet REL-PL PST PRES 2PL before

mɔgɔ-w ye òlu fána tóro ten.
man-PL PST DEM.PL also do harm forehead

‘The people also did harm to the forehead of the prophets who have been before you.’

(7) c. Swa.:

Hivyo ndivyo walivyowadhulumu manabii waliokuwako kabla yenu. (Mt. 5,12)

Hivyo ndivyo wa-li-vyo-wa-dhulumu ma-nabii
CL8.DEM.REF it is so 3PL-PST-CL8.REL-OBJ.3PL-oppress CL6-prophet

wa-li-o-kuw-a-ko kabla y-enu.
3PL-PST-CL2.REL-exist-INDIC-LOC CL9.before CL9-2PL.POSS

‘This is how they oppressed the prophets that were here before you.’

“The use of a corpus is not bound to any one linguistic theory. The investigator is free to choose whatever linguistic theory is appropriate to account for the data.” (Johansson 2007: 39)

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Abbreviations

1 / 2 / 3 / ...	first / second / third person <i>or</i> number of class (Swa.)	M	masculine
		MAL	malefactive
I / II / III	number of different types of the same case, tense, or personal marker	MASD	masdar
		N	neuter
ABL	ablative	NEG	negation
ABS	absolutive	OBJ	object
AOR	aorist	PL	plural
APPL	applicative	PRED.EQUAL	predicative equalizer
ART	article	PRES.AFF	present affirmative
CL	noun class concord marker	PRO	pronoun
CONJ	conjunction	PROX	proximal
CPL	complementizer	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PST	past
DIR	directive	PST.AFF	past affirmative with transitive verbs
E	extension	PST.AFF.INTR	past affirmative with intransitive verbs
ERG	ergative	PTCP	participle
FOC	focus	REF	referentializing suffix
FUT	future	REL	relative concord marker (Swa.) / relative marker (Bam. / CA / Ud.)
FUT.NEG	negative future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SIM	marker to express simultaneity
HORT	hortative	SUBJ	subjunctive
INDEF	indefinite element / indefinite pronoun	SUBSEQ	marker to express a sequence of actions (... and then)
INDIC	indicative		
LOC	locative		
LV	light verb		