

COMPARATIVE SYNTAX : THE COPULATIVE IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA (BANTU)

JA du Plessis
Dept of African languages
Stellenbosch University
STELLENBOSCH

Section I: Introduction

Section II: The copulative verb:

1. The copula
2. The copulative verb (LI)
3. The negative copulative verb (se/si)
4. The copulative verb [nga] in Xitsonga
5. The copulative verb [ba]
6. The copulative verb [na] in Sesotho
7. Table of copulative verbs

Section III Complements of copulative verbs

1. Complements of the copula
 - 1.1 [DP]
 - 1.2 Infinitival clauses
 - 1.3 Complementizer clauses
 - 1.4 Hobane (Sesotho)
 - 1.5 Copula with locative phrases
 - 1.6 Copula with prepositional phrases
 - 1.7 Copula with adverbial phrases
 - 1.8 Copula with Temporal nouns
2. Adjectival phrase
3. Nominal-relative stems
4. Locative phrases
5. Prepositional phrases with [na/le]

Section IV: The expletive morpheme

Section V: The structure of the copulative phrase

Section VI: The semantics of copular clauses

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

The copulative construction in the African languages of South Africa will be considered within the following framework: firstly, an overview will be given of the various copulas or copulative verbs or the absence of overt copulative verbs in these languages. Secondly, the complements of these copulative verbs will be given as well as an overview of the moods and tenses within which each such copulative may appear. Lastly, attention will focus on the semantics and syntax of these copulative clauses.

For a discussion on the copulative in these languages see i.a.:

For Tshivenda: Madadzhe (1997), L&ithole (1999:46), Mushiane (1999:128) and Du Plessis, Musehane, Visser (1995).

For Sesotho: Maboya (1992:54), Mokete (1997:19), Mpeko (1992:71) and Du Plessis, Visser (1995).

For isiXhosa: Mali (1995), Dinga (1997), and Du Plessis and Visser (1992).

For Northern Sotho: Sepota (1999:350) and Du Plessis, Visser (1996).

For Xitsonga: Du Plessis, Nxumalo, Visser (1995)

For isiZulu: Du Plessis (1995)

SECTION II: THE COPULATIVE VERB

1. THE COPULA

A copula is a verb which connects the subject of a clause with the complement, i.e. it relates these two elements of a clause. The structure of a copula with its complement is known as a complex structure because the copula may only appear with a complement e.g.

- (1) Maria [ke [morutuwa]]
(Maria is student)

In the Sesotho sentence above, **Maria** is the subject, **ke** is the copula, and **morutuwa** is the complement. The combination of the copula **ke** with the complement **morutuwa** is a complex predicate. The copula **ke** has a stative meaning.

The form of the copula in isiXhosa and isiZulu

The copula in isiXhosa

In (2) below the copula **lu** appears with a complement **usana**:

- (2) [l-u-sana]
(It is a baby)

The copula like **lu** above is derived from the class feature of the noun with which it appears. In (2) the noun is in class 11 with the noun class prefix [lu-]. The copula **lu** is derived from this noun class but there is assimilation between the vowel of the copula and the initial affixal vowel of the noun:

- (3) [lu-[u-sana]] → [lusana]

The copula thus differs in form depending on the noun class of the complement noun. In some cases the origin of the copula is no longer clear as for instance in classes 1, 2, 3 and 6 where the copula appears with an initial [ng-]:

- (4) Class 1: prefix [-m-], copula [ngu-] e.g.

[ng-u-mfazi]
(It is a woman)

The copula appears in an unassimilated form with quantifiers such as the absolute pronoun or the enumeratives like **-phi** or **-mbi**. Below is a list of such copulas with three complements:

The complement is an Absolute Pronoun with the copula in the first and second person singular and plural:

	AgrS	Copula / Abs. pro
1 ps	ndi-	[ndi – m] (I – I/me: It is me)
1 pp	si-	[si – thi] (we – we/us: It is us)
2 ps	u-	[ngu – we] (cop. you – you: It is you)
2 pp	ni-	[ni – ni] (you – you (pl): It is you (pl.))

The list below contains the copulas of all the noun classes with three complements which are respectively in each case the absolute pronoun, the enumeratives **-phi** and **-mbi**:

Noun class	Prefix	Copula – Complement
1	[-m-]	[ngu -ye] (cop.1 – pro.1: it is him/her) [ngu -[wu-phi]] cop.1 – [ags.1 – phi]: it is which one?) [ngu -[wu-mbi]] (cop.1 – [ags.1 – mbi]: it is another one)
2.	[-ba-]	[nga -bo] (cop.2 – pro.2: it is them) [nga -[ba-phi]] (cop.2 – [ags.2-phi]: it is which ones?) [nga -[ba – mbi]] (cop.2 – [ags.2 – mbi]: it is another ones)
3	[-m-]	[ngu -wo] (cop.3 – pro.3: it is it) [ngu -[wu-phi]] (cop.3 – [ags.3 – phi]: it is which one?) [ngu -[wu-mbi]] (cop.3 – [ags.3 – mbi]: it is another one)
4	[-mi-]	[yi -yo] (It is them) [yi -[yi-phi]] (It is which ones) [yi -[yi-mbi]] (It is another ones)

5	[-li-]	[li-lo] (It is it) [li-[li-phi]] (It is which one?) [li-[li-mbi]] (It is another roen)
6	[-ma-]	[nga-wo] (It is them) [nga-[wa-phi]] (It is which ones) [nga-[wa-mbi]] (It is other ones)
7	[-si-]	[si-so] (It is it) [si-[si-phi]] (It is which one) [si-[si-mbi]] (It is another rone)
8	[zi-]	[zi-zo] (It is them) [zi-[zi-phi]] (It is which ones) [zi-[zi-mbi]] (It is other ones)
9	[-n-]	[yi-yo] (It is it) [yi-[yi-phi]] (It is another one) [yi-[yi-mbi]] (It is another one)
10	[-zin-]	[zi-zo] (It is them) [zi-[zi-phi]] (It is which ones) [zi-[zi-mbi]] (It is other ones)
11	[-lu-]	[lu-lo] (It is it) [lu-[lu-phi]] (It is which one) [lu-[lu-mbi]] (It is another one)
14	[-bu-]	[bu-bo] (It is it) [bu-[bu-phi]] (It is which one) [bu-[bu-mbi]] (It is another rone)
15	[-ku-]	[ku-ko] (It is it) [ku-[ku-phi]] (It is which one) [ku-[ku-mbi]] (It is another rone)

There is either assimilation of vowels or deletion of a vowel when the vowel of the copula appears next to a complement with an initial vowel. The copulas will then have the following forms:

	Full copula	Reduced copula
Class 1	ngu-	ng-
2	nga-	ng-
3	ngu-	ng-
4	yi-	y-
5	li-	l-
6	nga-	ng-
7	si-	s-
8	zi-	z-
9	yi-	y-
10	zi-	z-
11	lu-	l-
14	bu-	b-
15	ku-	k-

The reduced copulas appear with the following complements:

(1) **Nouns**

Noun class 1:	[ng-[u-[m-[fazi] (It is a woman)
2:	[ng-[a-[ba-[fazi] (They are women)
3:	[ng-[u-[m-[thi] (It is a tree)
4:	[y-[i-[mi-[thi] (They are trees)
5:	[l-[i-[hashe] (It is a horse)
6:	[ng-[a-[ma-[hashe] (They are horses)
7:	[s-[i-[si-[kolo] (It is a school)
8:	[z-[zi-[kolo] (They are schools)
9:	[y-[i-[n-[taba] (It is a mountain)
10:	[z-[ii-[n-[tala] (They are mountains)
11:	[l-[u-[sana] (It is a baby)
14:	[b-[u-[bu-[so] (It is a face)
15:	[k-[u-[ku-[tya] (It is food)

(2) **Adjectives:**

Noun class 1:	[ng-[o-[m-[khulu] (It is a big one)
2:	[ng-[a-[ba-[khulu] (They are big ones)
3:	[ng-[o-m-[khulu] (It is a big one)
4:	[y-[e-[mi-[khulu] (They are big ones)
5:	[l-[e-[li-[khulu] (It is a big one)
6:	[ng-[a-[ma-[khulu] (They are big one)
7:	[s-[e-[si-[khulu] (It is a big one)
8:	[z-[e-[zi-[khulu] (They are big ones)
9:	[y-[e-[n-[kulu] (It is a big one)
10:	[z-[e-[zi-[n-[kulu] (They are big ones)
11:	[l-[o-[lu-[khulu] (It is a big one)
14:	[b-[o-[bu-[khulu] (It is a big one)
15:	[k-[o-[ku-[khulu] (It is a big one)

(3) The Nominal relative, the Verbal relative, the Emphatic Absolute pronoun, and the emphatic possessives follow the same copulas as above in (1) and (2):

Nominal Relative:

Class 5: [l-[e-[li-[manzi] (It is a wet one)

Verbal relative:

Class 1: [ng-[o-[gula-[yo] (It is an ill one)

Emphatic Absolute Pronoun:

Class 9: [y-[e-[yo-[na] (It is the one)

Emphatic possessive:

Class 10: [z-[e-[z-[a-[khe] (They are his)

(4) The demonstrative appears in some noun classes with a full copula but with others with a reduced copula:

Class 1:	[ngu-[lo] (It is this one)
2:	[ng-[aba] (They are these)

- 3: [ngu-[lo] (It is this one)
 4: [yi-[le] (They are these)
 5: [l-[eli] (It is this one)
 6: [nga-[la] (They are these)
 7: [s-[esi] (It is this one)
 8: [z-[ezi] (They are these)
 9: [yi-[le] (It is this one)
 10: [z-[ezi] (They are these)
 11: [l-[olu] (It is this one)
 14: [b-[obu] (It is this one)
 15: [k-[oku] (It is this one)

The copula in isiZulu

The copula in isiZulu can be any of the following: [ngu- or ng-], [yi-], [w-], [l-] (<prefix [-li-] of class 5), and a low tone on the first syllable of the complement:

(1) [yi-] with the demonstrative:

Noun class	Prefix	Copula-demonstrative
1	[-mu-/-m-]	yi-lo (It is this one)
2	[-ba-]	yi-laba (They are these ones)
3	[-mu-/-m-]	yi-lo
4	[-mi-]	yi-le
5	[-li-]	yi-leli
6	[-ma-]	yi-la
7	[-si-]	yi-lesi
8	[-zi-]	yi-lezi
9	[-n-]	yi-le
10	[-zin-]	yi-lezi
11	[-lu-]	yi-lolu
14	[-bu-]	yi-lobu
15	[-ku-]	yi-lokhu

(2) [yi-] and [ngu-] with the Absolute Pronoun:

AgrS	Copula – Absolute Pronoun
1 ps ngi-	yi-mi (It is me/I)
1 pp si-	yi-thi (It is us)
2 ps u-	ngu-we
2 pp ni-	yi-ni

Noun class	Prefix	Copula – Absolute Pronoun
1	[-mu-/mu-]	ngu-ye
2	[-ba-]	yi-bo
3	[-mu-/m-]	yi-wo
4	[-mi-]	yi-yo
5	[-li-]	yi-lo
6	[-ma-]	yi-wo
7	[-si-]	yi-so
8	[-zi-]	yi-zo
9	[-n-]	yi-yo
10	[-zin-]	yi-zo
11	[-lu-]	yi-lo
14	[-bu-]	yi-lo
15	[-ku-]	yi-kho

(3) Low tone or [ng-] with Adjectives, Relatives and Emphatic Possessive:

	ADJECTIVE	N-RELATIVE	POSSESSIVE
Class 1	ò-[m-khulu] ng-[o-[m-khulu]	ò-[manzi] ng-[o-[manzi]	ò-[w-a-[mi] ng-o-[w-a-[mi]
2	à-[ba-khulu] ng-[a-[ba-khulu]	à-[ba-manzi] ng-[a-[ba-manzi]	à-[b-a-[kho] ng-a-[b-a-[kho]
3	ò-[m-khulu] ng-[o-[m-khulu]	ò-[manzi] ng-[o-[manzi]	ò-[w-a-[mi] ng-o-[w-a-[mi]
4	è-[mi-khulu] ng-[e-[mi-khulu]	è-[manzi] ng-[e-[manzi]	è-[y-a-[mi] ng-e-[y-a-[mi]
5	è-[li-khulu] ng-[e-[li-khulu]	è-[li-manzi] ng-[e-[li-manzi]	è-[l-a-[khe] ng-e-[l-a-[khe]
6	à-[ma-khulu] ng-[a-[ma-khulu]	à-[manzi] ng-[a-[manzi]	à-w-[a-[mi] ng-a-w-[a-mi]
7	è-[si-khulu] ng-[e-[si-khulu]	è-[si-manzi] ng-[e-[si-manzi]	è-[s-a-[mi] ng-e-[s-a-[mi]
8	è-[zi-n-kulu] ng-[e-[zi-n-kulu]	è-[zi-[manzi] ng-[e-[zi-manzi]	è-[z-a-[mi] ng-e-[z-a-[mi]
9	è-[n-kulu] ng-[e-[n-kulu]	è-[manzi] ng-[e-[manzi]	è-[y-a-[mi] ng-e-[y-a-[mi]
10	è-[zi-n-kulu] ng-[e-[zi-n-kulu]	è-[zi-[manzi] ng-[e-[zi-manzi]	è-[z-a-[khe] ng-e-[z-a-[khe]
11	ò-[lu-khulu] ng-[o-[lu-[khulu]	ò-[lu-manzi] ng-[o-[lu-manzi]	ò-[lw-a-[kho] ng-o-[lw-a-[kho]
14	ò-[bu-khulu] ng-[o-[bu-khulu]	ò-[bu-manzi] ng-[o-[bu-manzi]	ò-[b-a-[kho] ng-o-[b-a-kho]
15	ò-[ku-khulu] ng-o-[ku-khulu]	ò-[ku-manzi] ng-[o-[ku-manzi]	ò-[kw-a-[kho] ng-[o-[kw-a-[kho]

(4) [ng-], [w-], [yi-], [l-] or [low tone] with nouns:

Class 1	ù-[m-fazi]/ng-[u-[m-fazi]/w-[u-[m-fazi]
2	à-[ba-fazi]/ng-[a-[ba-fazi]
3	ù-[mu-thi]/ng-[u-[mu-thi]/w-[u-[mu-thi]
4	ì-[mi-thi]/y-[i-[mi-thi]
5	ì-hashì/l-[i-hashì]/y-[i-[hashì]
6	à-[ma-hashì]/ng-[a-[ma-hashì]
7	ì-[si-kole]/y-[i-[si-kole]
8	ì-[zi-kole]/y-[i-[zi-kole]
9	ì-[n-taba]/y-[i-[n-taba]
10	ì-[zi-[n-taba]/y-[i-[zi-[n-taba]
11	ù-sana]/l-[u-sana]/ng-[u-sana]/ yi-[sana]/w-[u-sana]
14	ù-[bu-so]/ng-[u-[bu-so]/yi-[bu-so]/ w-[u-bu-so]
15	ù-ku-dla]/ng-[u-[ku-dla]/yi-[ku-dla]/ w-[u-[ku-dla]

Table of copulas in isiXhosa and isiZulu

	ABS.PRO		DEM		ADJ		NOUN	
	Xh	Zu	Xh	Zu	Xh	Zu	Xh	Zu
1 ps	ndi	yi						
1 pp	si	yi						
2 ps	ngu	ngu						
2 pp	ni	yi						
Class 1	ngu	ngu	ngu	yi	ng	ng	ng	ng/w
2	nga	yi	ng	yi	ng	ng	ng	ng
3	ngu	yi	ngu	yi	ng	ng	ng	ng/w
4	yi	yi	yi	yi	y	ng	y	y
5	li	yi	l	yi	l	ng	l	l/yi
6	nga	yi	nga	yi	ng	ng	ng	ng
7	si	yi	s	yi	s	ng	s	yi
8	zi	yi	z	yi	z	ng	z	yi
9	yi	yi	yi	yi	y	ng	y	yi
10	zi	yi	z	yi	z	ng	z	yi
11	lu	yi	l	yi	l	ng	l	l/ng/yi/w
14	bu	yi	b	yi	b	ng	b	ng./yi/w
15	ku	yi	k	yi	k	ng	k	ng/yi/w

According to the table above, the following forms of the copula can be discerned:

- (a) [ng-]: In isiXhosa with second person singular and classes 1, 2, 3 and 6; in isiZulu in 2 person singular and class 1 with the Absolute pronoun; with nouns of classes 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 14 and 15, and with all adjectives, relatives and emphatic possessives.
- (b) A copy of the prefix:: in isiXhosa in all noun classes except class 1, 2, 3 and 6; in isiZulu: in class 5 and 11. A copy of AgrS of persons: in isiXhosa with the absolute pronoun.

- (c) [yi-]: in isiZulu with the absolute pronoun, demonstrative and nouns in classes 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 15.
- (d) [w-]: in isiZulu in classes 1, 3, 11, 14 and 15.

Except for these four forms above, isiZulu also has a fifth form in which the initial syllable of the complement appears with a low tone:

[UMaria ù-[m-[fundi]]
(Maria is a student)

Optional subjectival agreement with the copula

The copula in isiZulu may appear with the morpheme [ku-]:

- (5) Class 1: [Ku-[ng-[umfazi]]
(Agr-copula-woman: it is a woman)
- Class 7: [Ku-[y-[isikole]]
(Agr-copula-school: it is a school)
- Class 9: UMkabayi [kw-a[ku-[y-[inkosikazi emangalisayo]]
(Mkabayi agr-past agr-copula-lady who-surprises
Mkabayi was a surprising lady)

When the morpheme **ku-** occurs with a copula which has only a low tone, a glide **w** may appear after **ku**:

- (6) Class 6: [Ku-[ng-[amanzi]]
[Ku-w-àmanzi]
(It is water)

The agreement morpheme [ku] may also appear in isiXhosa but only when no subject is present:

- (7) a. [Ku-[l-[uyolo [uku-ku-buka wo-onwab-ile]]
(Agr. ku-[copula [happiness [to-you-watch you-happy-past: it is a pleasure to watch you being happy]
- b. [Kw-a-[ku-[y-[into entle uku-hlangana na-bo]]
(Agr.ku-past [agr.ku-[copula [thing beautiful to-meet with-them: it was beautiful thing to meet with them]
- c. [Be-[se-[ku-[z-[iiveki ezintathu e-goduk-ile]]
(Past-already-agr.ku-[copula- [weeks three he-go-home-past]
(It was already three weeks that he went home)

Subject inversion with [ku] is also possible with copulatives:

- (8) a. (i) [Le nkwenkwe] [ng-[unyana omhle]]
(This boy copula-son beautiful: this boy is a beautiful son)
- (ii) [Ku-[ng-[unyana omhle]] [le nkwenkwe]]
(Agr.ku-[copula son beautiful] this boy
(There is a beautiful son this boy)

- b. (i) [Lo mntu] [ng-[umfundi]
(This person [copula-student]: this person is a student)
- (ii) [Ku-[ng-[umfundi] [lo mntu]
(Agr.ku-copula-student (this person: there is a student this person)

All copulas may appear with the agreement of the subject. Such agreement is optional and it is interpreted with emphasis when it occurs:

- (9) IsiZulu: Lo mntu [u-[y-[intombazana]
IsiXhosa: Lo mntu [u-[y-[intombi]
(This person agrs-copula-girl: this person is a girl)

The negative with a copula

There are various possibilities of forming negatives with copulas:

- (10) a. With a negative [a-] in isiZulu:
- (i) With agr [-**ku-**]:
[a-[ku-[ng-[umfundi]
(neg-agr-copula-student: It is not a student)
- (ii) With negative verb [-**si-**]:
[a-[si-[ng-[umfundi]
(neg-neg.vb-copula-student: it is not a student)
- (iii) With AgrS:
UMaria [a-[ka-[ng-[umfundi]
(Maria neg-agrs-copula-student: Maria is not a student)
- b. With a negative [a-] but without a copula:
- (i) With agr [**ku**] in isiZulu
[a-[ku-[mfundi]
(neg-agr-student: it is no student)
- (ii) With negative verb [**si**] in isiXhosa and isiZulu
[a-[si-[mfundi]
(neg-neg.vb-student: it is no student)
- (iii) With AgrS in isiXhosa and isiZulu:
UMaria [a-[ka-[mfundi]
(Maria neg-agrs-student: Maria is no student)
- c. With the pronoun of the complement noun:
- (i) With agr[**ku**] in isiZulu:
[a-[ku-[ngu-[ye] [umfundi]
(neg-agr-copula-pro student: it is not her, a student)
- (ii) With negative verb [**si**] in isiXhosa and isiZulu:
[a-[si-[ngu-[ye][umfundi]
(neg-neg.vb-copula-pro student: it is not her a student)

In isiZulu the copula above may fall away:

[a-[si-[ye]][umfundi]

(neg-neg.vb.-pro student: it is not her, a student)

In isiXhosa the copula and the pronoun may assimilate with a vowel [o]:

[a-[si-[ng-[o-[mfundi]

(neg-neg.vb-copula-pro-student: it is not a student)

(iii) With AgrS in isiXhosa and isiZulu:

UMaria [a-[ka-[ngu-[ye] [umfundi]

(Maria neg-agrs-copula-pro student:

Maria is not her a student)

In isiXhosa the copula and the pronoun can assimilate as above:

UMaria [a-[ka-[ng-[o-[mfundi]

(Maria neg-agrs-copula-pro-student: Maria is not a student)

d. With an Absolute pronoun in isiZulu:

(i) With agr [ku]:

[a-[ku-[yena] [umfundi]

(Neg-agr-abs.pro student: it is not her a student)

(ii) With Agrs:

UMaria [a-[ka-[yena]][umfundi]

(Maria neg-agrs-abs.pro student: Maria is not her, a student)

e. With a negative verb [si]:

(i) With agr [ku] in isiZulu:

With a pronoun:

[a-[ku-[si-[ye]][umfundi]

(neg-agr-neg.vb-pro student: it is not her, a student)

Without a pronoun:

[a-[ku-[si-[mfundi]

(neg-agr-neg.vb-student: it is no student)

(ii) With AgrS:

With a pronoun in isiZulu:

UMaria [a-[ka-[si-[ye]][umfundi]

(Maria neg-agrs-neg.vb-pro student: Maria is not her, a student)

With a pronoun and a copula in isiXhosa:

UMaria [a-[ka-[si-[ngu-[ye]][umfundi]

(Maria neg-agrs-neg.vb-copula-pro student:

Maria is not her, a student)

The copula and the pro above may assimilate to [o]:

UMaria [a-[ka-[si-[ng-[o-[mfundi]
 (Maria neg.-agrs-neg.vb-copula-pro-student:
 Maria is not her, a student)

In isiZulu the pronoun may fall away:

With agr [**ku-**]:
 [a-[ku-[si-[mfundi]
 (neg-agr-neg.vb-student: it is no student)

With AgrS:
 UMaria [a-[ka-[si-[mfundi]
 (Maria neg-agrs-neg.vb-student: Maria is no student)

(f) Summary of negatives:

- (i) [neg.**a**-[agr-[copula-N]
 [neg.**a**-[neg.vb.si-[copula-N]
- (ii) [neg.**a**-[agr-[N]
 [neg.**a**-[neg.vb.**si**-[N]
- (iii) [neg.**a**-[agr-[copula-pro]][N]
 [neg.**a**-[neg.vb.**si**-[copula-pro]][N]
- (iv) [neg.**a**-[agr-[neg.vb.**si**-(copula)-pro]][N]

The form of the copula in Tshivenda, Sesotho and Xitsonga

Tshivenda

The copula appears as [**ndi**] with all complements:

- (11) [Avha vhana] [ndi [vhatshudeni]
 (These children copula students: these children are students)

AgrS may appear in the place of the copula:

- (12) [avha vhana] [vha [vhatshudeni]
 (These children agrs students: these children are students)

In the negative, the copula **ndi** does not appear. It is replaced by a negative verb **si** with a negative morpheme **a**:

- (13) [Avha vhana] [a-[si [vhatshudeni]
 (these children neg-neg.vb students: these children are not students)

Alternatively AgrS may replace the negative verb **si**:

- (14) [Avha vhana] [a-[vha [vhatshudeni]
 (these children neg-agrs students: these children are not students)

Sesotho

The copula **ke** may appear with any complement:

- (15) [Maria] [ke [morutuwa]
(Maria copula student: Maria is a student)

In the negative the copula **ke** is replaced by a negative verb **se** with a negative morpheme **ha**:

- (16) [Maria] [ha-[se [morutuwa]
(Maria neg-neg.vb student: Maria is not a student)

Xitsonga

The copula in Xitsonga has the form [i] or [hi]. The copula [i] appears with DPs with an overt noun as head, while [hi] appears with a DP with a nominal modifier but with a pro as head:

- (17) a. [Maria] [i [mudyondzi]
(Maria copula student: Maria is a student)
b. [Xinkwa] [hi [lexi]
(Bread copula this: here is the bread)

In the negative a negative morpheme [a] appears before the copula which is now always [hi]:

- (18) [Maria] [a-[hi [mudyondzi]
(Maria neg-copula student: Maria is not a student)

Summary of the forms of the copula:

Positive forms:

IsiXhosa and isiZulu: [ng-] and copy of prefix

IsiZulu: [yi-], [w-] and low tone

Sesotho: [ke]

Tshivenda: [ndi]

Xitsonga: [i] or [hi]

Negative forms:

IsiXhosa and isiZulu: negative [a] with agr or negative verb [si], with or without copula

Sesotho: negative [ha] with negative verb [se]

Tshivenda: negative [a] with negative verb [si]

Xitsonga negative [a] with copula [hi]

Compulsory subjectival agreement

When the complex predicate which consists of a copula with a complement as described above, has to appear with dependent moods such as the Participle or the independent mood (in Xitsonga) subjectival agreement is compulsory when a subject is present:

IsiXhosa Participle:

- (19) Nangona [uThemba] [e-[ng-[umfundi], a-ka-[na-[lwazi]
(Although Themba agrs.1-copula-student, neg-args.1 – with – knowledge:
although Themba is a student, he has no knowledge)

The same subjectival agreement [e] above appears in isiZulu in class 1 (the sentence above also appears in isiZulu except that **nangona** had to change to **noma**.

Tshivenda Participle:

- (20) Arali [Maria] [e [mutshudeni]
(if Maria agrs.1 student: if Maria is a student)

Sesotho (with the copulative verb **le**)

- (21) ha [Maria] [e-[le [morutuwa]
(if Maria agrs.-cop.vb student: if Maria is a student)

Xitsonga (with the copulative verb **ri**)

- (22) loko [Maria] [a-[ri [mudyondzi]
(if Maria agrs.1-cop.vb student: if Maria is a student)

However, when the complex predicate appears without any subject, the copulative will still need subjectival agreement in cases like above with the Participle. These languages solve the problem as follows:

IsiXhosa

IsiXhosa uses the impersonal agreement morpheme [i] which has no reference to any noun class:

In a participial clause:

- (23) Xa [i-[ngu-unina], ndi-za ku-m-xelela
(If agr-copula-her.mother, I-will to-her-tell:
If it is her mother, I will tell her)

With kwa:

- (24) [I-[kwa-[z-[izinto zobufazi]
(agr-also-copula-things of-women: it is also things of women)

With compound tenses with deficient verbs, an overt subject may appear with the impersonal agreement [i] as above:

- (25) a. [Omnye wa-bantu] [y-a-[yi-[ng-[unina]
(one of-people agr-past-agr-copula-her.mother:
One of the people was her mother)
- b. [Abantu aba] [i-b-[i-ng-[abantu abanjani]?
(people these agr-past-agr-copula-people who-are-how:
These people were what kind of people?)

In some instances the agreement [i] appears with a compound tense, but it is not clear why this agreement has to appear:

- (26) a. Uyise wayemshiye engelusizi kuba [w-a [y-[e] [i-[k-[uku-phela ko-nyana]
(His father had left him without pity because [agrs.1-past def.vb-agrs.1]
[agr-copula-to-end of-son: his father had left him without pity because
he was the last son]
- b. [w-a [y-[e] uZola [i-[ng-[umntu othuleyo]
(agrs.1-past def.vb-agrs.1 Zola (agr-copula-person who-is-silent:
Zola was a silent person)

IsiZulu

IsiZulu also needs an agreement morpheme as above with isiXhosa but it uses the agreement morpheme [ku] in the place of [i]:

- (27) Uma [ku-[ng-[unina] ngi-zo-m-tshela
(if agr-copula-her.mother, I-will-her-tell:
if it is her mother, I will tell her)

This morpheme [ku] may also appear in isiXhosa (see the section below on the expletive).

Sesotho

Sesotho uses the agreement morpheme [e] even when an overt subject is present:

In participial clauses:

- (28) ha [Maria] [e-[le [morutuwa]
(if Maria agr-cop.vb student: if Maria is a student)

Without overt subject:

- (29) Ha [e-[le [barutuwa], ke-tla-ba-thusa
(if agr-cop.vb students, I-will-them-help:
if they are students, I will help them)

In a relative clause:

- (30) [Maria] [eo [e-[le-[ng] [morutuwa]
(Maria rel.det.agr-cop.vb-rel. marker student:
Maria who is a student)

With the morpheme sa:

- (31) Maria [e-[sa-[le] [morutuwa]
(Maria agr-still-cop.vb student:
Maria is still a student)

In compound tenses:

- (32) [Maria] [e-[ne] [e-[le] [morutuwa]
 (Maria agr-def.vb agr-cop.vb student:
 Maria was a student)

Xitsonga

An agreement morpheme has to appear with the copulative verb [ri]. With an overt subject, the agreement of the subject may appear with the copulative verb ri:

- (33) loko [Maria] [a-[ri] [mudyondzi]
 (if Maria agrs.1-cop.vb student: if Maria is a student)

However, it may sometimes happen, especially in the case of the past tense with the copulative verb ri, that the agreement with ri may either be that of the subject or the complement of ri:

Agreement with the subject:

- (34) [Maria] [a-[a-[ri] [mudyondzi]
 (Maria past-agrs.1-cop.vb student: Maria was a student)

Agreement with the complement of ri:

- (35) a. [xidyoho xa yena[a-ri-ri [futa]
 sin (cl.7) of him past-agrs.cl.5-cop.vb carelessness (cl.5)
 (His sin was carelessness)
- b. [Madambi] a-ri-ri [jaha ri kulukumba]
 Madambi [cl.1] past-agrs.cl.5-cop.vb young.man [cl.5] agrs.cl.5 big
 (Madambi was a big young man)
- c. [nkarhi wolowo[a-ya-ri [malembe marharhu [yena a-nga-se-lova]
 time (cl.3) that past-agrs.cl.6-cop.vb years (cl.6) three she agrs.cl.1-
 past-already-lost
 (That time was three years she was already lost (being dead)

When no subject appears with the complex predicate, the following possibilities of agreement are found:

- (36) (1) AgrS of complement NP:
 A-wu-ri [mixo wa nkarhi muni]?
 past-agrs.cl.3-cop.vb morning (cl.3) of time what
 (It was a morning of what time?)

A-wu-ri [ndyangu wo tirhandza hakunene]
 past-agrs.cl.3-cop.vb family (cl.3) of-to self-like very-much
 (It was a family of to like itself very much)

a-ri-ri [risimu leri a-va-ri-rhandza ngopfu exikolweni]
 past-agrs.cl.5-cop.vb song (cl.5) rel.det (cl.5) past-agrs.cl.2-agro.cl.5-like
 very-much in-school
 (It was a song which they liked very much at school)

(2) AgrS [ku] (expletive)
 A-ku-ri [hi [nkarhi wa ndzhenga]
 past-agrs.explet-cop.vb with time of afternoon]
 (It was at time of afternoon)

(3) AgrS [swi] (cl.8)
 A-sw-a.ha [ku-tlulanyana hafu]
 past-agrs.cl.8-still [to-pass.a.little half]
 (It was still a little past half (of the hour))

Loko swi-ri [tano], a-ndzi-ti-famb-el-i
 if agrs.cl.8-cop.vb so, neg-agrs-refl-go-appl-neg
 (If it is so, I am not going by myself)

Swi-te sw-a-ha-ri [tano], ndz.o-tw-a pongo r-a ku-holov-a
 agrs.cl.8-say.pf agrs.cl.8-still-cop.vb so, agrs.1ps.
 just-hear noise of to-be-angry
 (When things are still so, I just hear noise of anger)

A-swi-ta-va [kahle] ku-ndzi-hlongola
 past-agrs.cl.8-fut-be good to-agro.1ps-dismiss
 (It should be good to dismiss me)

Tshivenda

When no subject appears with a copulative predicate, the following strategies may be followed:

- (1) Agreement of the complement of the copulative will be used:
- (37) a. Arali [tshi [tshikolodo tshanga], ndi-d8o-tshi-badela
 (If agrs.7 debt (cl.7) of-me, I-will-it-pay: if it is my debt, I will pay it)
- b. [Y.o-vha [i [goloi khulwane]
 (ags.9.past-be agrs.9 car (9)big: it was a big car)
- c. L8il8a d8uvha l8a-swika, vhunga [dzi-re [mbuvha] dzo-vha dzo-sindwa
 (That day arrived, as [ags.10-cop.vb provisions-for-the-road (cl.10),
 they were being stamped: that day arrived as those things which are
 provisions for the road were being stamped]
- d. Vhunga [w.o.,-vha [u [n(wedzi wa Shu-ndunthule), ho-vha hu-si-tshee
 na
 tshifhinga
 (As [ags.3.past-be agrs.3 [month (cl.3) of May], there was no longer
 time: as it was the month of May, there was no longer time]

In (a) above the complement of the copulative is [tshikolodo tshanga] with the head noun in class 7. The agreement of class 7 (**tshi**) then appears as agreement of the copulative. The same issue is evident in the other examples: in (b) both in class 9, in (c) in class 10 and in (d) both are in class 3.

- (2) The morpheme [hu] may appear as the agreement morpheme:
- (38) a. [H.o-vha [hu [vhusiku vhu-si na tshedza tsha n(wedzi)
(Agr.hu.past-be agr.hu night agrs.14-neg.vb with light of moon: it was a
night which has no moonlight)
- b. A-ni-zwi-d8ivh-i zwauri [h.o-vha [hu [mut8angano]?
(neg-you-it-know-neg of-that [agr.hu.past-be agr.hu [meeting]:
don't you know that it was a meeting?]

Agreement in the copulative when the complement of the copulative is an Infinitive clause:

- (1) Either the copula **ndi** or the agreement morpheme **hu** of the Infinitive may appear when the copulative has an overt subject and when the copulative clause is in the Present tense of the Indicative mood:

- (39) a. [U-kanya] it8ali [hu/ndi [u-tumbula]
(To-live indeed [agrs.inf/copula [to-suffer (inf.)
(To live indeed it is to suffer)
- b. Kha nn8e [tshi-o-t8ahela-ho] [ndi/hu [u-t8ahisa fhedzi]
(To me agrs.7-past-lack-rel.marker [copula/agrs.inf [to-marry (inf.) only]:
to me what was missing is only to marry]

- (2) In other moods or tenses (not the Present tense Indicative as above):

- (2.1) The presence of the agreement morpheme [hu] of the Infinitive is compulsory when no subject appears with the copulative:

- (40) a. Vha-mu-vhudza zwauri arali [hu [u-ya sibadela], vha-d8o-t8uwa na e
(She-her-tell of-that if [agrs.inf. [to-go (inf.) to-hospital], she-will-go with
her: she told her that if it is to go to the hospital, she will go with her]
- b. Na-ralo, [hu-d8o-vha [u-d8i-fhura]
(You-past-that do, [agrs.inf-will-be to-self-deceive (inf.):
if you did that, it will be self-deceiving]

- (2.2) If the subject of the copulative with an Infinitive complement is an overt DP, the agreement of this subject may appear or the agreement of the Infinitive complement, or even a mixture of these two agreements:

- a. Agreement of the subject

- (41) [Thaidzo ya-we]_i [y_i.o-vha [i_i [u-wana mbuno]
(Problem of him (cl.9) agrs.9.past-be [agrs.9 [to-find (inf.) reason: his
problem was to find a reason]

- b. Agreement of the Infinitive:

- (42) [Thaidzi ya-we] h_i.o-vha [hu_i [u-wana_i mbuno]

- c. Agreement of the subject and the Infinitive:

(43) [Thaidzo ya-we]_i [yi.o-vha [hu]_j [hu-wana]_j mbuno]

2. THE COPULATIVE VERB [LI]

The copulative verb [LI] has been used to introduce a stative copulative but it has lost its overt form in many languages. In hypothetical Proto-Bantu this verb was said to have the form [li].

[LI] in isiXhosa and isiZulu

The copulative verb [LI] does not occur in isiZulu or isiXhosa.

Certain remnants of this verb may probably be observed in isolated cases, e.g. in the case of the progressive **sa** and the negative **nga** where the **a** of **nga** and **sa** seems to have coalesced to form **e** under influence of an **i**, this being the usual circumstances of coalescence of vowels in Xhosa and Zulu. Thus the progressive **sa** becomes **se**:

	Xhosa	Zulu
(44) a.	Lo mfazi u- se -m-hle	Lo mfazi u-se-mu-hle
	(This woman agrs.1-sa-pref.1-beautiful)	
	(This woman is still beautiful)	

The negative **nga** become **nge**:

	Xhosa	Zulu
b.	Xa i- nge -bomvu, ndiza kuyithenga	U-ma i-nge-bomvu, ngizoyithenga
	(If agr-neg-red, I-will to-it-buy)	
	(If it is not red, I will buy it)	

It is clear that one can only speak of remnants of the verb **li** in these cases, probably only the **i** of **li**, since it does not cover all instances of coalescence of **a**. The **a** of the potential morpheme **nga** does not change to **e**:

	Xhosa	Zulu
(45)	Laa mthi u- nga -m-khulu	Leso sihlahla si-nga-ba-sikhulu
	(That tree agrs-pot-pref-big)	
	(That tree can be big)	

The agreement morphemes with **a** also do not change to **e**:

	Xhosa	Zulu
(46) a.	Abafazi a- ba -ba-hle	Abafazi a- ba -bahle
	(Women neg-agrs-pref.2-beautiful)	
	(Women are not beautiful)	
b.	Lo mntu a- ka -m-bi	Lomuntu a- ka -mu-bi
	(This person neg-agrs-pref.1-ugly)	
	(This person is not ugly)	
c.	La madoda a- ka -ma-khulu	La madona a- wa -ma-khulu
	(These men neg-agrs-pref.6-big)	
	(These men are not big)	

The following complements appear without a copula or copulative verb:

Adjectival phrase

- (47) [Le mithi] [mî-[khúlu]
(These trees prefix 4-big: these trees are big)

The prefix **mi-** of the subject **i-mi-thi** appears with a high tone in the copulative. In the negative the subjectival agreement of **imithi** has to appear with the form above:

- (48) [Le mithi] [a-[yi-[mi-[khulu]
(These trees neg-agrs.4-pref.4-big: these trees are not big)

Nominal-Relative phrase

- (49) IsiXhosa: [Intloko] [i-[buhlungu]
IsiZulu: [Ikhanda] [li-[buhlungu]
(Head agrs-painful: head is painful)

The negative will accept a negative morpheme **a** before the AgrS above:

- (50) IsiXhosa: [Intloko] [a-[yi-[buhlungu]
IsiZulu: [Ikhanda] [a-[li-[buhlungu]
(Head is not painful)

Locative phrase

The copulative with a locative phrase as complement will appear as above with AgrS:

- (51) [Abantu] [ba-[s]-[e-m-zi-ni]
(People agrs.2-(s)-[loc-pref-village-loc]: the people are in the village)

The negative may accept a locative pronoun **kho**:

- (52) [Abantu] [a-[ba-kho] [emzini]
(People neg-agrs.2-pro in-village: the people are not in the village)

PP with [na] as head

- (53) [Lo mfazi] [u-[n-[abantwana ababini]
(This woman agrs.1-with-children two: this woman has two children)

A negative morpheme appears with agreement:

- (54) [Lo mfazi] [a-ka-[n-[abantwana ababini]
(This woman neg-agrs.1-with-children two: this woman does not have two children)

[LI] in Sesotho

A remnant of this verb does not appear in most cases in Sesotho. The following complements appear without a copula or copulative verb in Sesotho:

Adjectival phrase:

- (55) **Sesotho:** [Maria] [o [mo-[tle]
 (Maria agrs.1 prefix.1-beautiful: Maria is beautiful)

The negative of this copulative appears with a negative morpheme [**ha**]:

- (56) Maria] [ha-[a [mo-[tle]
 (Maria neg-agrs.1 prefix.1-beautiful: Maria is not beautiful)

Nominal-Relative phrase

- (57) [Lerato lena] [le [matla]
 (Love this agrs.5 strong: this love is strong)

With a negative [a-]:

- (58) [Lerato lena] [a-[le [matla]
 (Love this neg-agrs.5 strong: this love is not strong)

Locative phrase

- (59) a. [Batho] [ba [teng]
 (People agrs.2 present: the people are present)
- b. [Batho] [ha-[ba-[yo]
 (People neg-agrs.2-loc.pro: the people are not present)

There is a copulative verb [le] which has a very restricted distribution in Sesotho. This verb is a remnant of the old copulative verb.

It appears in subordinate or embedded clauses where [le] has to appear in either the Participle or Relative.

Situative with an adjectival complement:

- (60) a. Matlo ana a-ne a-bonahala [a-**le** matle]
 (Houses these agrs.6-past. agrs.6-appear agrs.6-cop.vb beautiful)
 (These houses appeared to be beautiful)
- b. Dintho tsena di-ne [di-**le** kgubedu]
 (Things these agrs.10-past agrs.10-cop.vb.red)
 (These things were red)

Situative with a nominal relative complement:

- (61) a. Thipa ena e-ne [e-**le** botswa]
 (Knife this agrs.9-past agrs.9-cop.vb. blunt)
 (This knife was blunt)
- b. Ba-sala [ba-**le** inotshi]
 (Agrs.2-remain agrs.2-cop.vb.alone)
 (They remained they being alone)

The copulative verb **le** may only appear in one type of relativized sentence. In this sentence the complement of the copulative verb is usually a noun phrase:

- (62) Ngwana [eo e-**le**ng morutuwa] ke wa ka
 (Child rel.det agr-cop.vb.ng student copula of me)
 (The child who is a student is mine)

In the second place, the copulative verb **le** is found in main sentences only when inflection of the sentence shows the progressive aspect **sa**:

- (63) a. Ba bang ba-re [o-sa-**le** monyenyane]
 (pref some agrs.2-say agrs.1-sa-cop.vb small)
 (Some say he is still small)
- b. Mose ona [o sa **le** metsi]
 (dress this agrs.3-sa-cop.vb.wet)
 (This dress is still wet)

[LI] in Venda

Remnants of this verb may probably be observed in those copulatives with a compulsory agreement morpheme as in the case of classes 1, 2 and 6 in the Situative: in these classes the agreement morphemes all take a vowel **e** which may be the result of the presence at one time of the copulative verb **li**:

- (64) Uyu n(wana u-d8o-vha [**e** mulapfu]
 (This child agrs.1-will-become agrs.1 tall)
 (This child will become tall)

It is clear that one can only speak of remnants of the verb **li** in these cases since it only covers those agreement morphemes which have a vowel **a** as part of the morpheme, i.e. class 1, 2 and 6 in the Situative Mood. No other agreement morphemes are affected:

- (65) Arali rokho i tswuku, ndi d8o i renga
 (If dress agrs.9 red, I-will-it-buy)
 (If the dress is red, I will buy it)

However, these forms may be ignored in classes 1, 2 and 6 and only the agreement morpheme of the Situative may appear:

- (66) a. (i) Piti **ndi** mudededzi
 (Piet copula teacher)
 (Piet is a teacher)
- (ii) Arali Piti **e/a** mudededzi
 (If Piet agrs.1 teacher)
 (If Piet is a teacher)
- b. (i) Uyu muthu **ndi** muhulwane
 (This person copula big)
 (This person is big)

- (ii) Arali uyu muthu **e/a** muhulwane ...
 (If this person agrs.1 big)
 (If this person is big ...'

The same remnant of the copulative verb **I** is also evident in copulatives where Inflection of the verb shows the progressive aspect **tsha** which changes to **tshee** in the copulative:

- (67) a. Vhan(we vha ri [u **tshee** mut8uku]
 (Some agrs.2-say agrs.1-still small)
 (Some say he is still small)
- b. **lyi** rokho [i tshee nn8u]
 (This dress agrs.9-still wet)
 (This dress is still wet)

Note that this morpheme has another meaning with non-copulative verbs and may only appear in the negative in such sentences:

- (68) Uyu n(wana ho ngo **tsha** neta
 (This child is no longer tired)

The absence of a copulative verb is also evident in sentences with a prepositional phrase with NA or locative as complement.

- (69) a. Musidzana uyu [u [**hayani**]
 (This girl is at home)
- b. Uyu munna [u [na kholomo]
 (This man has cows)

It should be noted that the copula **ndi** may always be replaced by an agreement morpheme, coindexed with the subject, i.e. in the indicative Present Tense. In such cases the appearance of the agreement morpheme is optional and not compulsory as above.

- (70) a. Piti **ndi** mudededzi
 Piti **u** mudedezi
 (Piet is a teacher)
- b. Uyu musadzi **ndi** mulapfu
 Uyu musadzi **u** mulapfu
 (This woman is tall)

The copulative verb [LI] can appear as [re] which may only appear in relative sentences. This verb is also a stative verb and it is still very closely related to the old copulative verb **li**.

- (71) Piti [a-**re** [mudededzi]
 (Piet who is a teacher)

[LI] in Tsonga

Absence of a copulative verb

Noun phrase as complement with first and second person subject:

- (72) a. (i) Ndzi mudyondzi
 `I am a student'
 (ii) [pro_i] [ndzi_i] [mudyondzi]
- b. (i) Hi vadyondzi
 `We are students'
 (ii) [pro_i] [hi_i] [vadyondzi]

The locative as complement

When the locative noun phrase has a lexical noun as head, the locative morphology will appear with such nouns: the noun will have a locative suffix **-ini**, but also a locative prefix **le-**. This locative prefix **le-** occurs in copulative constructions and in descriptive possessive constructions:

- (73) a. Vanhu [va [le mutini]
 (People agrs.2 in-village)
 `The people are in the village'
- b. [Hi [le dorobeni]
 (ags.1pp in-town)
 `We are in town'

This same locative morpheme **le-** also occurs in the negative:

- (74) Vanhu [a-va [le mutini]
 (People neg-agrs.2 in-village)
 `The people are not in the village'

The absence of a copulative verb is also evident when the locative complement is a locative demonstrative such as **laha**, **kwala** or a locative pronoun **kona**:

- (75) a. Vana va kona
 (Children agrs.2 present)
 `The children are present'
- b. Mudyondzisi u kwala xikolweni
 (Teacher agrs.1 here at-school)
 `The teacher is here at school'

See also the negative:

- (76) Vana a-va kona
 (Children neg-agrs.2 present)

`The children are not present'

With a prepositional phrase with [na] as head

There is also no copulative verb in the Present Tense positive and negative with a PP with **na** as head:

- (77) a. Maria u [ni vana vambirhi]
(Maria agrs.1 with children two)
'Maria has two children'
- b. Maria a-nga [na vana vambirhi]
(Maria neg-agrs.1 with children two)
'`Maria does not have two children'

The copulative verb ri

The copulative verb **ri** may appear in the following instances:

The Past Tense with [a]:

Noun phrase as complement

- (78) a. Maria [a-a-ri[nhwana]
(Maria [past-agrs.1-cop.vb.girl])
'Maria was a girl'
- b. Swakudya swa wena [a-swi-ri [leswi]
(Food of you past-agrs.8-cop.vb.this)
'This was your food'
- c. Tihomu ta mina [a-ti-ri [tikulu]
(Cattle of me past-agrs.10-cop.vb.big)
'My cattle were big'
- d. Tihomu ta ka hina [a-ti-ri [timbirhi]
(Cattle of us past-agrs.10-cop.vb.two)
'Our cattle were two'

The verb **ri** also appears in the negative of the past tense of the sentences above:

- (79) a. Maria [a-a-nga-ri [nhwana]
(Maria past-agrs.1-neg-cop.vb.girl)
'Maria was not a girl'
- b. Swakudya swa wena [a-swi-nga-ri [leswi]
(Food of you past-agrs.8-neg-cop.vb.this)
'This was not your food'
- c. Tihomu ta mina [a-ti-nga-ri [tikulu]
(Cattle of me past-agrs.10-neg-cop.vb.big)

`My cattle were not big'

The locative as a complement

- (80) a. Vanhu [a-va-ri [edorobeni]
(People past-agrs.2-cop.vb. in-town)
'The people were in town'
- b. Vanhu [a-va-nga-ri [edorobeni]
(People past-agrs.2-neg-cop.vb.in-town)
'The people were not in town'
- c. N'wana [a-a-ri]kona]
(Child past-agrs.1-cop.vb.present)
'The child was present'
- d. N'wana [a-a-nga-ri [kona]
(Child past-agrs.1-neg-cop.vb.present)
'The child was not present'

With a prepositional phrase with na as head:

- (81) a. Wansati [a-a-ri [na [vana vambirhi]
(Woman past-agrs.1-cop.vb.with children two)
'The woman had two children'
- b. Wansati [a-a-nga-ri [na [vana vambirhi]
(Woman past-agrs.1-neg-cop.vb. with children two)
'The woman did not have two children'

The Infinitive as a complement:

In the Past Tense with **a**, the subjectival agreement will be that of the Infinitive **ku**, i.e. of the complement of the verb **ri**. Thus the agreement will not be with the subject:

- (82) Ntirho wa le purasini [a-ku-ri [ku-rima]
(Work of on-farm past-agrs.15-cop.vb.to-plough)
'The work on the farm was to plough'

The Dependent Mood

Noun phrase as complement

After **loko**:

- (83) a. Loko tihomu leti [ti-ri [ta mina], ndzi-ta-ti-xavisa
(If cattle these agrs.10-cop.vb. of me, I-will-them-sell)
'If these cattle are mine, I will sell them'
- b. Loko Maria [a-ri [mudyondzi], ndzi-ta-n'wi-vutisa
(If Maria agrs.1-cop.vb.student, I-will-her-ask)

`If Maria is a student, I will ask her'

The verb **ri** also appears in the negative of these sentences with the negative morpheme [nga]:

- (84) a. Loko tihomu leti [ti-nga-ri [ta mina]....
 b. Loho Maria [a-nga-ri [mudyondzi]...

In subordinate clauses indicating progressive or perfective aspect:

- (85) a. Maria [u-ta-va [a-ri [mudyondzi]
 (Maria agrs.1-will-be agrs.1-cop.vb.student)
 `Maria will be a student by then'
 b. Maria [u-ta-va [a-nga-ri [mudyondzi]
 (Maria agrs.1-will-be agrs.1-neg-cop.vb.student)
 `Maria will not be a student by then'

The locative as a complement

- (86) a. Loko mudyondzisi [a-ri-[laha], ndzi-ta-n'wi-vutisa
 (If teacher agrs.1-cop.vb.here, I-will-him-ask)
 `If the teacher is here, I will ask him'
 b. Mudyondzi [u-ta-va [a-ri [kwala]
 (Student agrs.1-will-be agrs.1-cop-vb.here)
 `The student will be here'
 c. [Va-ta-va [va-ri [edorobeni]
 (Agrs.2-will-be agrs.2-cop-vb. in town)
 `They will be in town'

With a prepositional phrase with na as head

- (87) a. Loko Maria [a-ri [na [vana], ndzi-ta-n'wi-vutisa
 (If Maria agrs.1-cop.vb with children, I-will-her-ask)
 `If Maria has children, I will ask her'
 b. [Ndzi-ta-va [ndzi-ri [na [tihomu timbirhi]
 (agrs.1ps-will-be agrs.1 ps-cop-vb. cattle two)
 `I will have two cattle'

With the aspect morpheme [-aha-]:

Noun phrase as complement

- (88) a. Maria [wa-ha-ri [mudyondzi]
 (Maria agrs.1-still-cop.vb.student)
 `Maria is still a student'

- b. Tihomu ta ka hina [ta-ha-ri [timbirhi]
 (Cattle of us agrs.10-still-cop.vb.two)
 `Our cattle are still two`

With a locative complement:

- (89) Vanhu [va-ha-ri [ekhixini]
 (People agrs.2-still-cop.vb in-kitchen)
 `The people are still in the kitchen`

With a prepositional phrase with na as head

- (90) Wansati [wa-ha-ri [na [vana [vambirhi]
 (Woman agrs.1-still-cop.vb.with children two)
 `The woman still has two children`

The negative of the relative

Noun phrase as complement

- (91) a. I swakudya [leswi [swi-nga-ri-ki [swa mina]
 (It-is food rel.det agrs.8-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker of me)
 `It is food which is not mine`
- b. I tihomu [leti [ti-nga-ri-ki [ta mina]
 (It-is cattle rel.det agrs.10-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker of me)
 `It is cattle which are not mine`

With a locative complement

- (92) [Nyama [leyi [yi-nga-ri-ki [kona]
 (Meat rel.det agrs.9-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker here)
 `Meat which is not here`

With a prepositional phrase with na as head

- (93) [Wansati [loyi [a-nga-ri-ki [na [vana vambirhi]
 (Woman rel.det agrs.1-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker with children two)
 `The woman who does not have two children`

3. THE NEGATIVE COPULATIVE VERB SE/SI

Sesotho

The negative verb **se** always replaces the copulative verb **le**:

- (94) a. i) [ha [morwetsana [a-**le** motle]]]
(If girl agrs.1-cop.vb beautiful)
'If the girl is beautiful'
- ii) [ha [morwetsana [a-**se** motle]]]
(if girl agrs.1-neg.cop.vb beautiful)
'if the girl is not beautiful'
- b. i) [ha [diaparo [di-**le** metsi]]]
(if clothes agrs.8-cop.vb wet)
'if the clothes are wet'
- ii) [ha [diaparo [di-**se** metsi]]]
(if clothes agrs.8-neg.cop.vb wet)
'if the clothes are not wet'

In the second place, the negative verb **se** is found in the negative of the copula **ke**:

- (95) a. Ngwana enwa **ke** wa ka
(child this copula of me)
'This child is mine'
- b. Ngwana enwa hase **wa** ka
(child this neg-neg.cop.vb of me)
'This child is not mine'

The negative verb **se** has to appear with a negative morpheme **ha**, making this a double negative.

The clearest indication that **se** is a copulative verb is seen in relative clauses. In such sentences the verb always has to appear with a relative marker **ng** and this marker can be found with **se**:

- (96) a. ngwana [eo [e **seng** wa ka]]
(child rel.det agr cop.vb.rel.marker of me)
'the child who is not mine'
- b. diaparo [tse **seng** metsi]
(clothes rel.det.agrs.8 cop.vb.rel.marker wet)
'clothes which are not wet'
- c. morwetsana [ya **seng** motle]
(girl rel.det.agrs.1 cop.vb.rel.marker beautiful)
'the girl who is not beautiful'

The copulative verb **se** may also appear as a prefixal morpheme with the copulative verb **na**:

- (97) [ha [mosadi [a **se** na bana]]
(if woman agrs.1-neg-cop.vb children)
'if the woman has no children'

The possibility of **se** appearing as a prefixal morpheme is not dependent only on the copulative verb **na** as in (97), but it may be found with any non-copulative verb in moods such as the Subjunctive:

- (98) Ke-batla hore bana [ba-**se**-nthuse]
 (I-want that children agrs.2-neg-me-help)
 'I want the children not to help me'

Venda

The negative verb **si** may appear in the participle::

- (99) a. Arali musidzana [e [mut8uku]
 (If the girl is small)
- b. Arali musidzana [a [si [mut8uku]
 (If the girl is not small)

In the second place, the negative verb **si** is found in the negative of the copula **ndi**:

- (100)a. Uyu n(wana [**ndi** [wanga]
 (This child is mine)
- b. Uyu n(wana [a [**si** [wanga]
 (This child is not mine)

It is interesting to note that in (100b) the negative verb **si** has to appear with a negative morpheme **a**, making this sentence a double negative. No agreement is found in inflection in the case of (100b).

The clearest indication that **si** is a copulative verb is seen in relative sentences. In such sentences the verb always replaces **re**:

- (101) N(wana a-re wa-nga
 (Child agrs.1-cop.vb of-me)
 (The child who is mine)
- N(wana [a [si [wanga]
 (Child agrs.1 neg.cop.vb of-me)
 (The child who is not mine)

The copulative verb **si** may also appear with the prepositional phrase with NA or a locative NP:

- (102) Arali musadzi [a [si [na vhana]
 (if woman agrs.1 neg.cop.vb with children)
 (If the woman has no children)

4. THE COPULATIVE VERB NGA IN XITSONGA

Noun phrase as complement

In the positive of the relative clause a copulative verb **nga** appears which is not the negative morpheme **nga**:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(103) I tihomu [leti [ti-nga [ta mina]
 (it-is cattle rel.det agrs.10-cop.vb
 of me)
 (It is cattle which are mine)</p> | <p>I swakudya [leswi [swi-nga [swa mina]
 (It-is food rel.det agrs.8-cop.vb
 of me)
 (It is food which is mine)</p> |
|---|--|

With a locative complement

- (104) [Nyama [leyi [yi-**nga** [kona]
 (meat rel.det agrs.9-cop.vb present)
 (Meat which is here)

With a prepositional phrase with na as head

- (105) Wansati [loyi [a-**nga** [na [vana vambirhi]
 (woman rel.det agrs.1-cop.vb with children two)
 (The woman who has two children)

5. THE COPULATIVE VERB BA

IsiXhosa and isiZulu

The copulative verb [**ba**] appears in these languages. In comparison with the other copulatives above, the copulative verb **ba** may appear in all the categories of tense, mood and aspect. In this regard it is not different from any other verb. The only difference with other verbs is the complement of **ba**. As with other copulatives, the verb **ba** forms a complex predicate. This means that it may only appear when combined with an appropriate complement. Such a complement has to show features of a copulative such as a copula with a nominal complement. The following complements may appear with **ba**:

- (106) a. **[DP]**: the DP must appear with a copula as indicated above:

Ndi-fun-a [uku-ba [ng-[utitshala]
 (I-want to-become copula –teacher: I want to become a teacher)
 The copulative **ba** has a complement with a copula: [ng-]

- b. **[AP]**: all adjectives have to appear with the prefix of the subject after the verb **ba**:

Lo mfazi u-funa [uku-ba [m-hle]
 (This woman agrs.1-want to-be prefix.1-beautiful:
 this woman wants to become beautiful)

The adjective [m-hle] above has the prefix [-m-] of **umfazi**, the subject, which is in class 1.

In class 9 and 10 the prefix of the adjective only appears as [n] and not as **in-** or **zin-** as with other copulatives:

Le ntombi [i-za ku-ba [n-tle]

(This girl agrs.9-will to-be prefix 9-beautiful: this girl will become beautiful)

- c. **Relative clause:** the nominal relative stem appears without any agreement as complement of **ba**:
Impahla ya-m [i-za ku-ba [manzi]
(clothes of-me agrs.9-will to-be wet: my clothes will become wet)
- d. **Locative phrase:** locative nouns with the prefix [e-] always appear with [s] before the prefix **e-** in all copulatives, as with the copulative verb **ba**:
Ndi-funa [uku-ba [s-] e-Kapa]
(I-want to-be [s] in-Cape Town)
- e. **PP with na:** any PP with **na** may appear as complement of **ba**:
Ndi-funa [uku-ba [ne-[moto entsha]
(I-want to-be with-car new: I want to have a new car)

Tshivenda [vha]

The verb [vha] may appear with any complement of a copulative as in isiXhosa and isiZulu above:

- (107) a. [Vhathu [vha-ne [vha-d8o-d8a munyanyani [vha-d8o-vha [vha-nzhi]
(People [agrs.2-pres [agrs.2-will-come to feast agrs.2-will-be [pref.2-many]: The people who will come to the feast will be many)
- b. [Tshifhat8uwo tsha-we [tshi-shanduka [tsh.a-vha [tshi-tswu]
(Face of-his agrs.7-change agrs.7.cons-be [pref-black]: his face changes and it becomes black)

Sesotho [ba]

- (108) a. [Ba-tla-ba [ba-ngata]
(Agrs.2-will-be pref-many: they will be many)
- b. [Dipelo tsa bona [di-b.ile [bohloko]
(Hearts of them agrs.10-become.past pain: their hearts were painful)

Xitsonga [va]

Noun phrase as complement

The inchoative copulative verb **va** may occur in any tense such as the Future Tense :

- (109) a. Tihomu ta mina [ti-ta-va [tikulu]
(My cattle will become big)
- b. Tihomu ta mina [a-ti-nga-v-i [ti-kulu]
(My cattle will not become big)

With the aspect morpheme se in the negative:

- (110) [A-ndzi-si-va [mudyondzi]
(I am not yet a student)

LOC								
Ind	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI	LI
Ptc	ri	ri	le	se	LI	LI	LI	si
Rel	nga	ri	le	se	LI	LI	re	si
Past	ri	ri	-	-	-	-	-	-
NA								
Ind	LI	LI	na	na	LI	LI	LI	LI
Ptc	ri	ri	na	na	LI	LI	LI	si
Rel	nga	ri	na	na	LI	LI	re	si
Past	ri	ri	-	-	-	-	-	-

SECTION III: COMPLEMENTS OF COPULATIVE VERBS

1. COMPLEMENTS OF THE COPULA:

1.1 [DP]

Any DP will qualify as a complement of a copulative verb with a copula as the most frequent representative of these verbs:

1.1.1 The DP consist of a head noun only:

Sesotho: (1) Maria [ke [morutuwa]]
(Maria cop student: Maria is a student)

1.1.2 A nominal modifier may appear together with a head noun as a complement

Demonstrative

Xitsonga: (2) Vana va mina [i [vana lava]]
(Children of me cop children these)
(My children are these children)

Adjectival phrase

Sesotho: (3) Lehwetla [ke [nako e n-tle]]
(Autumn cop time adj.det agr-beautiful)
(Autumn is a beautiful time)

Possessive phrase

IsiXhosa: (4) Le ndlu [li-[khaya la-khe]]
(This house cop-home of-him)
(This house is his home)

Absolute pronoun

Sesotho: (5) Dikgomo tsa ka [ke [dikgomo tsona tse fula-ng mane]
(Cattle of me cop cattle them rel.det graze-rel.marker there)
(My cattle are the cattle which are grazing there)

1.1.3 The complement may have an empty head together with a nominal modifier. Such a pro has noun class features but no overt form:

Demonstrative

Xitsonga: (6) Yindlu ya hina [hi [pro leyi]]
(House of us cop this: our house is this one)

Adjectival phrase

Sesotho: (7) Palesa ena [ke [pro e n-tle]]
(Flower this cop pro adj.det agr.beautiful)
(This flower is a beautiful one)

Possessive phrase

IsiXhosa: (8) Zonke ezi zinto [z-[e-[za-kho]]
(All these things cop-det-of-you)
(All these things are yours)

Absolute pronoun

Sesotho: (9) Kgomo ya ntate Seeiso [ke [pro yona [eo [ke-e-rek-ile-ng]]]
(Cattle of Mr Seeiso cop pro it rel.det I-it-buy-past-rel.marker)
(The cattle of Mr Seeiso is it that I have bought)

1.1.4 Moods and Tenses with copulative verbs with a DP complement

Indicative Present Tense

Tsonga

Maria i [mudyondzi]
Maria cop [student]
Maria is a student)

Maria a-hi [mudyondzi]
Maria neg-cop [student]
(Maria is not a student)

Sesotho

Maria ke [morutuwa]
Maria cop [student]
(Maria is a student)

Maria ha-se [morutuwa]
Maria neg-neg. cop. vb [student]
(Maria is not a student)

Xhosa

UMaria ngu-[mfundi]
Maria cop-[student]
(Maria is a student)

UMaria a-si-[ngu-ye umfundi]
Maria neg-neg. cop. vb-[cop-pro student]
(Maria is not a student)

Venda

Maria ndi [mutshudeni]
Maria cop [student]
Maria u [mutshudeni]
Maria agrs [student]
(Maria is a student)

Maria a-si [mutshudeni]
Maria neg-neg.cop.vb [student]
Maria h-a [mutshudeni]
Maria neg-agrs [student]
(Maria is not a student)

Participle Present Tense

Tsonga

Loko Maria a-ri [mudyondzi]
if Maria agrs-cop.vb [student]
(If Maria is a student)

loko Maria a-nga-ri [mudyondzi]
if Maria agrs-neg-cop.vb [student]
(If Maria is not a student)

Sesotho

ha Maria e-le [morutuwa]
if Maria agr.cop-cop vb [student]
(If Maria is a student)

ha Maria e-se [morutuwa]
if Maria agr.cop-neg. cop.vb [student]
(If Maria is not a student)

Xhosa

xa uMaria e-[ngu-mfundi]
if Maria agrs-[cop-student]
(If Maria is a student)

xa uMaria e-nge-[ngu-ye umfundi]
if Maria agrs-neg-[cop-pro student]
(If Maria is not a student)

Venda

arali Maria e/a [mutshudent]
if Maria agrs [student]
(If Maria is a student)

arali Maria a-si [mutshudenti]
if Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [student]
(If Maria is not a student)

Relative

Tsonga

Maria loyi a-nga [mudyondzi]
Maria rel.det agrs-cop.rel.vb [student]

(Maria who is a student)

Maria loyi a-nga-ri-ki [mudyondzi]
Maria rel.det agrs-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker
[student]
(Maria who is not a student)

Sesotho

Maria eo e-le-ng [morutuwa]
Maria rel.det agr.cop-cop.vb-rel.marker
[student]
(Maria who is a student)

Maria eo-e-se-ng [morutuwa]
Maria rel.det agr.cop-neg.cop.vb-rel.
marker [student]
(Maria who is not a student)

Xhosa

uMaria o-[ngu-mfundi]
Maria rel.det.agrs-[cop-student]
(Maria who is a student)

uMaria o-nge-[ngu-ye umfundi]
Maria rel.det.agrs-neg-[cop-pro student]
(Maria who is not a student)

Venda

Maria a-re [mutshudenti]
Maria agrs-cop.rel.vb [student]
(Maria who is a student)

Maria a-si [mutshudenti]
Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [student]
(Maria who is not a student)

Past Tense

Tsonga

Maria a-a-ri mudyondzi
Maria past-agrs-cop.vb student
(Maria was a student)

Maria a-a-nga-ri mudyondzi
Maria past-agrs-neg-cop.vb student
(Maria was not a student)

Xhosa

UMaria w-a-[ng-umfundi]
 Maria agrs-past-cop-student
 (Maria was a student)

[NGA]**isiXhosa**

UMaria [a-nga-[ngumfundi]
 (Maria can be a student)

UMaria [a-ka-nge-b-i [ngumfundi]
 (Maria cannot be a student)

Sesotho

Maria e-ka-ba morutuwa
 (Maria can be a student)

Maria e-ke-ke ya-ba morutuwa
 (Maria cannot be a student)

Xitsonga

Vana lava va-nga-va vadyondzi
 (These children can be students)

Vana lava va-nge-v-i vadyondzi
 (These children cannot be students)

Tshivenda

Maria a-nga-vha mutshudeni
 (Maria can be a student)

Maria a-nga-si-vh-e mutshudeni
 (Maria cannot be a student)

[sa, aha, kha-d8i]**isiXhosa**

UMaria u/i-se-ngumfundi
 (Maria is still a student)

UMaria a-ka-se-[ng-o-mfundi]
 (Maria is no longer a student)

Sesotho

Maria e-sa-le morutuwa
 (Maria is still a student)

Maria ha-e-sa-le morutuwa
 (Maria is no longer a student)

Xitsonga

Vana lava [v-[a-ha-[ri] vadyondzi
 (These children are still students)

Vana lava [a-v-[a-ha-[ri] vadyondzi
 (These children are no longer students)

Tshivenda

Avha vhana [vha-kha-d8i-vha]
 vhatshudeni
 (These children are still students)

Avha vhana [a-vha-tsha-vha]
 vhatshudeni
 (These children are no longer students)

Avha vhana [vha-tshee] vhatshudeni
 (These children are still students)

Avha vhana [a-vha-tshee] vhatshudeni
 (These children are no longer students)

1.2 Infinitival clause

An Infinitive clause may appear as complement of a copula:

isiXhosa:

- (10) a. Yonke le nto [ku-[ku-nga-kw-azi kwa-kho u-ku-qeqesha]]
 (Whole this thing cop-inf-neg-agro-know of-you prepref-inf-discipline: This whole thing is your not knowing how to discipline)

- b. [U-k-on-akal-a kw-enye [ku-[ku-lunga kw-enye]]
 (prepref-inf-be. wrong-neut-FV in-one cop-inf-be. right in-one:
 To be wrong in one thing is to be right in another)

Sesotho:

- (11) Bohato [boo [mmuso o-bo-nk-ile-ng] [ke [ho-ba-batl-el-a dipoho tsa madi]]
 (Step rel-det government agrs-agro-take-past-rel. maker cop to-them-
 want-appl-FV bulls of blood: The step which the government took is to
 look for stud-bulls for them)

Tshivenda:

- (12) Kha nn8e tsh-o-t8ahela-ho [ndi [u-[t8ahisa fhedzi]]
 (To me agr-past-be-missed-rel.marker cop to-marry only:
 To me what is missing is only to marry)

Xitsonga:

- (13) Ntirho wa le purasini [i [ku-risa tihomu]]
 (Work of in farm cop to-herd cattle: The work on the farm is to herd cattle)

1.3 Complementizer clauses

Sesotho [hore]:

- (14) Kgopolo ya hae [e-ne [e-le [hore [o-se a-qet-ile]]
 (Thought of his agr-past agr-cop.vb that he-already he-finish-past:
 His thought was that he was already finished)

Tshivenda [uri]:

- (15) Zw-o-n-dina-ho [ndi [uri [vha-tshi-amba] nd-o-vha [ndi-tshi-khou-vha-pf-a]]
 (agr-past-me-hurt-rel.marker cop that agrs-ptc-talk I-past-be I-ptc-impf-
 them-hear-FV: What hurt me is that while they were talking, I was
 hearing them)

Xitsonga [leswaku]:

- (16) Ntwanano wa hina [i [leswaku [wena u-ta-tsham-a laha]]
 (Agreement of us cop that you agrs-will-stay-FV here:
 Our agreement is that you will stay here)

IsiXhosa [ukuba]:

- (17) Into e-ndi-khathaz-a-yo [k-[ukuba [ndi-nga-yi-bon-i indawo ya-m njeng-
 enkulu]
 (Thing rel-det-agro-worry-FV-rel.marker cop that I-neg-agro-see-neg
 place of me as-elder: The thing which worries me is that I do not see it my
 place as an elder)

1.4 Sesotho [hobane]:

- (18) Lebaka [e-ne [e-le [hobane [eitse [ka yona nako eo] mohopolo wa hae w-a-phatlall-a]]
 (Reason agr-past agr-cop.vb because when at it time that thought of his agr-past-scatter-FV: The reason was because at that specific time his thought was scattered)

1.5 Copula with locative phrases

No overt subject may appear with these copulative predicates. Any locative phrase may be used with the copula **ke** in Sesotho or the copula **ndi** in Tshivenda.

The locative phrase with a locative head with a locative morpheme:

Sesotho [-eng]:

- (19) Ke-tseba hore ditlhapi di ngata, [ke [kwets-eng]]
 (I-know that fishes agrs many, copula in-deep-place-in-river: I know that the fishes are many, it is in a deep place in the river)

Tshivenda [-ni]:

- (20) Hangei hayani [ndi [mut&a-ni [hune [vha-kuvhangana hone]]
 (There at-home copula yard-loc rel.det. agrs-meet pro: There at home it is in the yard where they meet)

Locative demonstratives

Sesotho:

- (21) [Ke [mona [re-bona a-se a-le lekgatheng la ho-ya sekolong]]
 (Copula here we-see he-already he-cop.vb.on-point of to-go to-school: It is here we see him already on the point of going to school)

Tshivenda:

- (22) [Ndi [henefha [fethu ha-vho]]
 (copula here at-place of-them: It is here at their place)

Locative relative clauses

Sesotho:

- (23) [Ke [moo [a-ya-ng ho yena ho-mo-thusa]]
 (copula rel.det.agrs-go-rel.marker to him to-him-help: It is where he goes to him to help him)

Tshivenda:

- (24) [Ndi [hune [nn&e nda-d&o-mu-londa fhi?]]
 (copula rel.det. I agrs. a-will-him-trace where: It is where that I will trace him?)

1.6 Copula with prepositional phrases

Sesotho

PP with]**ha** + clause]:

- (25) Ha a-fihla teng, [ke [ha [a-qala ho-lwana]]
 (When agrs-arrive there, copula when agrs-begin to-fight: When he arrives there, it is then he begins to fight)

PP with [**ka** + DP]:

- (26) [Ke [ka [labaka la eng [hore [motho a-se-kgotsofats-w-e ke seo a-le-ng sona?]]]
 (copula with reason of what that person agrs-neg-satisfy-passive-neg copula rel.det agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker: Why is it that a person is not satisfied with what he is?)

Tshivenda

PP with [**nga** + DP]:

- (27) [Ndi [nga [kuiwe kufhinga [he [a-vha [a-tshi-khou-t8od8isis-w-a]]]
 (copula with certain small matter rel.det.agrs-def.vb.agrs-ptc-impf-investigate-passive: It is because of a certain small matter that he was being investigated)

1.7 Copula with adverbial phrases

Tshivenda

There are various **adverbial phrases** which may occur as complements of **ndi**:

[zwino]

- (28) A-si [zwino [ndi-tshi-mu-eletshedza uri a-songo-ri-sia]
 (It is not now that I advise him that he must not leave us)

[zwavhud8i]

- (29) a. [Ndi [zwavhud8i [uri nazwino vhud8ipfi han8u ho-vha vhut8uku]
 (It is good that even now your feelings were so little)
 b. [Ndi [zwavhud8i nga maand8a [uri ni fhano]
 (It is very good that you are here)

[kale]

- (30) Ndo-zwi-vhona uri [ndi [kale [uri u-bonya na u-bonyolola mat8o awe]
 (I saw that it is long ago that he opens and shuts his eyes)

In the last place **zwino** may appear together with a locative relative clause introduced by **hune** to give an interpretation of time:

- (31) a. Ha-d8ivhi uri [ndi [zwino [hune [a-d8o-vha a-tshi-tshina givha u-swikela magona awe a-tshi-vhavha]]]
(She doesn't know that it is now that she will still be dancing the knee-dance until her knees became painful)
- b. Ni-songo-l8a swobo ngauri [ndi [zwino [hune na-d8o-d8i-dovha na-l8a zwin(we zwil8iwa
(You must not eat soup because it is now you will still eat other food)
- c. A-ni-d8ivhi uri [ndi [zwino [hune na-d8o-d8i-dovha na-n(wala mulingo baho musi zwino ni-tshi-kha-d8i tamba
(Don't you know that it is now that you will still write a test whyile even now you are still playing)

Sesotho

FEELA:

- (32) a. [E-se [feela [e-le [lephako le-neng le-le matla]
(It is not only it being hunger which was strong)
- b. [Hase [feela [o-fumanang d8itaba tsa leshano di-atileng hara bana ba rona]
(It is not only you who find untruth that increased amongst our children)

[JWALE]

- (33) [Hase [jwale [ke-mo-eletsa hore a-se-ke a-re-siya]
(It is not now that I advise him that he must not leave us)

[HANTLE + [HA]

- (34) a. [Ke [hantle [ha [e-le mona maikutlo a hao a-tshitsitse jwalo]
(It is good that still your feelings took so little)
- b. [Ke [hantle haholo [ha [le-le teng]
(It is very good that you are here)

[KGALE]

- (35) Ka-bona hobane [ke [kgale [a-tutubala a-tutuboloha]
(I saw that it is long ago that he opens and shuts his eyes)

Temporal nouns

Sesotho:

There are temporal nouns which appear with a clause denoting time, like **mohla**:

[MOHLA + S]

- (36) [Ke [mohla [ho-tlang ho-binwa]
(It is when there will be sung)

Tshivenda:**[musi]**

- (37) [Ndi [musi [hu-tshi-d8o-vha na u-imbwa]
(It is when there will be sung)

2. ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The number of adjectival stems is very restricted in these languages and they have to appear with the noun class prefix or the subjectival agreement of the subject of the copulative clause, depending on the specific language.

Sesotho

The adjective stems have to appear with the noun class prefix of the subject of the copulative clause:

- (38) Sesotho: motse [o [mo-holo]]
(village agrs n.cl.-big: the village is big)

In (38) above the adjective stem is **-holo** and the prefix of the subject noun, i.e. **mo-** of class 3 appears with **holo**. In a copulative clause the subject and the adjectival complement is linked by a subjectival agreement morpheme [**o**] which is derived from the subject noun **motse**.

- (39) Northern Sotho:
a. motse [o [mo-golo]]
(village agrs n.cl.-big: the village is big)
b. motse [ke [wo [mo-golo]]
(village cop adj.det n.cl.-big: the village is a big one)

In (39a) above the copulative clause follows the same pattern as in (38), but in (39b) the adjectival phrase [wo mogolo] has an adjectival determiner **wo**. This phrase is the complement of a noun:

- (40) motse wo mogolo [a big village]

In the copulative a copula **ke** combines this adjectival phrase with its subject, i.e. **ke** as in (39b). The same structure may also appear in Sesotho but it is not generally used in copulative constructions.

For an overview of the adjectival stems and issues concerning the noun class prefix in classes 8, 9 and 10 with adjective stems, see i.a. Legodi (1995), Theledi (2002), and Mphasha (2000).

Nguni

In languages like isiZulu and isiXhosa the adjective stem also needs a noun class prefix of the subject of the copulative clause:

- (41) IsiZulu: Laba ba-ntu [bá-de]
(These people n.cl.-tall: These people are tall)

- (42) IsiXhosa: Aba ba-ntu [bá-de]
(These people n.cl.-tall: These people are tall)

In both (41) and (42) the adjective stem is **-de** and it appears with the noun class prefix **ba-** of class 2 of the subject **abantu**. This prefix **ba** has to appear with a high tone in a copulative construction.

For further discussion on adjectives and copulatives in the Nguni languages, see i.a. Bottoman (2001), Du Plessis and Visser (1992), Mabaso (1996) and Mngadi (1999).

A subjectival agreement morpheme is necessary in these languages when the copulative construction is in the negative, with a compound tense or with the morpheme **sa**:

With the morpheme **sa**:

- (43) a. Lo muzi [mú-sha] (This village is new)
b. Lo muzi [u-[se-[mu-sha]] (This village is still new)

The AgrS morpheme in (43) is [u-] and the morpheme **sa** changes into **se** in copulative clauses.

In a negative construction:

- (44) a. Laba bantu [bá-de]
(These people are tall)
b. Laba bantu [a-ba-[ba-de]]
(These people neg-agrs-n.cl.-tall: These people are not tall)

With a compound tense:

- (45) a. Lo muzi [ŕ-khulu]
(This village is bit)
b. Lo muzi [w-a [wu-[m-khulu]]]
(This village agrs-past agrs-n.cl.-big: This village was big)

Tshivenda

As above, the adjective stem has to appear with the noun class prefix of the subject of the copulative clause:

- (46) a. Uyu musadzi [ndi [mu-lapfu]]
(This woman cop n.cl.-tall: This woman is tall)
b. Uyu musadzi [u [mu-lapfu]]
(This woman agrs n.cl.-tall: This woman is tall)

The copulative construction in Tshivenda follows the copulative in Northern Sotho in (39) above: the copulative clause may either appear with a copula **ndi** as in (46a) or with a subjectival agreement morpheme such as [u] in (46b). In both cases the

adjective stem **lapfu** takes the noun class prefix of the subject of the copulative clause, i.e. **musadzi** in class 1 with the prefix [**mu-**].

The copula **ndi** does not appear in the following copulative clauses:

In participial clauses only subjectival agreement may appear:

- (47) a. arali musadzi [e/a [mu-lapfu]]
(if woman agrs n.cl.-tall: if the woman is tall)
- b. arali rokho [i[tswuku]]
(if the dress is red)

In both (47a) and (47b) subjectival agreement morphemes of class 1, either **e** or **a**, and [**i**] of class 9 in (47b) are compulsory.

With the morpheme **tshee**: agrs is compulsory:

- (48) lyi rokho [i [tshee [n-n8u]]
(This dress agrs still n.cl.-wet: This dress is still wet)

In negative copulative clauses a negative copulative verb **si** is compulsory:

- (49) Musidzana [a-[si[mu-t8uku]]
(Girl neg-neg.vb n.cl.-small: The girl is not small)

For a further discussion on the adjective in Tshivenda, see i.a. Du Plessis, Musehane and Visser (1995), Mutheiwana (2000) and Tsanwani (1997).

Xitsonga

Adjectival stems in Xitsonga appear with the subjectival agreement morpheme of the subject of the copulative clause and not the noun class prefix as in the other languages above. An exception is adjectives in class 1 which has a morpheme **n** on the adjective:

- (50) Maria [i [n-kulu]]
(Maria cop n-big: Maria is big)

There are two copulative constructions with adjectives in Xitsonga:

- (51) a. Vana lava [i [va-kulu]]
(Children these cop agrs-big: These children are big)
- b. Vana lava [hi [la-[va-kulu]]
(Children these cop adj.det.-agrs-big: These children are big)

The difference between the two copulatives above is concerned with the presence of an adjectival determiner **la** on the adjective. This determiner is related to the demonstrative root **la** and it refers to specificity of the adjective as in (51b): These children are specifically big.

The copula **i** or **hi** in (51) is always replaced by a subjectival agreement morpheme in the following instances:

In the dependent mood:

- (52) loko Maria [a-ri [lo-[n-kulu]]
(if Maria agrs-cop.vb.adj.det.-agr-big: if Maria is big)

In a relative clause:

- (53) Maria [loyi [a-nga [lo-[n-kulu]]
(Maria rel.det.agrs-cop.vb adj.det.-agr-big: Maria who is big)

In the Past Tense:

- (54) Maria [a-a-ri [lo-[n-kulu]]
(Maria past-agrs-cop.vb.adj.det-agr-big: Maria was big)

With the morpheme [-aha-]:

- (55) Vana lava [v-[aha-[ri]] [la-[va-kulu]]
(Children these agrs-still-cop.vb.adj.det.-agrs.-big: These children are still big)

For further discussion on adjectives and copulatives see i.a. Nxumalo (1994), Du Plessis, Nxumalo and Visser (1995) and Mutheiwana (2000).

MOODS AND TENSES WITH COPULATIVE VERBS WITH ADJECTIVAL COMPLEMENTS

INDICATIVE PRESENT TENSE

Xitsonga

Maria i[n-kulu]	Maria a-hi [n-kulu/lo-n-kulu]
Maria cop [agr.n.cl-big]	Maria neg-cop [big]
Maria hi [lo-n-kulu]	(Maria is not big)
Maria cop [det-agr.n.cl-big]	
(Maria is big)	

Sesotho

Maria o [mo-tle]	Maria ha-a [mo-tle]
Maria agrs [agr.n.cl-beautiful]	Maria neg-agrs [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
Maria is beautiful)	(Maria is not beautiful)

IsiXhosa

UMaria [m-hle]	UMaria a-ka-[m-hle]
Maria [agr.n.cl.-beautiful]	Maria neg-agrs-[agr.n.cl.-beautiful]
(Maria is beautiful)	(Maria is not beautiful)

Tshivenda

Maria ndi [mu-lapfu]	Maria a-si [mu-lapfu]
Maria cop [agr.n.cl-tall]	Maria neg-neg.cop.vb [agr.n.cl-tall]
Maria u[mu-lapfu]	(Maria is not tall)
Maria agrs [agr.n.cl-tall]	
(Maria is tall)	

PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE**Tsonga**

loko Maria a-ri [lo-n-kulu]
 if Maria agrs-cop.vb [det-agr.n.cl-big]
 (If Maria is big)

loko Maria a-nga-ri [lo-n-kulu]
 if Maria agrs-neg-cop.vb [det-agr.n.cl-big]
 (If Maria is not big)

Sesotho

ha Maria a-le [mo-tle]
 if Maria agrs-cop.vb [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (If Maria is beautiful)

ha Maria a-se [mo-tle]
 if Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (If Maria is not beautiful)

IsiXhosa

xa uMaria e-[m-hle]
 if Maria agrs-[agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (If Maria is beautiful)

xa uMaria e-nge-[m-hle]
 if Maria agrs-neg-[agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (If Maria is not beautiful)

Tshivenda

arali Maria e/a [mu-lapfu]
 If Maria agrs [agr.n.cl-tall]
 (If Maria is tall)

arali Maria a-si [mu-lapfu]
 if Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [agr.n.cl-tall]
 (If Maria is not tall)

RELATIVE**Xitsonga**

Maria loyi a-nga [lo-n-kulu]
 Maria rel.det agrs-cop.rel.vb
 [det-agr.n.cl-big]
 (Maria who is big)

Maria loyi a-nga-ri-ki [lo-n-kulu]
 Maria rel.det agrs-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker
 [det-agr.n.cl-big]
 (Maria who is not big)

Sesotho

Maria ya-le-ng [mo-tle]
 Maria rel.det.agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker
 [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (Maria who is beautiful)

Maria ya-se-ng [mo-tle]
 Maria rel.det.agrs-neg.cop.vb-rel.marker
 [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (Maria who is not beautiful)

IsiXhosa

UMaria o-[ng-[o-[m-hle]
 Maria rel.det.agrs-[cop-[rel.det.agrs-
 [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (Maria who is the beautiful one)

UMaria o-nge-[ngu-ye [o-[m-hle]
 Maria rel.det.agrs-neg-[cop-pro[rel.det.agrs-
 [agr.n.cl-beautiful]
 (Maria who is not the beautiful one)

Tshivenda

Maria a-re [mulapfu]
 (Maria agrs-cop.rel.vb [tall]
 (Maria who is tall)

Maria a-si [mulapfu]
 Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [tall]
 (Maria who is not tall)

PAST TENSE**Xitsonga**

Maria a-a-ri [lonkulu]
 Maria past-agrs-cop.vb [big]
 (Maria was big)

[nga, ka]**IsiXhosa**

UMaria [a-nga-[m-hle]
(Maria can be beautiful)

UMaria a-ka-nge-b-i [m-hle]
(Maria cannot be beautiful)

Sesotho

Maria a-ka-ba [mo-tle]
(Maria can be beautiful)

Maria a-ke-ke a-ba [mo-tle]
(Maria cannot be beautiful)

Xitsonga

Vana lava va-nga-va [lava-kulu]
(These children can be big)

Vana lava va-nge-v-i [lava-kulu]
(These children cannot be big)

Tshivenda

Maria a-nga-vha [mu-lapfu]
(Maria can be tall)

Maria a-nga-si-vh-e [mu-lapfu]
(Maria cannot be tall)

[sa, aha, kha-d8i]**IsiXhosa**

UMaria u-se- [m-hle]
(Maria is still beautiful)

UMaria a-ka-se-[m-hle]
(Maria is no longer beautiful)

Sesotho

Maria o-sa-le [mo-tle]
(Maria is still beautiful)

Maria ha-a-sa-le [mo-tle]
(Maria is no longer beautiful)

Xitsonga

Vana lava [v-[a-ha-[ri] [lava-kulu]
(These children are still big)

Vana lava [a-v-[a-ha-[ri] [lava-kulu]
(These children are no longer big)

Tshivenda

Avha vhana vha-tshee [vha-lapfu]
(These children are still tall)

Avha vhana a-vha-tshee [vha-lapfu]
(These children are no longer tall)

3. COPULATIVES WITH NOMINAL RELATIVE STEMS

The Nguni and Sotho languages have a copulative construction with adjectives in which the complement is a nominal-relative stem. Such stems are mostly derived from nouns but there are some original relative stems. All these relative stems have to appear with subjectival agreement morphemes in copulatives:

Nguni

- (56) a. IsiXhosa: Intloko [i-[buhlungu]]
(Head agra-pain: my head aches)
- b. IsiZulu: Ikhanda [li-[buhlungu]]
(Head agra-pain: My head aches)
- c. Sesotho: Hooho [e-[bohloko]]
(Head agra-pain: My head aches)

See i.a. Theledi (2002) for extensive discussion of these issues in Setswana, as well as Legodi (1995) for Northern Sotho and Du Plessis and Visser (1992) for Xhosa.

EXAMPLES OF NOMINAL RELATIVE STEMS:

NOMINAL-RELATIVE STEMS IN ISIXHOSA

HUMANS

Body

-nkwatyu-nkwatyu (tall and slender)

Le ntombi i-nkwatyu-nkwatyu

(This girl is tall and slender)

-ngcotshololo (tall, long-legged, long, lanky)

Lo mntu u-ngcotshololo

(This person is tall and long-legged)

Imilenze yakhe i-ngcotshololo

(His legs are lanky)

-ngcathalala (long, thin (legs))

Imilenze i-ngcathalala

(The legs are long and thin)

-maphikana (out of breath)

Le ndoda i-maphikana

(This man is out of breath)

-makhindilili (suffer from rheumatic pains)

Umzimba wam u-makhindilili

(My body suffers from rheumatic pains)

-maqhubu (be with lumps, sellings, hard tumours)

Lo mntu u-maqhubu

(This person has tumours)

-mantshiyane (bitter, pitiful)

Isikhalo sale ntombi si-mantshiyane

(The crying of this girl is pitiful)

-mashiya (have shaggy eyebrows)

Eli xhego li-mashiya

(This old man has shaggy eyebrows)

-maxhonti (hairy)

Lo mntu u-maxhonti

(This person is hairy)

-ngcaka (long and soft (hair))

linwele zakhe zi-ngcaka

(Her hair is long and soft)

-mdlathuka, -dlazalala (dishevelled, very untidy (hair))

linwele zam zi-mdlathuka
(My hair are very untidy)

-mpumpu (missing (finger, toe, leg))

Ingalo yakhe i-mpumpu
(His arm is missing)

-ngqindilili (hard (muscle))

Izihlunu zakhe zi-ngqindilili
(His muscles are hard)

-ze, -ntswempu (naked)

Lo mntu u-ze
(This person is naked)

-mafehlefehle (very fat)

Lo mntu u-mafehlefehle
(This person is very fat)

-mqhum-qhum (plump, fat (baby))

Olu sana lu-mqhum-qhum
(This baby is plump)

-magidiva (stout and heavy)

Lo mntu u-magidiva
(This person is stout and heavy)

-nqathuva (mature and well-developed)

Le ntombi i-nqathuva
(This girl is mature and well-developed)

-luqotho (somewhat lean)

Le ntombi i-luqotho
(This girl is rather lean)

-mandla (outstanding)

Lo mntu u-mandla
(This person is outstanding)

-lushica (tough, strong)

Lo mntu u-lushica
(This person is tough and strong)

-ngwanyalala (strong powerfully build)

Lo mntu u-ngwanyalala
(This person has a strong and powerful built)

-mqhathu (active, alert)

Le ndoda i-mqhathu
(This man is active)

-majajana, -magazana (blood-spattered, bleeding profusely)

Umzimba wakhe u-majajana
(His body is blood-spattered)

-mpuluswa (beautiful)

Le ntombi i-mpuluswa
(This girl is very beautiful)

-ngxathu, -nkongolo, -mgwaxube (ugly)

Lo mntu u-ngxathu
(This person is ugly)

-mfebhe-mfebhe (famished, very hungry)

Aba bantu ba-mfebhe-mfebhe
(These people are very hungry)

-ngcathu (allow oneself only a little food, drink or pleasure, abstemious)

Le ndoda i-ngcathu
(This man is abstemious in eating/drinking)

-nkozo (be in tears)

Lo mntwana u-nkozo
(This child is in tears)

-mtsetse (straight, erect)

Umzimba wakhe u-mtsetse
(Her body is straight and erect)

CHARACTER

-ngqakamba (be strict in discipline)

-ngqongqo, -ngqwabalala (harsh, stern, severe, pitiless, ruthless)

-mfingi-mfingi (sulky, glum, moody)

-mbuna (meek)

-manqumqezi (be uncertain, hesitant)

-mangxangxa (be in a sad plight, a desperate situation)

-lusizi (sad, sorrowful)

-nxwem-nxwem (timid, shy)

-manyonywana (ashamed, anxious)

-nyoshololo (conscience-stricken)

-nyulu (clean, pure, chaste)

-msulwa (pure, innocent, blameless)

-maconini (impeccable character)

-ntshingi-ntshingi (cross, moody, sulky)

-nkenenkene (tearful)

-ndongela (weak)

-mtsetse (honest, upright)

-maqhinga (cunning, crafty)

-maqali (foremost)

HUMAN OR ANIMAL

- mbuna** (meek, tame, docile)
- ngxathu** (ugly)
- nqathuva** (mature and well-developed)
- magidiva** (stout and heavy)
- mafehlefehle** (very fat)
- mgquba-gqubane** (dusty)
- nzima** (heavy)
- nkwatyu-nkwatyu** (tall and slender)
- ngcathalala** (long and thin legs)
- maxhonti** (hairy)
- maqhubu** (with lumps/swellings)

ARTEFACTS

-qobo-qobo, -ngceke-ngceke, -ethe-ethe (brittle)
 Iglasi i-qoboqobo
 (The glass is brittle)

-mbhoshonqa (long and thick)
 Umbhobho u-mbhoshonqa
 (The pipe is long and thick)

-manzi (wet)
 limpahla zi-manzi
 (The clothes are wet)

-ndindilili, -lushica (tough, strong)
 Ithayara i-lushica
 (The tyre is strong)

-ntshunqu-ntshunqu (not strong)
 lintambo i-ntshunqu-ntshunqu
 (The rope is not strong)

-ncangathi (sticky, adhesive)
 Iphepha li-ncangathi
 (The paper is sticky)

-mbumba, -mbumbulu (spherical, round)
 Ibhola yesoka i-mbumba
 (the soccerball is spherical)

-ndindwa (symmetrical)
 Iphepha li-ndindwa
 (the paper is symmetrical)

-kranyu-kranyu, -ntsafu-ntsafu (threadbare, very thin, very worn)
 Le hempe i-kranyu-kranyu
 (This shirt is very worn)

-krele-krele, -krancu-krancu, -yacu-yacu (thin, flimsy, transparent)

Ezi mpahla zikrele-krele

(These clothes are thin and flimsy)

-magwashu (wide and flapping)

Le bhulukhwe i-magwashu

(These trousers are wide and flapping)

-ngwabhu-ngwabhu, -waku-waku (side and loose)

Esi sambatho si-ngwabhu-ngwabhu

(This garment is wide and loose)

-mfaka-mfaka (spotted)

Eli laphu li-mfaka-mfaka

(This material is spotted)

-ngqindilili, -nzinzilili, -mboshololo, -ngqingqwa, -ngqeshemba (thick and strong)

Le dyasi i-nzinzilili

(This coat is thick and strong)

-ndyengelele (loose, limp)

Intambo i-ndyengelele (The rope is loose and limp)

-khaphu-khaphu, -lula, -lwasu-lwasu (light (not eavy))

Umthwalo u-lula

(The load is light)

-nzima (heavy)

Umthwalo u-nzima

(The load is heavy)

-mfuku-mfuku, -mfungu-mfungu (light, loose)

Imfumba yengca i-mfuku-mfuku

(The heap of grass is light and loose)

-goso-goso, -gosongo, -goshonqa, -khombonqa (crooked, not straight)

Le nduku i-goso-goso

(This stick is not straight)

-lujiko (bent, twisted)

Intsimbi i-lujiko

(The iron is bent)

-pece-pece (pliable, easily bent)

Icephe li-pece-pece

(The spoon is easily bent)

-mbuba (dented)

Itoti i-mbuba

(The can is dented)

-buthuntu, -ngcum (blunt)

Imela i-buthuntu
(The knife is blunt)

-bukhali (sharp)

Imela i-bukhali
(The knife is sharp)

-lukhuni, -lushica (hard, solid, firm)

Isamente i-lukhuni
(The cement is hard)

-tofotofo, -mfuma-mfuma, -lafu-lafu, -fotho-fotho, -mfetye-mfetye, -mfumanga, -mpaku-mpaku (soft)

Umqambelo u-tofotofo
(The pillow is soft)

-nzulu, nkontyo (deep)

Amanxeba a-nkontyo
(The wounds are deep)

-ndongo-ndongo (deep, low, sonorous)

Ilizwi li-ndongondongo
(The voice is deep and low)

-makhwezi-khwezi, -maqaqawuli (bright, glittering, sparkling)

Amatye anqabileyo a-makhwezikhwezi
(The jewellery are sparkling)

-mfuxu-mfuxu, -nkone, -nyhibhilili, -mdaka, -manyuku-nyuku, -rhaphilili, -rhaqalala, -nyhukunyhuku (dirty, filthy)

limpahla zi-mdaka
(The clothes are dirty)

PLANTS**-mfaca, -mfaxa** (wither, shrunk)

lityatyambo zi-mfaca yingqele
(The flowers are withering because of the cold)

-muncu (sour)

Ilamuni i-muncu
(A lemon is sour)

-krakra (bitter)

Ikhala li-krakra
(An aloe is bitter)

-krwada (green, unripe)

Ezi ziqhamo zikrwada
(These fruit are green)

-krwala, -makrwala, -magxwala (ripening, beginning to ripen, nearly ripe)

Ezi pesika zi-makrwala

(These peaches are nearly ripe)

-qumbi (blossoming, be in bud, swell)

Imipesika i-qumbi

(The peach trees are blossoming)

Umbona u-qumbi

(The maize grains are swelling)

-ngcaca (unripe, soft; grain)

Izinkozo zombona / zamazimba / zengqolowa zi-ngcaca

(Maize / sorghum / wheat grains are unripe)

-ntshwaxa (withered, shrunk: grain)

Iinkozo zombana / zamazimba / zengqolowa zi-ntshwaxa lilanga / yingqele

(Maize / sorghum / wheat grains are withered because of the sun/cold)

-mfakaxa (soft and fresh (mealies: grain))

Umbona u-mfakaxa

(The mealies are soft and fresh)

-mvila (not quite dry: grain)

Iinkozo zombona / zamazimba / zengqolowa zi-mvila

(Grains of mealies / sorghum / wheat are not quite dry or hard)

-ntum-ntum (soft and tender)

Ezi ziqhamo zi-ntum-ntum

(These fruits are soft and tender)

-kram-kram (crisp, firm and fresh)

Le mifino i-kram-kram

(These vegetables are firm and fresh)

-mkhuma (crisp and mealy in texture)

Le-apile i-mkhuma

(This apple has a mealy texture)

FOOD

-nyamfu-nyamfu (sodden, soggy, soaked, moist)

Ukutya ku-nyamfu-nyamfu

(The food is soaked)

-ngqindilili (stiff)

Ipapa i-ngqindilili

(The porridge is stiff)

-ndyubululu, -ntubuntubu (viscid, viscous, thick and sticky)

Isidudu si-ndyubululu

(The porridge is thick and sticky)

-ncangathi (sticky)
 Intlama/Incindi / i-ncangathi
 (The dough / juice is sticky)

-krwada (raw, uncooked)
 Inyama i-krwada
 (The meat is raw)
 Ukutya ku-krwada
 (The food is uncooked)

-mnandi (pleasant, nice, sweet)
 Ubusi bu-mnandi
 (The honey is nice/sweet)

-myoli (pleasant, delicious)
 Intlaka i-myolif
 (The gum is delicious)

-krakra (bitter)
 Oku kutya ku=krakra
 (This food is bitter)
 Eli yeza li-krakra
 (This medicine is bitter)

-muncu (sour)
 Amasi u-muncu
 (The thick milk is sour)

UMCIMBI, INTETHO

-ethe-ethe (delicate)
-khaphu-khaphu, -lula (easy)
-nzima (difficult)
-ntshunqu-ntshunqu (obscure)
-masikizi (loathsome, horrible)
-manyumnyezi (horrible, revolting)

NATURAL PHENOMENA

-ngqaqasana (strong, dry: indawo (place))
-nzulu (deep: umngxuma (hole))
-malwangu, -magaqagqa, -lusali (sparse, thinly scattered: imithi (trees))
-mcangalabe (wide, flat: ithafa (plain))
-rhabaxa (rough: indawo (place))
-magqagala (rough, stony: umhlaba (ground))
-matye (stony: umhlaba (ground))
-mqengqelezi (sloping, steep: umhlaba (ground))
-mtyibilizi (slippery: indlela (road))
-majikojiko, -maqhonga (curly, twisted: umlambo (river))
-njike-njike (winding: indlela (road))
-ngquthu, -mgobongqo (hollow: indao (place))
-ngombonca (hollowed out: umhlaba (ground))

- mgama** (far away: indawo (place))
- mvungu-mvungu** (soft and loose: umhlaba (ground))
- nqum, -manzi** (moist, wet: umhlaba (ground))
- luzizi** (hazy: iinkwenkwezi (stars))
- ngqindilili** (dense: amafu (clouds))
- mandundu** (worsening: izulu (weather))

COLOURS

- mfiliba (faint, indistinct, faded)
- ntsundu (dark brown)
- ntshatha (very white)
- ngwevu (grey)
- ngqoqo (dark with white spots)
- ngcitha (red and black)
- nco (red and white)
- mpatsha-mpatsha (faded)
- mnyama (dark, black)
- mngcumevu (dark, dimly-lit)
- mthuzula (faded, indistinct)
- msi (subdued, sober)
- mthuqwa (tawny)
- mpofu (tawny)
- mkrolo (bright-red)
- mhlophe (white)
- mbejembeje (brightly coloured)
- luthuthwasi (faded)
- luthuthu (ash grey)
- luhlaza (green)
- kralarha (black with white)
- lucinya (faint)
- luzizi (faint)
- luqhiza (faint)
- luthuzula (faint)

NOMINAL RELATIVE STEMS IN SESOTHO:

Speed

- mawala, tjhatsi, lebelo (quick, fast)
- lenama (slow)

Difficulty

- thata, boima (hard, difficult)
- bobebe, bobebo (easy)

Dimension

- mophathi (me-) (narrow, elongated)
- mohlanana (flat (place, ground))
- batsi (wide, broad)
- hebehebe (wide, broad)
- sephara (di-) (flat and broad, wide)
- lefatsa (thin)

monelenele (thin)

Physical features

metsi (wet)
 bokete (heavy)
 phela (big, stout)
 hefehefe (light, loose)
 kotsi (dangerous)
 makgethe (orderly)
 fofo (lukewarm, tepid)
 mofuthu (warm)
 mabobo (new, unused)
 tjhatsi (light)
 bosula (taseless)
 bodila (sour)
 maqhologhologo (very lean)
 makgenefa (dirty)
 mopherephere (soft, mud-like)
 nyabunyabu (soft, tender)
 namonamo (soft, clammy)
 butshabutsha (soft, tender)
 lehwadi (hard, vicious)
 motjwebebe (shapr)
 thethefa (blunt)

Human characteristics

bokwala (cowardly)
 mafolofolo (zealous, eager)
 posho (naked)
 manokotho (uncouth)
 kgabane (righteous)
 mafoa (wild)
 sekwere (wild, brave)
 leshano (false)
 leqhoko (quarrelsome)
 bohlale (wise, clever)
 Makoko (impudent, proud)
 mahwerekwere (husky (coice))
 matla (strong)
 hokohoko (weak, soft)
 mososo (weak)
 monyemo (shy, timid)
 dihlong (shameful, timid)
 hlokolotsi (careful)
 sedi (careful)
 manyadi (insolent)
 madimabe (unlicky)
 bora (hostile)
 sebedu (lazy, regligent)
 mafolofolo (diligent)

mongobo (damp (ground))
 bobebe, bobobo (light)
 boima (heavy)
 moelana (few)
 mahleke (disorderly)
 maruru (cold)
 tsididi (cold)
 morolo (fresh, strong)
 lefifi (dark)
 tala (raw, uncooked)
 bose (sweet)
 mafura (fat)
 ditshila (dirty)
 borethe (soft, smooth)
 uyekethe (soft)
 bonolo (soft, meek)
 feqefeqe (soft, loose)
 lerito (ma-) (smooth)
 bohale (sharp, fierce)
 lenyenyere (fierce)
 madi (bloody)

sehloho (cruel)
 bokwala (beautiful)
 futsefutse (poor)
 bohloko (painful)
 hlaha (wild)
 lehwabadi (wild)
 maaka (untruthful)
 lehoha (quarrelsome)
 maqholo (quarrelsome)
 sethoto (foolish)
 dikgaba (sunken, (eyes))
 fokofoko (weak, feeble)
 hohlohohlo (frail, weak)
 hlahla (weak)
 mohau (sorrowful)
 boi (timid, fearful)
 moanatso (careless)
 masene (careful, cunning)
 soto (miserable)
 lehlohonolo (lucky)
 mosa (kind, merciful)
 bodutu (lonely)
 botswa (lazy)

MOODS AND TENSES WITH COPULATIVE VERBS AND NOMINAL RELATIVE STEMS

Indicative Present Tense

Sesotho

Maria o [bohlale]
Maria agrs [wisdom]
(Maria is wise)

Maria ha-a [bohlale]
Maria neg-agrs [wisdom]
(Maria is not wise)

IsiXhosa

UMaria u-[ntsundu]
Maria agrs-[brown]
(Maria is black)

UMaria a-ka-[ntsundu]
Maria neg-agrs-[brown]
(Maria is not black)

Participle Present Tense

Sesotho

ha Maria a-le [bohlale]
if Maria agrs-cop.vb [wisdom]
(If Maria is wise)

ha Maria a-se [bohlale]
if Maria agrs-neg.cop.vb [wisdom]
(If Maria is not wise)

IsiXhosa

xa uMaria e-[ntsundu]
if Maria agrs-[brown]
(If Maria is black)

xa uMaria e-nge-[ntsundu]
if Maria agrs-neg-[brown]
(If Maria is not black)

Relative

Sesotho

Maria ya-le-ng [bohlale]
Maria rel.det.agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker
[wisdom]
(Maria who is wise)

Maria ya-se-ng [bohlale]
Maria rel.det.agrs-cop.neg.vb.-rel.marker
[wisdom]
(Maria who is not wise)

IsiXhosa

UMaria o-[ng-o-ntsundu]
Maria rel.det.agrs-[cop-rel.det.agrs-
black]
(Maria who is a black one)

UMaria o-nge-[ngu-ye o-ntsundu]
Maria rel.det.agrs-neg-[cop-pro rel.det.agrs-
brown]
(Maria who is not she a black one)

[nga, ka]

IsiXhosa

Eli laphu [li-nga-[manzi]
(This cloth can be wet)

Eli laphu [a-li-nge-b-i [manzi]
(This cloth cannot be wet)

Sesotho

Kobo e-ka-ba metsi
(The blanket can be wet)

Kobo e-ke-ke ya-ba metsi
(The blanket cannot be wet)

[sa]**IsiXhosa**

Eli laphu li-se-[manzi]
(This cloth is still wet)

Eli laphu a-li-se-manzi
(This cloth is no longer wet)

Sesotho

Kobo e-sa-le metsi
(The blanket is still wet)

Kobo ha-e-sa-le metsi
(The blanket is no longer wet)

4. LOCATIVE PHRASES

Any locative phrase may function as complement in a copulative clause. In all such cases a subjectival agreement morpheme of the subject of the copulative clause is compulsory with this locative phrase.

4.1 Locative nouns with a locative morpheme

Tshivenda: the locative morpheme [-ni] appears on nouns:

(57) Avha vhana [vha [mu-d8i-ni]
(These children agrs n.cl.-village-loc.: These children are in the village)

Sesotho: the locative morpheme is [-eng]:

(58) Bana bana [ba [mo-tse-ng]]
(Children these agrs n.cl.-village-loc.: These children are in the village)

IsiXhosa: the locative uses a prefix [e-] and a suffix [-ini]:

(59) Aba bantwana [ba-[s]-e-[m-zi-ni]]
(These children agrs loc-n.cl.-village-loc: These children are in the village)

An [s] appears above to disallow assimilation of **a** and **e**.

Xitsonga: the locative morpheme is [ini] but locatives use a prefix **le-** with copulative clauses and not a prefix [e-]:

(60) Vanhu ava [va [le-mu-ti-ni]]
(People these agrs. loc-n.cl.-village-loc. : These people are in the village)

4.2 Locative class nouns

There are various locative class nouns which may function as complements:

(61) IsiXhosa [emva]:
Abantwana [ba-[s]-emva kwe-ndlu
(Children agrs behind of-house: The children are behind the house)

4.3 Locative prepositions

The locative preposition has as complement mostly nominal modifiers and nouns in class 1a such as names of people. The preposition has the following form in these languages: Tshivanda **kha**, Sesotho **ho**, isiXhosa **ku**, Xitsonga **eka**, Northern Sotho **go**, e.g.

- (62) Sesotho: Bana [ba [ho [yena]]
(Children agrs.loc. him: The children are with him)

4.4 Locative demonstratives

Various locative demonstratives may appear as complements in copulatives with or without a locative head noun. The following is a list of such demonstratives:

Sesotho: mona, moo, mane
Xitsonga: laha, laho, lahaya, lomu, lomo, lomuya
Tshivenda: afha, fhana, afho, fhal&a
IsiXhosa: apha, apho, phaya

Tshivenda

- (63) Vhana [vha hafha [kha [nn&e]]
(Children agrs. here loc. me: The children are here with me)

4.5 Locative absolute pronoun

The absolute pronoun of the locative class nouns are used mostly to indicate presence of the subject:

Tshivenda: **hone**
Sesotho: **hona**
Xitsonga: **kona**
IsiXhosa: **kho/khona**

- (64) IsiXhosa: Abantwana [ba-[kho]]
(Children agrs-present: The children are present)

See also Musehane (1991), Sepota (1999), Dinga (1997), L&ithole (1999:108), Mdumela (1995:56), Nekhumbe (1995:40), Ramovha (1996:55), Du Plessis and Visser (1992).

MOODS AND TENSES WITH COPULATIVE VERBS AND LOCATIVE PHRASES

Indicative Present Tense

Xitsonga

Vanhu va [le mutini]
people agrs [loc in-village]
(The people are in the village)

Vanhu a-va [le mutini]
people neg-agrs [loc in-village]
(The people are not in the village)

Sesotho

Batho ba [motseng]
people agrs [in-village]
(The people are in the village)

Batho ha-ba [motseng]
people neg-agrs [in-village]
(The people are not in the village)

IsiXhosa

Abantu ba-s-[emzini]
people agrs-s-[in village]
(The people are in the village)

Abantu a-ba-kho emzini
people neg-agrs-pro [in-village]
(The people are not there in the village)

Tshivenda

Vhathu vha [mudini]
 people agrs [in-village]
 (The people are in the village)

Vhathu a-vha [mud8ini]
 people neg-agrs [in-village]
 (The people are not in the village)

PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE**Xitsonga**

Loko vanhu va-ri [emutini]
 if people agrs-cop.vb [in-village]
 (If the people are in the village)

Loko vanhu va-nga-ri [emutini]
 if people agrs-neg-cop.vb [in-village]
 (If the people are not in the village)

Sesotho

Ha batho ba-le [motseng]
 if people agrs-cop.vb [in-village]
 (If the people are in the village)

Ha batho ba-se [motseng]
 if people agrs-neg.cop.vb [in-village]
 (If the people are not in the village)

IsiXhosa

Xa abantu be-s-[emzini]
 if people agrs-s-[in-village]
 (If the people are in the village)

Xa abantu be-nge-kho [emzini]
 if people agrs-neg-pro [in-village]
 (If the people are not in the village)

Tshivenda

Arali vhathu vhe/vha [mud8ini]
 if people agrs [in-village]
 (If the people are in the village)

Arali vhathu vha-si [mud8ini]
 if people agrs-neg.cop.vb [in-village]
 (If the people are not in the village)

RELATIVE**Xitsonga**

Vanhu lava va-nga [emutini]
 people rel.det agrs-cop.vb [in-village]

 (The people who are in the village)

Vanhu lava va-nga-ri-ki [emutini]
 people rel.det agrs-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker
 [in-village]
 (The people who are not in the village)

Sesotho

Batho ba-le-ng [motseng]
 people rel.det.agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker
 [in-village]
 (The people who are in the village)

Batho ba-se-ng [motsent]
 people rel.det.agrs-neg.cop.vb-rel.marker
 [in-village]
 (The people who are not in the village)

IsiXhosa

Abantu a-ba-s-[emzini]
 people rel.det-agrs-s-[in-village]
 (The people who are in the village)

Abantu a-ba-nge-kho [emzini]
 people rel.det-agrs-neg-pro [in-village]
 (The people who are not in the village)

Tshivenda

Vhathu vha-re [mud8ini]
 people agrs-cop.vb [in-village]
 (The people who are in the village)

Vhathu vha-si [mud8ini]
 people agrs-cop.vb [in-village]
 (The people who are not in the village)

PAST TENSE

Xitsonga

Vhathu a-va-ri emutini
people past-agrs-cop.vb in-village
(The people were in the village)

Vhathu a-va-nga-ri emutini
people past-agrs-neg-cop.vb in-village
(The people who were not in the village)

[nga, ka]**IsiXhosa**

Abantu [ba-nga-[s-edolophini]
(People may be in town)

Abantu a-ba-nge-b-i kho edolophini
(People may not be in town)

Sesotho

Batho ba-ka-ba toropong
(People may be in town)

Batho ba-ke-ke ba-ba toropong
(People may not be in town)

Xitsonga

Vanhu va-nga-va emutini
(People may be in town)

Vanhu va-nge-v-i emutini
(People may not be in town)

Tshivenda

Vhathu vha-nga-vha mud8ini
(People may be in the village)

Vhathu vha-nga-si-vh-e mudini
(People may not be in town)

sa**Xitsonga**

Vanhu [v-[a-ha-[ri] emutini
(People are still in the village)

Vanhu [a-v-[a-ha-[ri] emutini
(People are no longer in the village)

Sesotho

Batho ba-sa-le motseng
(People are still in the village)

Batho ha-ba-sa-le motseng
(People are no longer in the village)

IsiXhosa

Abantu [ba-se-[s-[emzini]
(People are still in the village)

Abantu a-ba-se-kho emzini
(The people are no longer in the village)

Tshivenda

Vhathu vha-tshee mudini
(People are still in the village)

Vhathu a-vha-tshee mudini
(People are no longer in the village)

5. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITH [NA/LE]

Copulatives may appear with a complement which consists of a prepositional phrase with **na** or **le** as head. In the Present Tense the copulative verb has disappeared except in the Sotho languages which have a copulative verb **na** followed by a complement with a prepositional phrase with **le** as head. Such copulative constructions may have various interpretations:

a. Possessive

Tshivenda

- (65) [Ndi [na [thundu nnzhi]]
(I with goods many: I have many goods)

IsiXhosa:

- (66) Aba bafundi [ba-[nee-[ncwadi ezininzi]]
(These students agrs with books many: These students have many books)

Xitsonga:

- (67) Maria [u [ni [vana vambhirhi]]
(Maria agrs with children two: Maria has two children)

Sesotho:

- (68) Bana bana [ba-na [le [dibuka tse ngata]]
(Children these agrs-cop.vb. with books adj.det. many: These children have many books)

b. Associative**Xitsonga**

- (69) Ndzi-hlangene na yena [a-ri [ni [mana wa-kwe]]
(I-meet.past with her agrs-cop.vb. with mother of-her: I met her while she was with her mother)

Sesotho:

- (70) John [o-na [le [bana ba hae]]
(John agrs.-cop.vb. with children of him: John is with his children)

c. Descriptive**IsiZulu:**

- (71) Le ndoda [i-[na-[mandla]]
(This man agrs with-power: This man is strong)

IsiXhosa

- (72) Lo mfazi [u- [no-[mona]]
(This woman agrs-with-jealousy: This woman is jealous)

The following list contains some PPs with this interpretation in isiXhosa.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (73) nobulele (friendly, good-hearted) | nomkhitha (attractive) |
| nengqondo (clever) | namandla (strong) |
| namaqhinga (sly) | nentlahla (healty, lively) |
| nomdla (interested in, interesting) | nethamsanqa (happy) |
| namava (experienced) | nesongo (have taste) |
| nencasa (have taste) | nomtsalane (attractive) |
| nomsindo (angry) | nenyameko (diligent, eager) |

nelishwa (unhappy)	nomqwalasela (polite)
nesisa (generous)	nobuchule (skilled)
nomonde (patient)	nesithukuthezi (lonely)
netyala (quilty)	nemfesane (sorry, have pity)
nesibindi (brave)	nentaka (cowardly, frightened)
nekratshi (proud)	neentloni (shy)
nomona (jealous)	nochuku (troublesome)
noloyiko (afraid)	nenkathazo (annoying)
nomdintsi (ill-disposed)	akanalusini (he does not smile)
nexhala (anxious)	nemihlali (happy)
nenceba (compassionate)	akanasifuba (he is a scandal-mongrel)
nentloko (have a head-ache)	nesisu (have a stomach-ache)

d. Presence

The PP with **na** or **le** may also indicate presence in Sesotho and Xitsonga with an expletive morpheme **ku** or **ho**:

Xitsonga:

- (74) [Ku [ni [vana vo tala emutini lowu]]
(expl. with children of many in-village this: There are many children in this village)

Sesotho

- (75) (Ho-ba [le [bana ba bangata motseng ona]]
expl.-cop.vb. with children adj.det.many in village this: There are many children in this village)

For a discussion of this copulative, see i.a. Mushiane (1999), Du Plessis and Visser (1992), Du Plessis, Musehane, Visser (1995), Du Plessis, Visser (1995).

MOODS AND TENSES WITH COPULATIVE VERBS AND A PP WITH NA/LE

INDICATIVE PRESENT TENSE

Xitsonga

Vavasati va [ni vana]
women agrs [with children]
(The women have children)

Vavasati a-va [na vana]
women neg-agrs [with children]
(The women do not have children)

Sesotho

Basadi ba-na [le bana]
women agrs-cop.vb [with children]
(The women have children)

Basadi ha-ba-na bana
women neg-agrs-cop.vb [children]
(The women do not have children)

IsiXhosa

Abafazi ba-[na-bantwana]
women agrs-[with-children]
(The women have children)

Abafazi a-ba-[na-bantwana]
Women neg-agrs-[with-children]
(The women do not have children)

Tshivenda

Vhasadzi vha [na vhana]

Vhasadzi a-vha [na vhana]

women agrs [with children]
(The women have children)

women neg-agrs [with children]
(The women do not have children)

PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE

Xitsonga

Loko vavasati va-ri [ni vana]
if women agrs-cop.vb [with children]
(If the women have children)

Loko vavasati va-nga-ri [na vana]
if women agrs-neg-cop.vb [with children]
(If the women do not have children)

Sesotho

Ha basadi ba-na [le bana]
if women agrs-cop.vb [with children]
(If the women have children)

Ha basadi ba-se-na [bana]
if women agrs-neg-cop.vb [children]
(If the women do not have children)

IsiXhosa

Xa abafazi be-[na-bantwana]
if women agrs-[with-children]
(If women have children)

Xa abafazi be-nge-[na-bantwana]
if women agrs-neg-[with-children]
(If women do not have children)

Tshivenda

Arali vhasadzi vhe/vha [na vhana]
if women agrs-[with children]
(If the women have children)

Arali vhasadzi vha-si [na vhana]
if women agrs-neg.cop.vb [with children]
(If the women do not have children)

RELATIVE

Xitsonga

vavasati lava va-nga [ni vana]
women rel.det agrs-cop.vb
[with children]
(Women who have children)

vavasati lava va-nga-ri-ki [na vana]
women rel.det agrs-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker
[with children]
(Women who do not have children)

Sesotho

Basadi ba-na-ng [le bana]
women rel.det.agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker
[with children]
(Women who have children)

vavasati lava va-nga-ri-ki [na vana]
women rel.det agrs-neg-cop.vb-rel.marker
[with children]
(Women who do not have children)

Sesotho

Basadi ba-na-ng [le bana]
women rel.det.agrs-cop.vb-rel.marker
[with children]
(Women who have children)

Basadi ba-se-na-ng bana
women rel.det.agrs-neg-cop.vb [children]
(Women who do not have children)

IsiXhosa

Abafazi a-ba-[na-bantwana]
women rel.det-agrs-[with-children]
(Women who have children)

Abafazi a-ba-nge-[na-bantwana]
women rel.det-agrs-neg-[with-children]
(Women who do not have children)

Tshivenda

vhasadzi vha-re [na vhana]
women agrs-cop.vb [with children]
(Women who have children)

Vhasadzi vha-si [na vhana]
women agrs-neg.cop.vb [with children]
(Women who do not have children)

PAST TENSE**Xitsonga**

Vavasati a-va-ri [ni vana]
 women past-agrs-cop.vb [with children]
 (The women had children)

Vavasati a-va-nga-ri [na vana]
 women past-agrs-neg-cop.vb [with children]
 (The women did not have children)

[sa]**Sesotho**

Basadi ba-sa-na le bana
 The women still have children)

Basadi ha-ba-sa-na bana
 (The women no longer have children)

IsiXhosa

Abafazi ba-se-[n-abantwana]
 (The women still have children)

Abafazi a-ba-se-[n-abantwana]
 (The women no longer have children)

Xitsonga

Vavasati [v-[a-ha-[ri] [ni vana]
 (The women still have children)

Vavasati [a-v-[a-ha-[ri] [ni vana]
 (The women no longer have children)

Tshivenda

Vhasadzi vha-tshee na vhana
 (Women still have children)

Vhasadzi a-vha-tshee na vhana
 (Women no longer have children)

[nga, ka]**Sesotho**

Basadi ba-ka-ba le bana
 (The women may have children)

Basadi ba-ke-ke ba-ba le bana
 (The women may not have children)

IsiXhosa

Abafazi ba-nga-[n-abantwana]
 (Women may have children)

Abafazi a-ba-nge-b-i [na-bantwana]
 (The women may not have children)

Xitsonga

Vavasati va-nga-va ni vana
 (The women may have children)

Vavasati va-nge-v-i ni vana
 (The women may not have children)

Tshivenda

Vhasadzi vha-nga-vha na vhana
 (The women may have children)

Vhasadzi vha-nga-si-vh-e na vhana
 (The women may not have children)

SECTION IV: THE EXPLETIVE MORPHEME

The expletive morpheme may appear in any copulative clause, including subject inversion alternations with a copulative.

THE COPULATIVE CLAUSE HAS A DP COMPLEMENT

Sesotho

- (1) a. [B.a-ll.a], empa [ho-se [thuso]]
(Agrs.cons.-cry-FV but expl-neg help: They cried but there was no help)
- b. Re-tseb.ile hore [ho-tla-ba [lerata]]
(We-know-past that expl-will-be noise: we knew that there will be noise)
- c. [Ha-ho [ntho eo a-e-tseba-ng]]
(Neg-expl thing rel.det agrs-agro-know-rel.marker: There is not a thing that he knows)

The expletive morpheme has the form **[ho]** in Sesotho and it appears in (1) above with a DP complement. In (1a, c) we find **ho** in a negative clause with the Indicative in (1c) and the Participle in (1a). In (1b) there is a copulative verb **ba** in the Future Tense.

See Maboya (1992) and Mpeko (1992) for a discussion of the expletive in Sesotho.

IsiXhosa

- (2) a. [W.a-ye [sel.e-ngxam-el-e [uku-bon-an-a n-abahlobo ba-khe [e-kw.a-ku-se [ku-[1-[ithuba w-a-gqib-el-an-a na-bo]]]]
(Agrs.past-def. def..agrs-be-in-hurry-appl-perf to-see-recipr-FV with-friends of his rel.det-expl-past-[expl-def.vb [expl-cop-time agrs-past-end-appl-recipr-FV with-them: He was already in a hurry to see each other with his friends which it was already a time he last met with them]
- b. [A-s-azi [ukuba [ku-za ku-ba [mthi na ku-loo mfazi]]
(Neg-we-know that expl-fut-be tree q loc-that woman: we don't know whether there will be any dagga with that woman)
- c. [Be-se-[ku[z-[iiveki ezintathu e-goduk-ile]]]
[def.vb-def.vb-expl-cop-weeks three agrs-go-home-perf: It was already three weeks that he went home]

The expletive [ku] in isiXhosa appear with a DP in (2) above, but **ku** may only appear if the head noun of the complement DP has a copula: in (2a) the copula is [1] in [ku-[1-[ithuba]]]; in (2b) the copula has fallen away because of the indefiniteness of the head noun [mthi]. In (2c) the copula is [z] in [be-[se [-ku-[z-[iiveki]]]

See Mali (1995) for a discussion of the expletive in isiXhosa.

Xitsonga:

- (3) a. A-ku-nga-ri [wu'nwe [loyi [a-n'wi—tlul-a]]
(past-expl-neg-cop.vb another-one rel.det agrs-agro-exceed-FV:
There was not another one who exceeded him)
- b. U-te Maluleke a-ha-tsham-ile [ku-ri [Mugivela] a-hlamal-a ku-von-a
va-fik-a emutini wa yena
(Agrs-te Maluleke agrs-still-stay-perf expl-cop.vb Saturday agrs-
astounded to-see agrs-arrive in-village of him: When Maluleke still
stayed it being Saturday, he was astounded to see they have
arrived in his village)

The expletive [ku] in (3) above appears with a copulative verb **ri** in the past tense with the past tense morpheme [a] in (3a) and in a participle clause with [ri] in (3b). In both cases the complement is a DP: in (3a) without a head noun and in (3b) the head noun is **Mugivela**.

THE COPULATIVE CLAUSE WITH AN AP COMPLEMENT**IsiZulu**

All adjective stems in isiZulu and isiXhosa need an agreement morpheme which is the same as the noun class prefix of the subject of a copulative clause:

- (1) [A-ba-fazi [ba-hle]]
(Women (n.cl.2) n.cl.2-beautiful: The women are beautiful)

In (1) above the subject is **abafazi**, a noun in noun class 2 and the copulative clause is **bahle** which has the noun class prefix **ba** of **abafazi** together with the adjective stem **-hle**.

However, with the expletive **ku** there is no overt subject of the copulative clause. The adjective stem then accepts the expletive **ku** as an agreement morpheme on the adjective stem:

- (2) a. [Ku-ningi [o-ku-yo-ba [l- [usizo ku-we]]
(expl-many rel.det-expl-will-be copula-help to-you: There is a lot
which will be of help to you)
- b. [Ku-khulu [izwi lakini] o-sa-zo-l-enz-el-a]
[Expl-great country of you rel.det-still-will-agro-do-appl-FV: It is great
what you will still do for your country]

In (2a) the adjective stem is **ningi** and in (2b) it is **khulu**.

IsiXhosa

IsiXhosa follows the same pattern as above with an expletive. In some instances it is compulsory for a subjectival agreement morpheme to appear with an adjective: see the section on the copulative and the adjective. One such instance is the presence of the morpheme **sa**:

- (3) [Ku-[se-[ku-tsha kakhulu [ukuba singahambela loo mcimbi]
(Expl-still-expl-new very that we-can-go-for that case: It is still very
early that we can go for that case)

The first instance of **ku** above represents the expletive morpheme, while the second **ku** also represents the expletive morpheme but now not as a subjectival morpheme but as an expletive nominal prefix with the adjective stem **tsha**.

Sesotho

As in the case of isiZulu and isiXhosa above, the adjective stem in Sesotho will also need some agreement morpheme. Sesotho follows the Nguni languages above in accepting the expletive **ho** with an adjective stem. However, the Sesotho copulative clause need to appear with a subjectival agreement morpheme. It follows then isiXhosa in (3) above where **ku** appears twice:

- (4) A-bon-a hore jwale [ho [ho-be]]
(Agrs.cons-see-FV that now expl expl-bad: He saw that now it is bad)

The expletive **ho** appears twice in (4): firstly to the position of a subjectival agreement morpheme and secondly as representing a noun class prefix with the adjective stem **be**.

THE COPULATIVE CLAUSE WITH A NOMINAL-RELATIVE COMPLEMENT

Sesotho

The expletive morpheme **ho** appears with any nominal-relative stem:

- (5) A-bon-a [ho-le [molemo hore a-bulel-e radiyo haholo]]
(Agrs.cons-see-FV expl-cop.vb good that agrs.subjt-open-appl-e
(subjt): He saw it is good that he opens radio much (high)

The expletive morpheme **ho** above appears in a Participle clause with the copulative verb **le** followed by the nominal-relative stem **molemo**.

Such an expletive morpheme may also function as a relative determiner in relative clauses:

- (6) a-se a-ile a-i-kgeth-el-a [ho ka-ng [ho monate]
(Agrs.cons-already agrs-def.vb agrs-refl-choose-for-FV expl.rel.det-seem-
rel.marker expl.-nice: He already has chosen for himself something which
seems nice)

isiXhosa, isiZulu

As above, the expletive morpheme **ku** appears with a nominal-relative stem:

- (7) a. [Ku-nzima [ukuba ndi-ngathi ndi-ya-vuya]]
(expl-difficult that I-seem I-am-happy: It is difficult that I seem to be
happy)

- b. [Ku-nga-mnandi ku-ye [uku-ya ku-chitha khona ikhefu]
(Expl-pot-nice to-him to-go to-spend there holiday: It can be nice to him to go and spend holiday there)

THE COPULATIVE CLAUSE WITH A LOCATIVE PHRASE

Sesotho

The morpheme **ho** may either function as an expletive or a locative subjectival morpheme if the locative phrase appears as subject of the clause.

If **ho** functions as an expletive, it tends to favour locative phrases which has an old locative class noun as head such as **morao** (behind), **haufi** (near):

- (8) Ha n-ka-fihl-a teng, [ho-tla-be [ho-se [ho-le haufi]]
(If I-can-arrive-FV there, [expl-fut-def.vb [expl-def.vb [expl-cop.vb near]:
If I can arrive there, it will already be near]

The expletive **ho** appears with the locative **haufi** (an old locative class noun), together with some deficient verbs **be**, **se** and a copulative verb **le** in the participle. The locative phrase is a complement in (8) above of the copulative clause. When the locative phrase appears as the subject of a copulative clause, the subjectival morpheme **ho** will still appear but it will now refer to the locative subject and not to an expletive:

- (9) [Lelapeng leo] [ha-ho-sa-le [motho]]
(In village that neg-agrs-still-cop.vb person: In that village there is no longer anybody)

The locative morpheme **ho** above is the subjectival agreement morpheme of the locative subject **lelapeng leo**.

- (10) [Metseng ena] [ha-ho [ntho e ntle eo motho a-ka-e-fumana-ng]
(In villages these neg-agrs thing adj.det beautiful rel.det person agrs-can-agro-find-rel.marker: In these villages there is not a beautiful thing which a person can find)

The locative morpheme **ho** above appears with a negative morpheme **ha**. The locative subject is **metseng ena**.

IsiXhosa

As with Sesotho above, the morpheme **ku** may be either expletive or locative:

Locative subjectival agreement morpheme:

- (11) [Apho uNyubatyha a-khona] [kw-a-[ku-[lapho u-nga-m-fumana khona uDingezweni]]
(rel.det uNyubatyha agrs-there, agrs-past-agrs-rel.det agrs-pot-agro-find there uDingezweni: Where Nyubatyha is, was where you can find Dingezweni)

Expletive [ku-]:

- (12) a. W-a-y-e-fik-e [se-ku-[s]-emva ngalaa mini
(Agrs-past-def.vb-agrs-arrive-perf already-expl-behind with-that day:
He arrived while it is already after that day)
- b. Ndi-ya-bona [ku-[kw-ixesha lo-ku-fika kwabo]]
(I-see expl-in-time of-to-arrive of-them: I see it is in the time of their
arrival)
- c. Kanti [a-ku-ka-b-i [-phi], si-za ku-hlangana namhlanje oku
(But neg-expl-neg-be-neg-where, we-will-meet today this:
But it is not yet where we will meet this today)

IsiXhosa has an absolute pronoun **khona** of the locative nouns which appears mostly as **kho**, but which is nowadays also functioning as a verb. See i.a. Du Plessis, Visser (1992). This **kho** is frequently used with an expletive **ku**:

- (13) Ngaba [ku-kho [nto u-pheth-e yona?]
Maybe expl-present thing agrs-carry-perf it: Maybe there is something
which you have carried?]

In the other SA languages the same meaning of existence has to be expressed by a copulative clause with a PP with **le** or **na** as head. See below.

THE COPULATIVE CLAUSE WITH A PP WITH NA/LE AS HEAD

With a locative morpheme:

Tshivenda

- (14) a. [Ha Nwedo] [h-o-vha [hu[na masia manzhi]]
(At Nwedo agr-past-def.vb agr (with villages many: At Nwedo there
were many villages)
- b. Vhathannga vha-mbo-d8i-dzhena [henefhala [hune [h-a-vha [na
vhasadzi hone]
(Men agrs-then-enter there rel.det agr-cons-def.vb with women there:
The men then entered there where there were women)

The locative agreement morpheme **hu** in (14) above refers to a locative subject **ha Nwedo** in (14a) and **henefhala** in (14b).

Xitsonga

- (15) a. [EJonj] a-ku [na[vutshamo]
(In-Johannesburg neg-agr with place-to-stay: In Johannesburg thee is no
place to stay)
- b. [Emutini lowu] [ku [ni [vana vo-tala]
(In-village this agr with children of-to-be-many: In this village there are
many children)

The locative agreement morpheme above is **ku** which appears with a PP with **na** as head and a locative subject.

Sesotho

- (16) [Haufi le letamo] [ho-ne [ho-ena [le modisana ya ile-ng a-m-mona]
 (Near with dam agr-def.vb agr-cop.vb with herdsboy rel.det def.vb-rel.
 marker agrs-agro-see: Near the dam there was a herdsboy who saw him)

The locative agreement is **ho** with a PP complement with **le** as head and a locative subject. The copulative verb is **na**.

With an expletive morpheme:

Xitsonga

- (17) a. [a-k-aha-ri [ni [ndlela yin'wana]
 (Neg-expl-still-cop.vb with way other: There is no longer another way)
 b. [Ku-va [ni [ntsako lowukulu eka Makhuvele]
 (Expl-cop.vb with joy great to Makhuvele: There comes a great joy to Makhuvele)

The expletive morpheme is **ku** above with a PP with **ni** as complement.

Tshivenda

- (18) a. [A-hu [na [hun(we)]
 (Neg-expl with other-place: There is no other place)
 b. Vha-amba uri [hu [na [vhurifhi h-o-d&a-ho]
 (Agrs-say that expl with letter agrs-past-come-rel.marker: he says that there is a letter which came)
 c. [A-hu [na [o-amba-ho]
 (Neg-expl with rel.det.agrs-speak-rel.marker: There is no one who spoke)

The expletive morpheme above is **hu** in Tshivenda and it appears with a PP with **na** as head.

Sesotho

- (19) a. [ha-ho-na [moo [a-tjhak-etse-ng teng]
 (Neg-expl-cop.vb rel.det agrs-visit-appl.perf-rel.marker there:
 There isn't a place where he visited)
 b. [Ho-na [le [ntho [eo [a-e-nahana-ng]
 (Expl-cop.vb with thing rel.det agrs-agro-think-rel.marker:
 There is a thing which he thinks about)

The expletive morpheme **ho** appears with a copulative morpheme **na** above. In (19a) the preposition **le** has fallen away in the negative.

IsiXhosa

- (20) a. [Ku-na-[ni] kona ukuba ku-phendul-w-e nokuba inye?
(Expl-with-what it that expl-answer-passive-perf even one:
Why is it that there is answered even one?)
- b. [Ku-no-[kw-enz-ek-a ukuba eli gama l-a-vela kw-abo bantu
ba-li-hlonipha-yo]
(Expl-with-to-do-neut.pass-FV that this name agrs-cons-come. from
from-those people agrs-agro-honour-rel.marker:
It may happen that this name came from those people who honour it)

The expletive **ku** appears with a PP with **na** as head.

SUBJECT INVERSION WITH THE EXPLETIVE

See Mali (1995) and Mpeko (1992) for subject inversion with copulative clauses. Below are some example sentences:

With a DP

IsiXhosa

- (21) [Le nkwenkwe] [ng-[unyana omhle kw-aba nyana ba-m]
(This boy copula-son beautiful in-these sons of me:
This boy is a beautiful son amongst these sons of mine)

With S.I.:

- (22) [Ku-[ng-[unyana omhle] [le nkwenkwe] [kw-aba nyana ba-m]
(Expl-copula-son beautiful this boy in-these sons of-me:
It is a beautiful son this boy amongst my sons)
- (23) Lo mfazi [u-[l-[ivila] [kuna-lowwa]
(This woman agrs-copula-lazy.person than-that-one:
This woman is lazier than that one)

With S.I.:

- (24) [Ku-[l-[ivila] [lo mfazi] [kunalowa]
(Expl-copula-lazy.person this woman than-that-one:
There is lazier this woman than that one)

With an Adjectival phrase

Sesotho

- (25) Basadi [ba [ba-tle]]
(Women agrs n.cl.-beautiful: the women are beautiful)

With S.I. the noun class prefix with the adjective **-tle** above is replaced by a prefix **ho** which then appears with an expletive morpheme:

- (26) [Ho [ho-tle [basadi]
(Expl.n.cl.-beautiful women: There are beautiful the women)

IsiXhosa

The noun class prefix of the subject has a nasal **n** or **m**:

- (27) a. Lo mfazi [m-futshane]]
(This woman n.cl.-short: This woman is short)
b. Le nduku [i-n-de]]
(This stick n.cl.-long: This stick is long)

The expletive morpheme **ku** appears with the copulatives below. In (27b) the preprefix **i** of the prefix [i-n-] then falls away:

- (28) a. [Ku-[m-futshane [lo mfazi]
(expl-n.cl.-short this woman: There is short this woman)
b. [Ku-[n-de [le nduku]
(expl-n.cl.-long this stick : There is long this stick)

The noun class prefix of the subject has no nasal **n** or **m**:

- (29) Olu sana [lú-futshane]
(This baby n.cl.-short: This baby is short)

In (29) the noun class prefix is **lu** of class 11. With S.I. this prefix falls away and a new expletive prefix **ku** appears in its place because all adjective stems have to appear with a noun class prefix:

- (30) [Kú-futshane [olu sana]
(expl-short this baby: There is short this baby)

When AgrS is necessary, the copulative in (30) will take an expletive morpheme together with the form in (30):

- (31) Xa [ku- [ku-futshane [olu hana]
(When expl-expl-short this baby: When there is short this baby)

COPULATIVES WITH A NOMINAL-RELATIVE STEM

IsiXhosa

- (32) Le nyama [i-[lushica]]
(This meat agrs-tough: This meat is tough)

With S.I. the AgrS [i] above is replaced by the expletive:

- (33) [Ku-[lushica [le nyama]
(expl-tough this meat: There is tough this meat)

Sesotho:

- (34) Dijo [di [monate]
(Food agrs nice: The food is nice)

As above the AgrS [di] is replaced by the expletive:

- (35) [Ho [monate]dijo]
(expl nice food: There is nice food)

COPULATIVES WITH A LOCATIVE PHRASE**IsiXhosa**

- (36) Abafazi [ba-[s]-edolophini]
(Women agrs-in-town: The women are in town)

With S.I.:

- (37) [Ku-[s]-edolophini [abafazi]
(expl-in-town women: There are in the town the women)

Sesotho

Sesotho distinguishes between two types of S.I. with locatives:

Locatives with the suffix [-eng]:

- (38) Ditholwana [di [sefateng]
[Fruit agrs in-tree: The fruit are on the tree]

In S.I. the expletive cannot appear with the locative phrase but has to appear with the subject of the copulative:

- (39) a. *[Ho [sefateng [ditholwana]
b. [Ho [ditholwana [sefateng]
(expt fruit on-tree: There are fruit on the tree)

Locative class nouns:

The locative class noun may appear with the expletive or the subject may appear with the expletive:

- (40) a. Theko ya meroho [e [fatshe]
(price of vegetables agrs low: The price of vegetables is low)
b. [Ho [fatshe [theko ya meroho]
(There is low price of vegetables)
c. [Ho [theko ya meroho [fatshe]
(There is price of vegetables low)

COPULATIVES WITH A PP WITH NA/LE

IsiXhosa

- (41) Abantwana [ba-[ne-[ngxaki enzima]
(Children agrs-with-problem difficult: The children have a difficult problem)

With S.I.:

- (42) [Ku-[ne-[ngxaki enzima [abantwana], hayi nina
(expl-with-problem difficult children not you: There has a difficult problem
the children, not you)

Sesotho

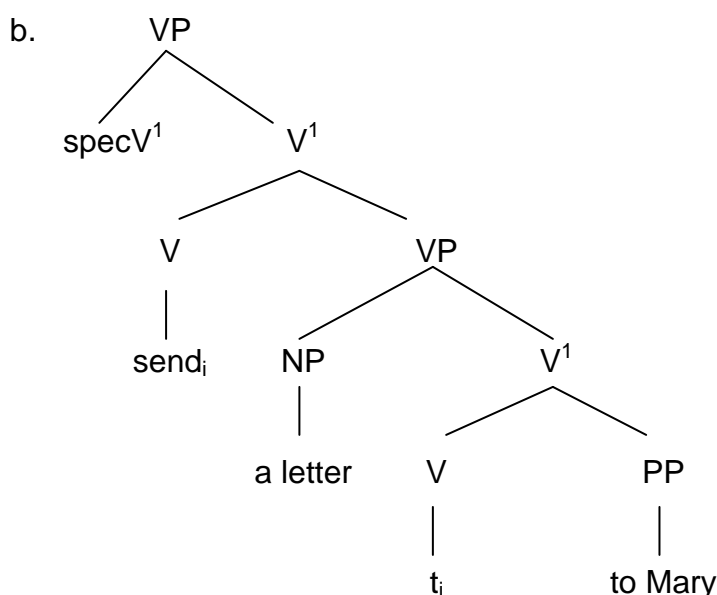
S.I. is not possible with a PP with **le**:

- (43) a. Ntja [e-na [le matsetse]
(Dog agrs-be with fleas: The dog has fleas)
b. *[Ho-na [le ntja [matsetse]
c. *[Ho-na [le matsetse [ntja]

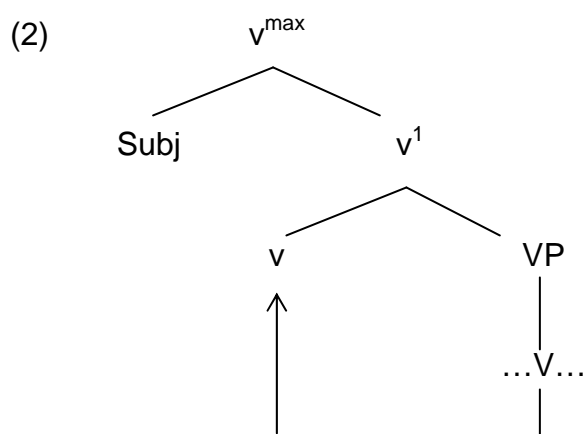
SECTION V: THE STRUCTURE OF THE COPULATIVE PHRASE

Larson (1988) discussed the problem of verbs with multiple internal arguments such as verbs with double objects. For this type of construction he made use of the concept of a VP shell and for double object constructions two such shells will be necessary (see Larson (1988:343):

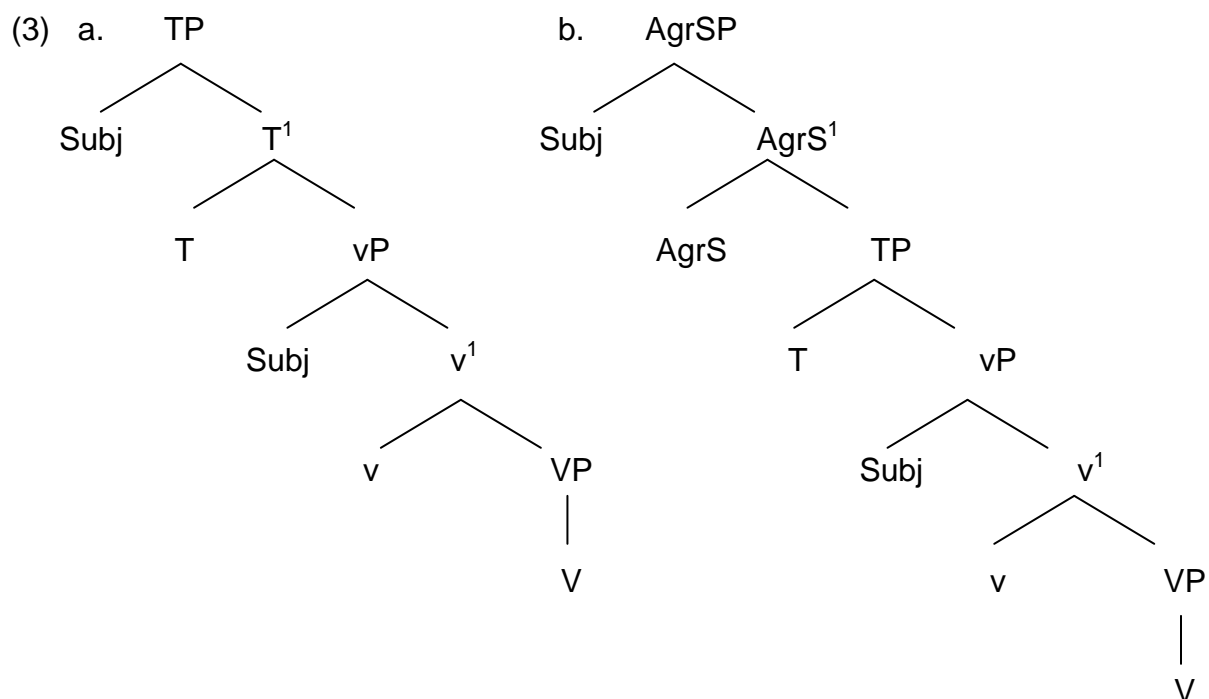
- (1) a. John sent a letter to Mary



This type of analysis has subsequently been adapted to include the concept of a light verb (v) to which [V] raises. See i.a. Chomsky (1995:315, 352):

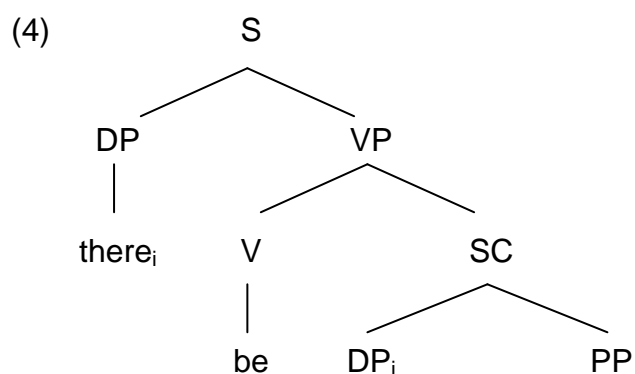


Such a structure as above has been refined by i.a. Chomsky (2006), Boeckx (2006, 2008) and Hornstein et al (2005) among others. Chomsky (1995) gave a further structure in which the functional category Agr no longer appears. For unergative intransitive verbs we may then have the following two structures where the first structure appears without the Agr category:



Both of these structures above show two verbal shells with the first shell headed by a light verb [v].

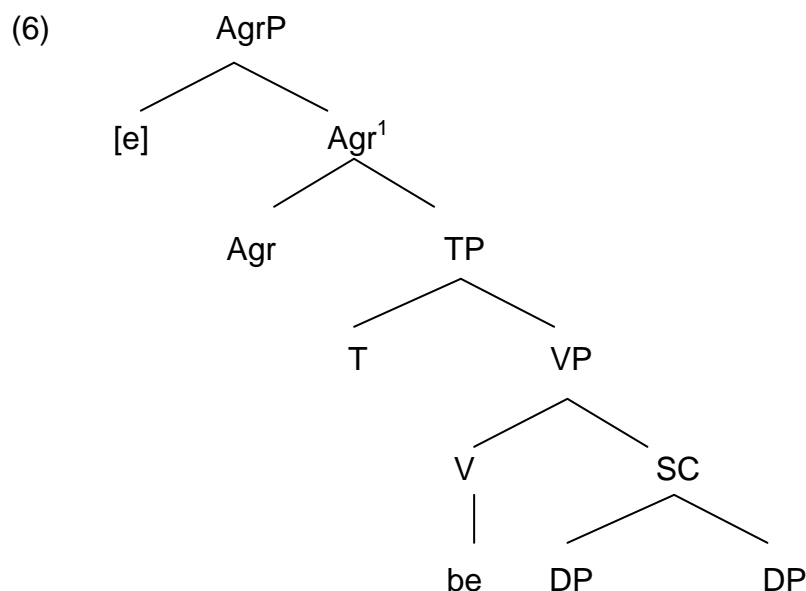
There is general agreement in the literature that a copular clause may be analysed with a raising verb **be** which takes a small clause complement. Stowell (1978) already at that time analysed **be** as a raising verb where the relation of predication is contained in the small clause. The subject “a man” in “There is a man in the room” is linked to the predicate “in the room”:



Chomsky (1995:175), Rothstein (2001:239), Moro (2006(a), 2006(b), Den Dikken (2006(a), 2006(b) followed the analysis with a small clause as above, among many others. See i.a. Den Dikken's (2006:59) structure:

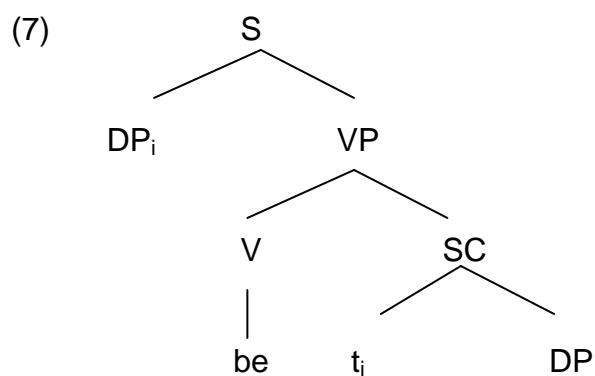


The structure of Moro (2006(a):91) has functional categories Agr and T for copular sentences:

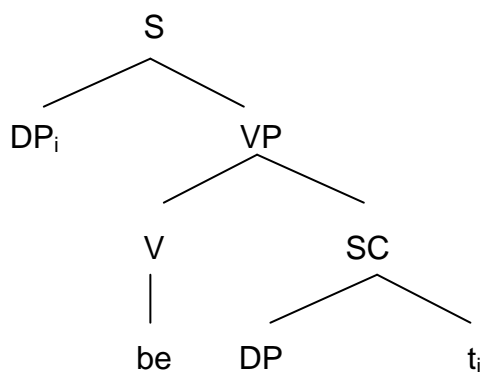


From this structure Moro derived two different types of copular sentences:

a. The raised DP is the subject:

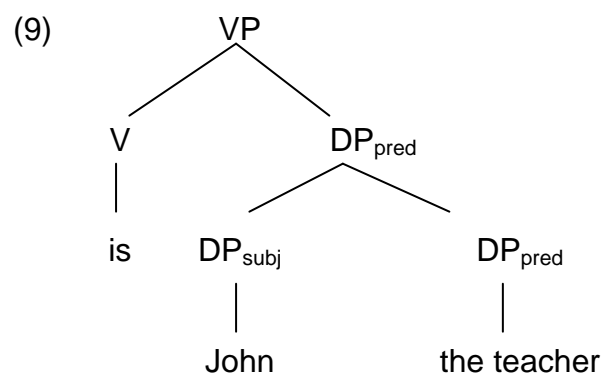


b. The raised DP is the predicate:

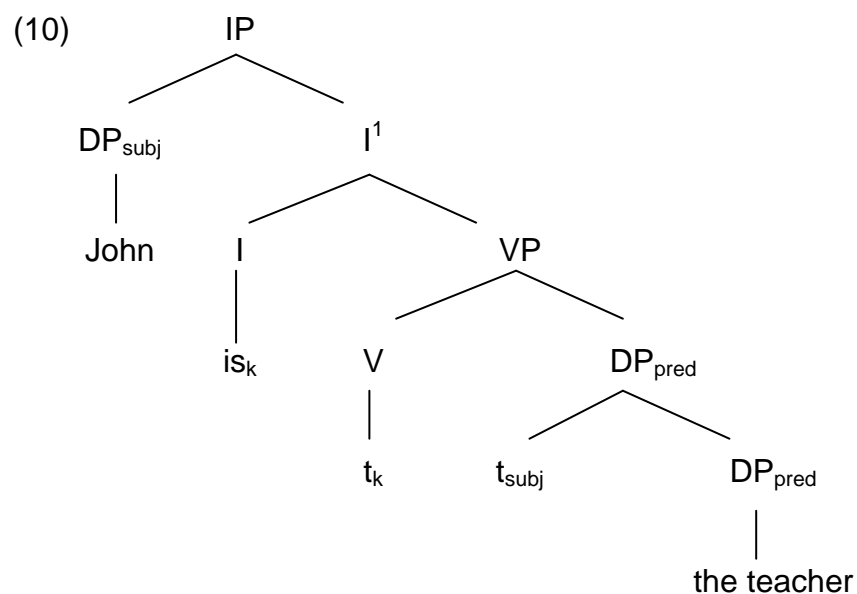


Mikkelsen (2005:7) also has a raising verb with a small clause complement:

Underlying structure:



Predicational structure



In this predicational copular clause the subject of the small clause raises to the subject position of the main clause and the verb has to move as well to [I].

To arrive at a possible structure for the copular clause in these African languages, the following issues should be considered:

- a. No small clause has been established for copulatives in these African languages. See i.a. Dinga (1997), Mokete (1997) and L8ithole (1999) where various predicative complements have been given but never with any small clause.
- b. There are various copulative verbs with an uneven distribution in these languages. These verbs may only appear in copulative clauses. See section II above for a table of these copulative verbs. An interpretable feature should then be added on the category [V] to give a category [V_{cop}] because such a verb has certain complements peculiar only to copulative clauses.
- c. There are a number of possible complements of copulative verbs in these languages:

- (i) DP in Sesotho, Tshivenda and Xitsonga
- (ii) A DP with a feature [Cop] in Nguni (isiXhosa and isiZulu): this DP has to appear with a copula with or without another copulative verb:

Without another copulative verb:

UMaria [ng-[umfundi]]

(Maria copula-student: Maria is a student)

With another copulative verb:

UMaria [uza ku-ba [ng-[umfundi]]

(Maria agrs-will-be copula-student: Maria will be a student)

The copula verb **ba** above appears together with the copula **ngu** on the DP. Such a DP will then appear with its feature as follows: [DP_{cop}].

- (iii) An [AP] with a nominal feature: adjectives in these languages have to appear with an agreement morpheme which is mostly the exact replica of the noun class prefix of the subject of the copulative clause

Sekolo [se [se-holo]]

(school agrs n.cl-big: the school is big)

The adjective stem **holo** in Sesotho above appears with the noun class prefix **se-** which is the same as that of **se-kolo**, the subject of the copulative. The AP will then appear as [AP_{nom}].

- (iv) There is another AP in the Sotho and Nguni languages. These adjective stems are also called nominal relative stems because the stems are mainly derived from nouns and they may only appear with a subjectival agreement morpheme:

(11) Sesotho: [Dijo [di [monate]]

IsiXhosa: [Ukutya [ku- [mnandi]]

(Food Agrs nice: The food is nice)

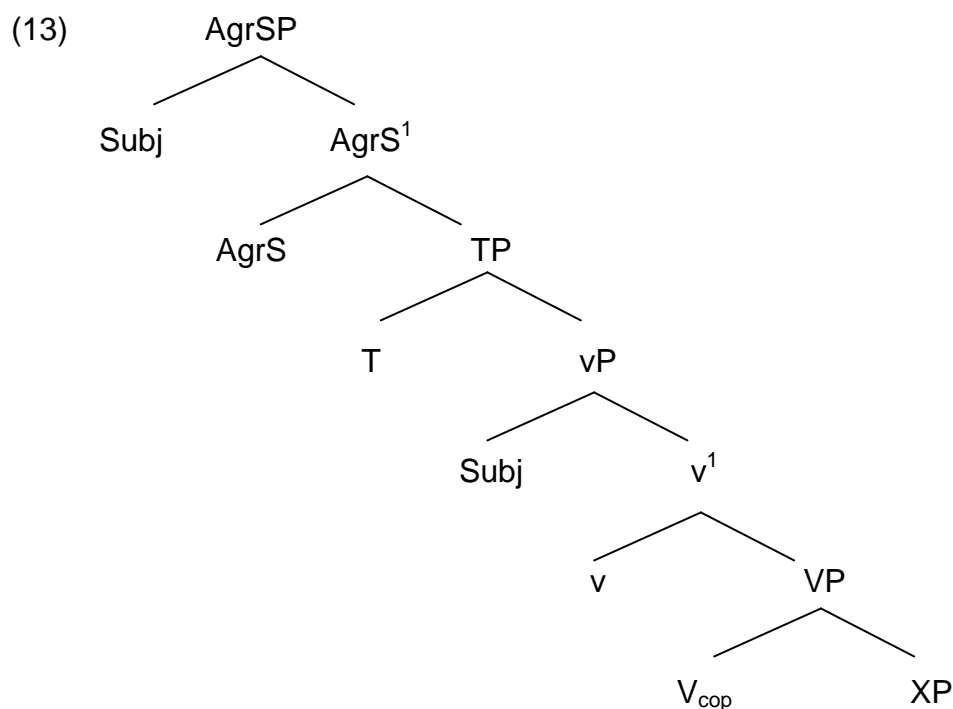
The AgrS **di** and **ku** above is derived from the subject of the copulative and the stem is **monate** or **mnandi**.

- (v) For other complements of the copulative verbs, refer to section III above. Except for the complements above, all the other complements in section III need no other categorization.

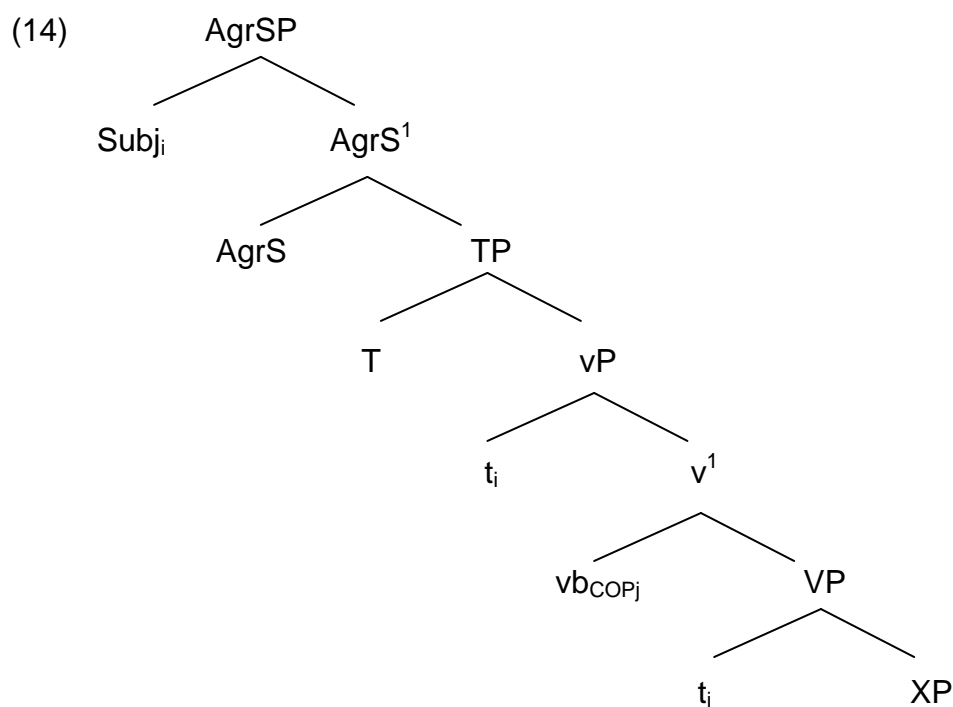
From the above discussion of categories within a copulative construction, it seems that categories such as the following will be necessary:

- (12)
- a. [V_{cop}] for the copulative verb
 - b. [DP_{cop}] for the DP with a copula in the Nguni languages
 - c. [DP] for the other languages.
 - d. [AP_{NOM}] for adjectival phrases where the adjective stem appears with a nominal prefix.
 - e. [AP] for an adjectival phrase with a nominal-relative stem which appears with AgrS in the Sotho and Nguni languages.
 - f. [DP_{LOC}] for a locative DP
 - g. [PP] with a preposition [le] or [na] as head.
 - h. Other categories in section II above.

A structure such as the following may then be possible for the copulative (see no. (3b) above):



[XP] refers to any complement of a copulative verb. All other operations on (13) will follow the usual movements in minimalism, giving rise to a structure such as the following



SECTION VI: THE SEMANTICS OF COPULAR CLAUSES

For an overview of the semantics of copulative constructions, see i.a. Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1979), Declerck (1988), Mikkelsen (2005) and Den Dikken (2006(a), (b)).

The following taxonomy of copular clauses is apparent from the literature above which include the following semantic types of copular sentences:

specificational, predicational, equative or identity statements, identificational, descriptively-identifying and definitions.

Mikkelsen (2005:1-3) gave the following definitions:

a. A predicational clause tells us something about the referent of the subject:

(1) a. **IsiZulu**

UMkabayi [kwa-[ku-[y-[in-kosikazi emangalisayo]
 (Mkabayi [agr.ku.past-[agr.ku-[copula-[queen who-surprises]: Mkabayi
 was a surprising queen]

b. **Tshivenda**

Vho-Vele [vho-vha [vhe [vhone muṅwaleli wa tshikolo tshashu]
 (Vele [agrs.past-def.vb. [agrs.ptc.[pro secretary of school of-us: Vele was
 the secretary of our school]

c. **IsiXhosa**

Ingxaki yakhe [ya-ba [y-[imali yokukhwela ukuya kwaLanga]
 (Problem of-him [agr.past-cop.vb [copula-[money of-to-ride to-go to-
 Langa: His problem was the money of the ride to go to Langa]

b. A specificational clause says who or what the referent is:

(2) **IsiXhosa**

- a. Esona sixhobo si-thand-w-a-yo [y-[imela]
(pro weapon agrs-like-pass.-rel.marker (copula-[knife: The best weapon
which is liked is the knife])
- b. O-nga-ka-b-i-kho endaweni yakhe [ng-[ummangalelwa]]
(agrs.rel.det-neg-ka-cop.vb.-neg-kho in-place of-his [it-is [accused]:
The one who is not yet in his place is the accused.

According to Akmajian (1970:163), Higgins (1979) and Madadzhe (1997) pseudo-cleft sentences are always specificational. For an overview of pseudo-cleft sentences in Tshivenda, see Madadzhe (1997).

c. Equatives involve two expressions denoting the same individual and the function of the copular clause is to equate the referents of the two expressions:

(3) **Tshivenda**

Muyi [u-d8o-vha [vhoBegwa]]
(Goer [agrs-fut.-cop.vb. [Begwa]: The goer will be Begwa])

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akmajian, A. 1970. On deriving cleft sentences from pseudo-cleft sentences. **Linguistic Inquiry**, vol. 1.
- Boeckx, C. 2006. **Lingusitic Minimalism**. Oxford Univesity Press.
- Boeckx, C. 2008. **Bare syntax**. Oxford University Press.
- Bottoman, N. 2001. The adjective in Xosa. M.A., U.S.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. **The Minimalist Program**. The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2006. **Approaching UG from below**. MS.
- Declerck, R. 1988. **Studies on copular sentences, clefts and pseudo-clefts**. Foris Publications.
- Den Dikken, M. 2006(a). **Relators and linkers**. The MIT Press.
- Den Dikken, M. 2006(b). Specificational copular sentences and pseudo-clefts. In: Everaert et al (eds.).
- Dinga, PP. 1997. Verbs with predicative complements in Xhosa. M.A., U.S.
- Du Plessis, J.A., Musehane, N.M., Visser, M. 1995. **Venda syntax**. SCAL no. 1.
- Du Plessis, J.A., Nxumalo, N.E., Visser, M. 1995. **Tsonga Syntax**. SCAL no. 2.
- Du Plessis, J.A., Visser, M. 1992. **Xhosa syntax**. Via Afrika.

- Du Plessis, J.A., Visser, M. 1995. **Sesotho syntax**. SCAL no. 3.
- Du Plessis, J.A., Visser, M. 1996. **Northern sotho syntax**. SCAL no. 4.
- Du Plessis, JA, 1995. **Zulu syntax**. MS.
- Everaert, M., Van Riemsdijk, H.L. (ed.). 2006. **The Blackwell companion to syntax**. Blackwell.
- Higgins, F.R. 1979. **The pseudo-cleft construction in English**. Garland Publishing.
- L8ithole, F.E. 1999. Verbs with predicative complements in Tshivenda. M.A., U.S.
- Larson, R.K. 1988. On the double object construction. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 19.3.
- Legodi, L.F. 1995. The nominal modifiers in Northern Sotho. M.A., U.S.
- Mabaso, D.B. 1996. The nominal modifiers in Zulu. M.A., U.S.
- Maboya, P.S. 1992. Subject inversion in Sotho syntax. M.A., U.S.
- Madadzhe, R.N. 1997. The copulative in Venda. D.Litt. U.S.
- Mali, Z.O. 1995. The existential sentences in Xhosa. M.A., U.S.
- Mdumela, T.A. 1996. Weather verbs in Tsonga. M.A., U.S.
- Mikkelsen, L. 2005. **Copular clauses**. John Benjamins.
- Mngadi, N.E. 1999. The adjective in isiZulu. M.A., U.S.
- Mokete, C.M. 1997. Verbs with predicative complements in Sesotho. M.A., U.S.
- Moro, A. 2006(a). **The raising of predicates**. Cambridge University Press.
- Moro, A. 2006(b). Copular sentences. In: Everaert et al (eds.).
- Mpeko, N.G. 1992. The existential sentences in Southern Sotho. M.A., U.S.
- Mphasha, L.E. 2000. Adjectives in Northern Sotho. M.A., U.S.
- Musehane, N.M. 1991. The locative categories in Tshivenda. M.A., U.S.
- Mushiane, A.C. 1999. The preposition **na** in Tsivenda. M.A., U.S.
- Mutheiwana, H.D. 2000. The adjective in Tshivenda. M.A., U.S.
- Nekhumbwe, M.G. 1995. Weather verbs in Venda. M.A., U.S.
- Nxumalo, N.E. 1994. Nominal modifiers in Xitsonga. M.A., U.S.
- Ramovha, T.R. 1996. Motion verb constructions in Venda. M.A., U.S.
- Rothstein, S. 2001. **Predicates and their subjects**. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Stowell, T. 1978. What was there before **there** was there? **Chicago linguistic society**, 14th regional meeting.

Theledi, K.M.A. 2002. Descriptive nominal modifiers in Setswana. D.Litt., U.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

abs.pro	absolute pronoun
agr	agreement
agro	objectival agreement
agrs	subjectival agreement
appl	applicative
cl	class
cons	consecutive
cop	copula
cop.vb	copulative verb
def.vb	deficient verb
expl	expletive
FV	final vowel
inf	infinitive
n.cl	noun class
neg	negative
neg.vb	negative verb
neut	neuter-passive affix
perf	perfective
pref	prefix
pot	potential
pro	pronoun
q	question
recipr	reciprocal affix
refl	reflexive
rel.det	relative determiner
rel.marker	relative marker
subj	subjunctive
vb	verb