The aim of this article is to focus on a comparative study of the relative clause in the four major language groups of South Africa which will be represented here by four individual languages, i.e. isiXhosa, Xitsonga, Tshivenda and Sesotho. Within the relative clause, answers will be provided for the following issues which are basic to the relative clauses in these languages:

The structure of a relative clause, the relative determiner and marker and the reasons for the optionality of some of them, the tenses of the relative verb and the types of resumption within the TP, the restrictive, appositive and free relatives and lastly, the problems engendered by coordinated and stacked relative clauses.

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**Abbreviations**
1. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON RELATIVE CLAUSES

1.1 Definition of a relative clause

According to Van Riemsdijk (2006:338) a relative clause is a clause that modifies a phrasal constituent, generally a NP. This NP is the head of the relative clause. In externally headed relative clauses, the head NP is outside the relative clause.

1.2 Structure of a relative clause

Bhatt (2002) gives three structures for a relative clause:

Head external analysis (2002:44): the head NP originates outside the relative clause CP. The relative clause CP involves A-bar movement of a relative operator which may be overt or covert:

(1)

```
    DP
      \   /  \\
      DP° / \ NP
            \ / CP
             NP  / \ OP/which_i
             book C^1
                     C° +rel IP
                     John likes t_i
```

Head raising analysis (2002:45): the head NP originates inside the relative clause CP:

(2)

```
    DP
      \   /  \\
      DP° / \ NP
            \ / CP
             NP  / \ [OP/which t_i]
             bookj C^1
                     C° +rel IP
                     John likes t_i
```

For the matching analysis see Bhatt (2002:45) and for null operators see Chomsky (1982).

Other views on the structure of the relative clause are i.a. those of Jackendoff (1977), Stockwell o.a. (1973), Chomsky (1981, 1982) and Hornstein o.a. (2005).
1.3  Resumptive pronouns and gaps

"A resumptive pronoun is a pronominal element which is obligatorily bound and which
appears in a position in which … a gap would appear. The binder of the pronoun is
the same … as the element which links the gap in the corresponding filler-gap
construction" (McCloskey 2006:95).

Example of a gap (e) in English:

I want [the shirt] [which, the woman bought [e]]

A resumptive pronominal in IsiXhosa:

Ndi-funa [ihempe] [a-yi-theng-ile-yo pro, umfazi]
(I-want shirt she-it-buy-past-rm woman: I want the shirt which the woman bought)

The head above is in its matrix position while the corresponding position inside the
relative clause is either empty (e) or a pronominal element (pro) coindexed with AgrO
yi (see Van Riemskijk 2006:339).

Various views on resumptive pronouns include the following:

1.3.1  Zaenen a.o. (1981).

With regard to binding: resumptive pronouns in Swedish do not reflect a switch from
syntactic binding to anaphoric binding although resumptive pronouns are typically
used in syntactic islands (1981:682).

1.3.2  Borer (1984)

In object relatives: resumptive pronouns do not involve movement and may violate
constraints on movement and binding conditions (1984:221). For this purpose,
Chomsky (1977:81) formulated a rule of predication: "there must be an NP in the
relative that is interpreted as having no independent reference". The predication rule
links some abstract relative operator with a coindexed resumptive pronoun
(1984:222). With a gap in the relative clause: an overt pronoun operator moves into
COMP and is subsequently deleted (1984:223). In subject relatives: in Hebrew there
is an obligatory gap (1984:244) which shows a difference in distribution from the pro-
drop phenomena. The binding conditions of Chomsky (1981) may explain the full

1.3.3  Sells (1987)

Sells gave attention to the following issues:

a.  Resumptive pronouns are bound by an operator, i.e. a WH-word/phrase or a
    functionally similar complementizer (p. 261).

b.  A pronoun may/may not be operator-bound at S-structure (p. 261).

c.  The antecedent of a resumptive pronoun is the operator (p. 262).

d.  An empty category cannot be traced to the ECP (p. 262).

e.  Parasitic gap constructions are licensed by A-bar binding at S-structure (p.
    267).
1.3.4 Shlonsky (1992)

a. There is no resumptive strategy: the resumptive pronoun is a last resort: there is no WH-movement to derive an A-bar chain, and the language allows pronouns to be used as resumptives (p. 465).

b. Resumptive pronouns are variables, i.e. they are bound by an operator in an A-bar position in LF. The resumptive pronoun is a regular (unbound) pronoun at S-structure and a bound pronoun (a variable) in LF (p. 459).

c. Relative clauses with gaps are open sentences in LF that contain a variable marked by a trace (p. 459).

d. An operator must appear in an A-bar position to bind a resumptive pronoun variable. The operator has to be adjoined to CP in LF, i.e. it has to move from [Spec/C] because resumptive pronouns are variables (p. 465).

1.3.5 Suñer (1998)

The resumptive pronoun is a syntactic phenomenon which operates before bifurcation into PF and LF. But there are environments which argue for it being part of PF (p. 335). Thus, there are two types of resumptive pronouns. In the latter case the resumptive pronoun materializes in the absence of a WH-island (p. 336, no. 5).

1.3.6 Aoun a.o. (2001)

There are two kinds of resumptive pronouns:

a. Apparent resumptive pronouns relate to their antecedents via movement (copy and merge) from a position within the maximal projection containing the pronoun or epithet phrase (p. 393).

b. True resumptive pronouns relate to their antecedents via binding with no movement from the position of the pronoun or epithet phrase. An A-bar antecedent binds the resumptive pronoun (p. 394).

1.3.7 McCloskey (2006)

Properties of resumptives: immunity from constraints on movement (p. 99), strong crossover (p. 100), weak crossover (p. 102), antilocality and the Highest Subject Restriction (p. 102).

Agreement on the issues above (p. 104): resumptive pronouns are base-generated just as ordinary pronouns, the binding relation between the resumptive pronoun and its binding operator is not created by movement, a variable should be defined contextually (a variable is an element whose most local binder occupies an A-bar position).

Identity of the binding element (p. 106): Resumptive pronouns function as variables and they must have a binder (a co-indexed element in a c-commanding A-bar position). The binding element must be a null operator base-generated in the specifier position of CP: [DPNP] [CPOP] C[IP ... pro]]. They are phonologically null in every case.
1.3.8 Alexopoulou (2006)

The article is based on Greek relative clauses. Resumption in Greek relative clauses may have two sources. It may be a last resort phenomenon in Greek when identification of the $\emptyset$-features of non-arguments fails. Such resumptives with last resort pronouns are sensitive to islands. A second source of resumption pertains to the absence of a syntactic feature on C giving rise to an Agree relation in non-restrictive relatives in Greek and restrictive relatives in Semitic. Resumption in these cases is obligatory in all positions. Resumptives are interpreted as LF variables in restrictive relative clauses (p. 104).

1.3.9 Alexopoulou (2010)

There are two types of resumption:

a. Grammatical resumption is involved in chains created through base-generation (p. 503). It does not exhibit any of the standard diagnostics of movement (sensitivity to islands, weak crossover effects, etc.) and relates to structures involving solely merge and not move (p. 489). The choice between movement and non-movement is associated with C (p. 491). In languages with complementizers with agreeing nominal features, additional agreement relations hold between C and the relative operator (p. 491).

b. Intrusive resumption appears in a chain created by movement (p. 503). A property of movement is sensitivity to islands. The effect of resumption in these structures is to "save" the illicit island violating movement (p. 493).

1.4 Types of relative clauses

1.4.1 Restrictive relatives:

They are included in the restrictive term of the determiner and therefore contribute to determining the denotation of the whole DP (Bianchi 2004:77). They follow previous modifiers without a break, they may contain foci and they may be affected by sentence negation (Jackendoff 1977:62).

1.4.2 Non-restrictive/appositive relatives:

They do not contribute to determining the reference of the "head" that they modify because they fall outside the restrictive term of its determiner (Bianchi 2004:77). They are separated by comma intonation, may not contain foci and may not be affected by sentence negation (Jackendoff 1977:62). De Vries (2006) gave an overview of the structural position of appositive relatives (p. 231-238 and Table 1 on p. 233 for various theories on appositives). His proposal for appositive relatives is called the CFR analysis with three elements: an appositive relative is coordinated to the antecedent, it is a DP and hence a kind of free relative, and lastly, there is raising within the appositive relative (2006:237). According to Cinque (2008) non-restrictive relatives may have two constructions: identical to or distinct from the ordinary restrictive construction (2008:127).

1.4.3 Headless or free relatives

Bresnan, Grimshaw (1978): the WH-phrase in free relatives is base-generated as a head to its clause: I'll buy [NP what [\$you are selling [pro]]] (1978:331; 358). The rule of
controlled pro deletion deletes the pronoun and co-indexes the NP trace with the NP head (p. 388). Thus, free relatives are headed and the WH-phrase occupies the position of the head of the clause. Grosu (2002): free relatives have two properties: they are complex XPs consisting of an overt CP and a null 'external head'; their semantics involves the application, at the CP level, of a uniqueness operator to a set obtained by abstraction (p. 248). Van Riemsdijk (2006): a free relative is a relative clause without a head (p. 340). The empty head could be pro: it can occur in governed positions, it is identified or licensed by some outside element and any sensitivity of the WH-word in [Spec, CP] to matrix influences must be mediated by this pro (p. 349). The free relatives may be a DP, a PP, an AP, an AdvP (p. 349), or a transparent free relative (TFR: p. 363) e.g. (what appeared to be) a jet airliner had landed on the freeway. The TFR is in brackets above and the bold NP is the shared constituent. See p. 363-367 for properties of TFRs.

1.4.4 Amount/Maximalizing relatives

The head and the relative clause jointly denote not a set of individuals but a set of amounts (Bianchi 2004). See also Carlson (1977).

1.5 Parasitic gaps

Engdahl (1985):

(1) Which article did John file t without reading p?

In (1) there are two empty positions associated with the WH-phrase: t and p. [p] is a parasitic gap on [t] (p. 4). According to Chomsky (1982:40) parasitic gaps are base-generated: …x…t…p… (where x is an element in A-bar position, t is a variable bound by x, at S-structure p is assigned the same index as t (p. 4). According to Chomsky resumptive pronouns do not license parasitic gaps (p. 4-6), but in Swedish resumptive pronouns do license parasitic gaps (p. 6-7) because resumptive pronouns in Swedish behave as variables in S-structure.

2. THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Structure

A DP with a relative clause may have the structure as shown in Bhatt (2002:45). Syntactic structures with two verbal shells are i.a. shown in Chomsky (1995:315, 352). See also Du Plessis (2010:5-6) for a summary of the features of this system, taken from Hornstein a.o. (2005). Chomsky (1995:240) makes provision for three functional categories, i.e. T (± finite with other properties such as event structure), D (the locus of referentiality) and C (indicator of mood or force). But see Du Plessis (2010:4-10) for the functional category AGR in the African (Bantu) languages of South Africa.

A structure with a relative clause may have the following categories (see Bhatt 2002):
In the African languages of South Africa (Bantu languages), \([\text{NP}_1]\) in (1) is the antecedent of the relative clause \([\text{CP}]\). Within the relative clause \([\text{CP}]\) these languages have a resumptive pronoun within \([\text{TP}]\). According to McCloskey (2006:106) resumptive pronouns are variables with a binder which must be a null operator \([\text{OP}]\) in the \([\text{Spec, CP}]\) position in (1). Null operators are not phonetically realized but "... display operator properties such as the ability to licence variables" (Hornstein a.o. 2005:27, Lasnik and Stowell 1991, Contreras 1993). The complementizer \([\text{C}]\) in (1) will be filled by a relative determiner in these languages (see McCloskey 2006:107).

A DP with a relative clause in e.g. Xitsonga will thus have the following structure:

(2)  a. \([\text{n'wana}] \text{[loyi} \text{[pro, a}-\text{-ril-a-ka}]}
    (1\text{ child 1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the child who is crying})

b. \[\text{DP}
    \[\text{DP}
    \[\text{NP}
    \[\text{NP}\]
    \[\text{n'wana}]
    \[\text{CP}
    \[\text{[OP]}
    \[\text{C}
    \[\text{TP}
    \[\text{[loyi]} \text{[pro, a}-\text{-ril-a-ka}]}

The antecedent of the relative clause \([\text{CP}]\) is \text{n'wana}, the \([\text{Spec, CP}]\) position has the null operator \([\text{OP}]\) which is the binder of the resumptive pronoun \([\text{pro}]\) co-indexed with \text{AgrS} in \text{TP}. Resumptive pronouns in these languages exemplify the pro-drop parameter. Such pronouns have the features of pronouns such as person, number and noun class but they are not phonetically realized. They should then be coindexed with agreement in \text{TP} as in (2b) above (see Du Plessis, Visser 1992:11), Visser (1987). The relative determiner is \[\text{[loyi]} \text{[C]}\) and the relative clause has a relative marker \text{[rm]} which is \[-ka\].
2.2 Relative determiner

According to McCloskey (206:107): "If resumptive pronouns are bound by null operators in the specifier of CP then it is natural that the heads which host such binding operators in their specifiers should bear a distinctive morpho-syntactic feature in the complementizer system". In these languages the relative determiner as in (2b) in the complementizer fulfills this role.

### 2.2.1 Sotho/Tsonga languages

The relative determiner has the same form as the demonstrative with the first proximity position in the Sotho and Tsonga languages:

1. **Sotho languages**:
   - **Setswana**: [lesea] [lê, [pro, le, lel-a-ng]
   - **Sepedi**: [lesea] [lê, [pro, le, ll-a-go]
   - **Sesotho**: [lesea] [lê, [pro, le, ll-a-ng]

   Example: 5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying

2. **Xitsonga**: [ricece] [leri, [pro, ri, ril-a-ka]

   Example: 5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-frm: the baby who is crying

In the Sotho languages the relative determiner consists of an agreement morpheme with a definite morpheme [a] as in the case of the demonstrative. In (3) above lê is the relative determiner from the agreement morpheme le of class 5 with the definite morpheme [a], i.e. [le + a → lê] with a high tone on the determiner. In the case of Sesotho in (3) above the AgrS morpheme le in the TP has fallen away but its tone is retained in the relative determiner: [e_], which now has two high tones (see the resumptive pronoun in Sesotho below). A table of the relative determiners in Sotho is given below. Note that the forms in class 1 are irregular:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Agr + Defin[a]</th>
<th>Sepedi</th>
<th>Setswana</th>
<th>Sesotho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yô</td>
<td>yô</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba+a</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o+a</td>
<td>wô</td>
<td>ô</td>
<td>ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>e+a</td>
<td>yê</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>le+a</td>
<td>lê</td>
<td>lê</td>
<td>lê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a+a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>se+a</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>di+a</td>
<td>tšê</td>
<td>tsê</td>
<td>tsê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e+a</td>
<td>yê</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>di+a</td>
<td>tšê</td>
<td>tsê</td>
<td>tsê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lo+a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>lô</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bo+a</td>
<td>bjô</td>
<td>bô</td>
<td>bô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ho/go+a</td>
<td>mò</td>
<td>gô</td>
<td>hô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

In Sesotho the demonstrative of the first proximity position has a suffix –na which does not appear in the relative determiner. The forms in (5) above may only appear if the resumptive pronoun refers to the subject in the TP in Sesotho. In all other cases with resumptive pronouns the relative determiner will have the same form as the
demonstrative of the second proximity position with a suffix [-o] on the form in (5) above:

class 5:  [lê + o → lêo].

Xitsonga also uses a form like the demonstrative of the first proximity position as a relative determiner i.e. [leri] in (4) above. In Xitsonga the definite morpheme is [la] and it is followed by an agreement morpheme: [la + ri → leri]. The definite morpheme in Sotho is [a] and it is preceded by an agreement morpheme in (5) above. A table follows below but class 1 is again irregular:

(6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>[Defin [lə] + Agr]</th>
<th>Relative determiner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>loyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>la + va</td>
<td>lava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>la + wu</td>
<td>lowu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>la + yi</td>
<td>leyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>la + ri</td>
<td>leri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>la + wa</td>
<td>lawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>la + xi</td>
<td>lexi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>la + swi</td>
<td>leswi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>la + yi</td>
<td>leyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>la + ti</td>
<td>leti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>la + byi</td>
<td>lebyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>la + ku</td>
<td>loku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 IsiXhosa and isiZulu

(7)  [abantwana,] [a-[pro, ba]-lil-a-yo]  
(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the children who are crying)

The relative determiner in (7) above is [a] which has the same form as the definite morpheme in the demonstrative of isiXhosa. See also Visser (2001, 2002, 2008) for the category DP. The relative determiner and the AgrS morpheme in TP coalesce to form the following:

(8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Reldet [a] + AgrS</th>
<th>Coalesced form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a + u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a + ba</td>
<td>aba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a + u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a + i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a + li</td>
<td>eli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a + a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a + si</td>
<td>esi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>a + zi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>a + i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>a + zi</td>
<td>ezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>a + lu</td>
<td>olu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>a + bu</td>
<td>obu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>a + ku</td>
<td>oku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3 Tshivenda

There are two relative forms in Tshivenda. In the first of these forms no relative determiner appears in COMP but COMP does have a relative feature:

(9)  a. [lushie] [pro, lu-i-lil-a-ho]
    (11 baby 11 pro 11 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying)

The second relative has a relative determiner with a temporal feature of [-past]. The determiner consists of an agreement morpheme with a [-past] morpheme [-ne] or a [+past] morpheme [-e]:

(10) a. [-past ne]:
    [lushie] [lu-i-ne [pro, lw-i-a-lil-a]
    (11 baby 11 reldet (11 Agr-[-past]) 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-cry-fv: the baby who is crying)

b. [+past e]:
    [lushie] [lw-i-e [pro, lw-i-a-lil-a]
    (11 baby 11 reldet (11 Agr-[-past]) 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-cry-fv: the baby who cried)

c. The verb in TP has to appear with a consecutive morpheme [-a-] as above. Below is a table of the relative determiners with the temporal features:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>[-past ne]</th>
<th>[+past e]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-ne</td>
<td>w-e (u+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vha-ne</td>
<td>vh-e (vha+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u-ne</td>
<td>w-e (u+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-ne</td>
<td>y-e (i+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>l8i-ne</td>
<td>l8-e (l8i+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a-ne</td>
<td>e (a+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tshi-ne</td>
<td>tsh-e (tshi+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zwi-ne</td>
<td>zw-e (zwi+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-ne</td>
<td>y-e (i+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dzi-ne</td>
<td>dz-e (dzi+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lu-ne</td>
<td>lw-e (lu+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>vhu-ne</td>
<td>h-e (vhu+e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>hu-ne</td>
<td>h-e (hu+e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Relative marker

The verb within a relative clause is frequently marked with a specific relative marker.

2.3.1 The form of the relative marker:

Sotho languages:
Sesotho and Setswana [-ng]
Sepedi [-go]
IsiXhosa and isiZulu: [-yo]
Tshivenda: [-ho]
Xitsonga [-ka] with variants [-ke, -ki]

2.3.2 Distribution of the relative marker

2.3.2.1 Within tenses:

The relative marker [-ho] in Tshivenda appears in all tenses in relative clauses without a relative determiner:

(12) [vhana] [pro; vha-šum-a-ho]
(2 children 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm: the children who are working)

The other relative markers are confined to the following tenses:

(13) a. Present Tense Positive:

IsiXhosa: [abantwana] [a- [pro; ba-šebenz-a-yo]
(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm)

Sepedi: [bana] [ba- [pro; ba-šom-a-go]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm)

Xitsonga: [vana] [lava] [pro; va-tirh-a-ka]
(The children who are working)
b. **Present Tense Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IsiXhosa</strong></td>
<td>[abantwana] [a-proba-nga-sebenz-i-yo]</td>
<td>(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sepedi</strong></td>
<td>[bana] [ba_i [pro, ba_i-sa-šom-e-go]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xitsonga</strong></td>
<td>[vana] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga-tirh-i-ki]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)</td>
<td>(The children who are not working)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) a. **Perfect Tense Positive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IsiXhosa</strong></td>
<td>[abantwana] [a-[pro_i-ba_i-sebenz-ile-yo]</td>
<td>(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sepedi</strong></td>
<td>[bana] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-šom-ile-go]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xitsonga</strong></td>
<td>[vana] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-tirh-e-ke]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)</td>
<td>(The children who worked)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. **Perfect Tense negative**: only Xitsonga and Sotho:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xitsonga</strong></td>
<td>[vana] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga-tirh-angi-ki]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-negperf-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sepedi</strong></td>
<td>[bana] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-sa-šom-a-go]</td>
<td>(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-negperf-work-fv-rm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) **A-past Tense**: only isiXhosa and isiZulu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IsiXhosa</strong></td>
<td>[ixhego] [e-[pro_i l-a-sebenz-a-yo]</td>
<td>(5 oldman reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-(A-past)-work-fv-rm: the old man who worked)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><strong>IsiXhosa</strong></td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td><strong>Sepedi</strong></td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Xitsonga</strong></td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-past</td>
<td><strong>IsiXhosa</strong></td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sepedi</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Xitsonga</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 **Within syntax**

The relative marker [-yo] in isiXhosa and isiZulu may i.a. not appear when an object appears in a VP:
(16) **IsiXhosa:** [ixhego.] [e- [pro; li-sebenz-el-a isikolo]
(5 old-man reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-work-appl-fv school)
(The old man who works for the school)

See also Du Plessis (1978:99) for the distribution of [-yo] in isiXhosa, and Doke (1965:322) for [-yo] in isiZulu.

### 2.4 Resumptive pronoun

For an overview of relative clauses in various SA Bantu languages, see the following:

- **Tshivenda:** Madadzhe (1997), Mathalauga (1997)
- **Sesotho:** Doke and Mofokeng (1967), Guma (1971)
- **Sepedi:** Legodi (1995), Makgopa (1996)
- **Xitsonga:** Nxumalo (1994)
- **IsiXhosa:** Du Plessis and Visser (1992)
- **IsiZulu:** Doke (1965), Mabaso (1996)

The resumptive pronoun will be discussed according to the various functional positions it occupies within the relative clause.

#### 2.4.1 The subject relative

The resumptive pronoun occupies the subject position in the relative clause and it is always an empty pro co-indexed with AgrS on the verb: see (2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10) above: no. (2b) will be repeated below with an example from isiXhosa, repeated from (16) above:

(17)   NP
     /   \
    NP  CP
   /   [ixhego.]
  [OP.]
     C
    / \
   C  [e-]
  /       \
 TP   [pro; li-sebenz-el-a isikolo]

For a structure of Xitsonga relatives, see (2b) and for Tshivenda see no. (9b, 10c)

**The subject relative in the Sotho languages**

See no. (3) above: in the case of Setswana and Sepedi there is no difference in structure from no. (2b) and (17) above:

**Setswana:**

(18)   a. [lesea] [léi [pro; le-lel-a-ng]
(5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rem: the baby who is crying)
For the issue in Sesotho, see the discussion in par. 2.1 above with the example in no. (3) repeated here:

(19) [λeša] [le; [pre, λé-ll-a-ng]
    (5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying)

The NP in (19) will then surface as no. (20):

(20) leséa le_ ll-a-ng

The resumptive pronoun in (19) is thus deleted in (20) but its high tone is retained, i.e. the tone of AgrS lé in (19) (see Kruger (1971:111), Lesoetsa (1991:50) and Guma (1971:109).

In no. (20) there is a relative determiner [le_] with a double tone and a relative verb with a relative marker [-ng]. The relative verb may appear with other morphemes such as negative, AgrO or temporal morphemes. However, it will not allow other clauses or phrases between the determiner and the verb. If such clauses or phrases are forced on no. (20), the relative determiner will change to a form with a suffix [-o], i.e. [leo] in (20). In the first place, some temporal clauses may appear in such a position e.g. with ha or e-sa-le:

With ha:

(21) Ke [yena] [eo; [ha ke-le tsietsing] pro, a-m-phall-el-a-ng]
    (it is 1 he 1 reldet when l-copvb in-trouble 1 pro 1 AgrS-me-run-appl-fv-rm:
    it is he who, when I am in trouble, he runs to me)

The relative determiner changed to eo with a suffix [-o] and the empty resumptive pronoun coindexed with AgrS returns, i.e. [pro a-] above.

With e-sa-le:

(22) [batho] [bao; [e-sa-le-ng [pro, ba-tshehed-itse ntate]
    (2 people 2 reldet agr-still-copvb-rm 2 pro 2 AgrS-support-perf father:
    people who for a long time supported my father)

The temporal clause e-sa-le appears in the relative with a relative marker [-ng] and the relative determiner is forced to become [bao] instead of [ba].

In the second place a NP may appear in this position:
(23)  [ntate] [eo, [le yena] pro, a₁-ne-ng pro, a₁-sebets-a moo]
(1 father 1 reldet also he 1 pro 1 AgrS-def vb-rm 1 pro 1 AgrS-work-fv there:
my father who even him was working there)

In (23) a conjunct le appears with an absolute pronoun yena. The relative
determiner then changes to [eo].

In the third place, a relative clause with a copulative verb le and a DP complement
will also change to a relative determiner with a suffix [-o]:

(24)  [bana] [bao, [e-le-ng] [barutuwa]
(2 children 2 reldet Agr-copvb-rm 2 students: children who are students)

The subject relative in Xitsonga

See the structure in no. (2b) above:

(25)  [n'wana] [loyi, [pro, a₁-ril-a-ka]
(1 child 1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the child who is crying)

The resumptive pronoun in (25) is an empty pro coindexed with AgrS. This
resumptive pronoun is compulsory with subject relatives in class 1 as above: [pro, a₁-].
The relative determiner and AgrS may however coalesce to form la from [loyi+a→l-a].
In this case the resumptive pronoun will be retained but the relative determiner will
change:

(26)  (n'wana) [l₁, [pro, a₁-ril-a-ka]

In all other noun classes in the subject of the relative the resumptive pronoun will be
optional, as in class 5 in (27):

(27)  a.  [ricece] [leri, [pro, ri-ril-a-ka]

b.  [ricece] [leri, [pro, ri-ril-a-ka]
(5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying)

Some verbal prefixes will be retained in structures such as (27b) but these prefixes
will then be copied onto the relative determiner:

With the exclusive morpheme [-o-]:

(28)  a.  [mahlo] [lama, [pro, m₁-o-honak-a]
(6 eyes 6 reldet 6 pro 6 AgrS-excl-glare-fv: eyes that just glare)

b.  mahlo lam-o-honak-a

In (28b) the exclusive morpheme (-o-) is now part of the reldet and the resumptive
pronoun is optional. Note that with the exclusive morpheme, the relative clause does
not appear with a relative marker [-ka].

With the progressive morpheme [-aha-]:

(29)  a.  [mintsumbu] [leyi, [pro, y-aha-hefemul-a-ka]
(4 corpses 4 reldet 4 pro 4 AgrS-progr-breathe-fv-rm:
corpses that are still breathing)
b. Mintsumbu ley-aha-hefemul-a-ka

But with the inceptive morpheme [se] and the A-past morpheme [a] the resumptive pronoun is compulsory:

(30) a. [tihomu] [leti [pro [se-ti-famb-a-ka]]
   (10 cattle 10 reldet 10 pro inceptive-10 AgrS-go-fv-rm: the cattle who are now already going)

   b. [tihomu] [leti [pro [a-ti-famb-a]]
   (10 cattle 10 reldet 10 pro past-10AgrS-go-fv: the cattle which were going)

The subject relative in Tshivenda:

For the two types of relatives in Tshivenda which also appear with subject relatives, see no. (9) and (10) above.

The subject relative in isiXhosa and isiZulu:

See no. (16) and (17) above.

The subject relative with copulative and non-copulative verbs

With a verb phrase [V DP] in TP:
With a non-copulative verb:
(English translation: the baby who wants milk)

(31) Sesotho: [lesea] [le batl-a-ng lebese]
   (5 baby 5 reldet want-fv-rm 5 milk)

   Xitsonga: [ricece] [leri lav-a-ka mafi]
   (5 baby 5 reldet want-fv-rm 6 mlik)

   Tshivenda: a. [lushie] [pro lu-t8od8-a-ho luvhisi]
   (11 baby 11 pro 11 AgrS-want-fv-rm 11 milk)
   b. [lushie] [lu-ne [pro lw-a-t8od8-a luvhisi]
   (11 baby 11 reldet 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-want-fv 11 milk)

   IsiXhosa: [usana] [o-[pro lu-fun-a ubisi]
   (11 baby reldet 11 pro 11 AgrS-want-fv 11 milk)

With a copulative verb:
(English translation: the children who are students)

(32) Sesotho: [bana] [bao [e-le-ng barutuwa]
   (2 children 2 reldet Agrcop-copvb-rm 2 students)

   Xitsonga: [vana] [la va [pro va-a-nga vadyondzi]
   (2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 2 students)

   Tshivenda: a. [vhana] [pro vha-re matshudeni]
   (2 children 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 6 students)
   b. [vhana] [vha-ne [pro vha-vha matshudeni]
   (2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 6 students)
IsiXhosa:  [abantwana] [a- [pro, ba-:ng-abafundi]  
(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copula-2students)

With a verb phrase [V LOC] in TP:  
With a non-copulative verb:  
(English translation: the people who stay in town)

(33)  
Sesotho:  [batho] [ba, dul-a-ng toropong]  
(2 people 2 reldet stay-fv-rm in-town)

Xitsonga:  [vanhu] [lava, tsham-a-ka edorobeni]  
(2 people 2 reldet stay-fv-rm in-town)

Tshivenda:  a.  [vhathu] [pro, vha-dzul-a-ho d8oroboni]  
(2 people 2 pro 2 AgrS-stay-fv-rm in-town)  
b.  [vhathu] [vha-ne, [pro, vha-dzul-a d8oroboni]  
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-cons-stay-fv in-town)

IsiXhosa:  [abantu] [a-[pro, ba-hlal-a edolophini]  
(2 people reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-stay-fv in-town)

With a copulative verb:  
(English translation: the people who are in town)

(34)  
Sesotho:  [batho] [ba, le-ng toropong]  
(2 people 2 reldet copvb-rm in-town)

Xitsonga:  [vanhu] [lava, [pro, va-nga edorobeni]  
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb in-town)

Tshivenda:  a.  [vhathu] [pro, vha-re d8oroboni]  
(2 people 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb in-town)  
b.  [vhathu] [vha-ne, [pro, vh-a-vha d8oroboni]  
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-cons-copvb in-town)

IsiXhosa:  [abantu] [a-[pro, ba-s-edolophini]  
(2 people reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-s-in-town)

2.4.2 The object relative

In the object relative the resumptive pronoun appears in the object position in the relative clause TP. The resumptive pronoun is also an empty pro but in this case co-indexed with AgrO:

(35)  
Xitsonga:  [mbyana] [leyi, [vana va-yi-rhandz-a-ka pro]  
(9 dog 9 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-9 AgrO-like-fv-rm 9 pro:  
the dog which the children likes)

The resumptive pronoun is the empty pro above with a class 9 feature and co-indexed with the agreement yi of class 9, referring to the antecedent mbyana.

In Tshivenda there are also the two types of relative clauses:
In (36a) no relative determiner appears but the feature [rel] appears on COMP (see no (9b) above). In (36b) the resumptive pronoun (pro coincexed with [i]) is always optional, i.e. in relatives with a temporal feature [+past] in the relative determiner:

(37) [mmbwa] [i-ne [vhana vh-a-fun-a]]

In IsiXhosa the subject of the relative clause appears after the relative verb:

(38) [inja] [a- [ba-yi-thanda-yo] abantwana]

In comparison with (35) (Xitsonga) and (36b) (Tshivenda) the relative determiner in isiXhosa in (38) is dependent for its form on the subject of the relative clause and not on the antecedent of the relative clause as in (35, 36b).

In Sesotho the relative determiner in the object relative has the same form as the demonstrative of the second proximity position with the suffix [-o] and it also depends for its form on the antecedent of the relative clause:

(39) [ntja] [eo [bana ba-ratang]]

In (35, 36, 38, 39) the resumptive pronoun is in each case an empty pro co-indexed with AgrO. The resumptive pronoun may also have the form of the absolute pronoun in all the above relative clauses. The absolute pronoun will retain its meaning of reference to some specific set (Du Plessis, Visser 1992:305):

(40) **Xitsonga:** [mbyana [leyi [vana va-rhandzaka yona]]
**Tshivenda:** [mmbwa [ine [vhana vha-funa yone]]
**Sesotho:** [ntja [eo [bana ba-ratang yona]]
**IsiXhosa:** [inja [a-[ba-thanda yona] abantwana]]

When a resumptive pronoun appears with a non-resumptive pronoun with ditransitive verbs an absolute pronoun is compulsory:

(41) **Xitsonga:** [swakudya] [leswi [vava-sati va-mi-nyik-a-ka] swona]
(8 food 8 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS 2 pp AgrO-give-fv-rm 2 pp pro 8 abspro: food which the women give to you)

**Sesotho:** [dijo] [tseo [basadi ba-le-ne-a-ng] tsona]
(8 food 8 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-2ppAgrO-give-fv-rm 2pp pro 8 abspro: food which the women give to you)
Tshivenda:  
a. [zwili\iwa] [vhasadzi vh-a-n\i-n\6e-a ho pro\i zwone\i]  
b. [zwiliwa] [zwi-ne\i [vhasadzi vh-a-n\i-n\6e-a pro\i zwone\i]  
(Food which the women given to you)

IsiXhosa:  
[ukutya\i] [a-\[ba-n\i-nik-a-yo pro\i kona, abafazi]  
(15 food reldet 2 AgrS-2 pp AgrO-give-fv-req 2pp pro 15 abspro 2 women: food which the women give to you).

The resumptive pronoun in (41) is the absolute pronoun [swona/tsona/zwone/kona].

The absolute pronoun also appears as a resumptive pronoun in the complement position of copulative verbs in a relative clause:

(English translation: what this man is)

(42)  
Sesotho:  
[pro\i] [seo\i [monna\i enwa\i a\i-le-ng sona\i]  
(7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb-req 7 abspro)

Xitsonga:  
[pro\i] [lexi\i [wanuna\i loyi\i a\i-nga xona\i]  
(7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb-req 7 abspro)

Tshivenda:  
[pro\i] [tshi-ne\i [munna\i uyu\i a\i-vha tshone\i]  
(7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb-req 7 abspro)

IsiXhosa:  
[into\i] [a-\[i\i-yi-yo\i indoda\i]  
(9 thing reldet 9 AgrS-copula 9 pro 9 man)

The absolute pronoun above is [sona/xona/tshone]. In the case of isiXhosa, the antecedent has a head noun into while in the other languages a headless relative appears with an empty pro in the position of the antecedent, but with a feature of noun class 7 above. The relative determiner [a-] and AgrS of isiXhosa have to coalesce as follows: [a+i→e]:

(43)  
[into [e-yi-yo indoda]]

IsiXhosa does not use an absolute pronoun as a resumptive pronoun in (42). The form [yo] above represents a pronoun which functions as a resumptive pronoun.


(English translation: the questions which I want that the students should ask them)

(44)  
Xitsonga:  
[swivutiso\i] [leswi\i [pro\i ndzi\i-lav-a-ka [leswaku [vadyondzi va-sw\i-vutis-a pro\i]  
(8 questions 8 reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv-req 2 students 2 AgrS-8AgrO-ask-fv 8 pro)

Sesotho:  
[dipotso\i] [tseo\i [pro\i ke\i-batl-a-ng [hore [barutuwa ba-di\i-bots-e pro\i]  
(10 questions 10 reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv-req 2 students 2 AgrS-10AgrO-ask-subjunct 10 pro)
2.4.3 The prepositional relative

2.4.3.1 Complement of the preposition \([\text{nga}/\text{hi}/\text{ka}]\)

The resumptive pronoun has the same form as an absolute pronoun with the preposition \(\text{ka}\) in Sesotho and the preposition \(\text{hi}\) in Xitsonga. The preposition \(\text{nga}\) in Tshivenda and isiXhosa uses a regular pronoun ending on \([-\text{o}]\) as a resumptive pronoun:

With a non-copulative verb in the relative clause:

(English translation: the axe with which the man chops down the tree)

(45) \(\text{Sesotho: } [\text{selepe}_i] [\text{seo}_i [\text{monna}_i a_i-\text{rem-a-ng} [\text{ka} \text{sona}_i] \text{sefate}]\)

\(7 \text{ axe } 7 \text{ reldet } 1 \text{ man } 1 \text{ AgrS-chop-fv-rm with } 7 \text{ abspro } 7 \text{ tree}\)

\(\text{Xitsonga: } [\text{xihloka}_i] [\text{lexi}_i [\text{wanuna}_i a_i-\text{tsem-a-ka} [\text{hi xona}_i] \text{murhi}]\)

\(7 \text{ axe } 7 \text{ reldet } 1 \text{ man } 1 \text{ AgrS-chop-fv-rm with } 7 \text{ abspro } 3 \text{ tree}\)

\(\text{Tshivenda: } [\text{mbad}8o_i] [\text{munna}_i a_i-\text{rem-a-ho} [\text{nga-yo}_i] \text{muri}]\)

\(9 \text{ axe } 1 \text{ man } 1 \text{ AgrS-chop-fv-rm with-9pro } 3 \text{ tree}\)

\(\text{IsiXhosa: } [\text{izembe}_i] [a-[i]gawul-a [\text{nga-lo}_i] \text{umthi indoda}_i]\)

\(5 \text{ axe reldet } 9 \text{ AgrS-chop-fv with-5pro } 3 \text{ tree } 9 \text{ man}\)

The relative determine \([a]\) and AgrS \([i]\) in isiXhosa above will coalesce to \([e-]\).

With a copulative verb in the relative clause:

(English translation: the girl about whom the talk is)

(46) \(\text{Sesotho: } [\text{mosetsana}_i] [\text{eo}_i [\text{puo}_i e_i-\text{le-ng} [\text{ka yena}_i]]\)

\(1 \text{ girl } 1 \text{ reldet } 9 \text{ talk } 9 \text{ AgrS-copvb-rm about } 1 \text{ abspro}\)

\(\text{Xitsonga: } [\text{nhwanyana}_i] [\text{loyi}_i [\text{bulo}_i ri_i-nga [\text{hi yena}_i]]]\)

\(1 \text{ girl } 1 \text{ reldet } 5 \text{ talk } 5 \text{ AgrS-copvb about } 1 \text{ abspro}\)

\(\text{Tshivenda: a. } [\text{musidzana}_i] [a-ne_i [\text{nyambo}_i y_i-a-vha [\text{nga-e}_i]}\)

\(1 \text{ girl } 1 \text{ reldet } 9 \text{ talk } 9 \text{ AgrS-cons-copvb about-1pro}\)

\(\text{b. } [\text{musidzana}_i] [\text{nyambo}_i ij-re [\text{nga-e}_i]]\)

\(1 \text{ girl } 9 \text{ talk } 9 \text{ AgrS-copvb about-1pro}\)

\(\text{IsiXhosa: } [\text{intombi}_i] [a-[i]gawul-[a-[i]gawul-a [\text{nga-lo}_i] \text{umthi indoda}_i]\)

\(9 \text{ girl reldet } 9 \text{ AgrS-about-9pro } 9 \text{ talk}\)

(The relative determiner will be \([A+i\rightarrow e]\)
2.4.3.2 Complement of the preposition [le/na]:

The resumptive pronoun will appear as in par. 2.4.3.1 above.

With a non-copulative verb in the relative clause:
(English translation: the people with whom the chief meets)

(47)  
**Sesotho:** [batho] [bao, [morena, a-r-kopan-a-ng [le bona]]]  
(2 people 2 reldet 1 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 abspro)

**Xitsonga:** [vanhu] [lava, [hosi, yi-hlangan-a-ka [na vona]]]  
(2 people 2 reldet 9 chief 9 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 abspro)

**Tshivenda:**  
   a. [vhathu] [khosi, i-t8angan-a-ho [na-vho]]  
   (2 people 9 chief 9 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 pro)
   b. [vhathu] [vha-ne [khosi, yi-a-t8angan-a [na-vho]]]  
   (2 people 2 reldet 9 chief 9 AgrS-cons-meet-fv with 2 pro)

**IsiXhosa:** [abantu] [a-i-hlangan-a [na-bo] inkosi]  
(2 people reldet 9 AgrS-meet-fv with-2pro 9 chief)  
(Relative determiner will be [a+i→e] above)

With a copulative verb in the relative clause:
(English translation: the pen which the child has)

(48)  
**Sesotho:** [pene] [eo, [ngwana, a-na-ng [le yona]]]  
(9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb-rm with 9 abspro)

**Xitsonga:** [peni] [leyi [n'wana, a-nga [na yona]]]  
(9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb with 9 abspro)

**Tshivenda:**  
   a. [peni] [riwana, a-re [na-yo]]  
   (9 pen 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb with-9 pro)
   b. [peni] [i-ne [riwana, a-vha [na-yo]]]  
   (9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-cons-copvb with-9 pro)

**IsiXhosa:** [usiba] [a-na-loi umntwana]  
(11 pen 1 reldet.AgrS-with-11 pro 1 child)

2.4.4 The locative relative

The resumptive pronoun is within a locative phrase.

2.4.4.1 Non-locative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause is not a phrase with a locative noun as head. The resumptive pronoun within the relative clause is either the same as an absolute pronoun or a pronoun as in par. 2.4.3.1 above.

The verb in the relative clause is a non-copulative verb:  
(English translation: the chair on which the child sits)
2.4.4.2 Locative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause is a locative phrase. Two instances of relatives with a locative antecedent will be discussed below, i.e. where the subject of the relative clause is not a locative, and secondly where the subject is locative.

Non-locative subject in relative clause:
With a non-copulative verb:
(English translation: in the town where the man stays)

(51)  
Sesotho:  [toropong,] [moo, [monna, a1-dul-a-ng teng]]  
          (in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm there)

Xitsonga:  [edorobeni,] [laha, [wanuna, a1-tsham-a-ka kona]]  
          (in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm loc.abspro)

Tshivenda:  a.  [doroboni,] [munna, a1-dzul-a-ho hone]  
              (in.town 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm loc.abspro)

        b.  [doroboni,] [hu-ne, [munna, a1-dzul-a hone]]  
              (in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS.cons-stay-fv loc.abspro)
IsiXhosa: [edolphini] [apho, [i1-hla]-a khona, indoda]
(in.town loc.reldet 9 AgrS-stay-fv loc.abspro 9 man)

The resumptive pronoun in (51) is the same as a locative absolute pronoun [kona/hone/khona] but in Sesotho there is a locative noun [teng] which has a resumptive function.

The relative determiner in isiXhosa, i.e. *apho* above, has the same form as a demonstrative of the locative of the second proximity position, as in the case of Sesotho *[moo]*. The relative determiner in Xitsonga has the form of the demonstrative of the locative of the first proximity position, i.e. *[laha]* or *[lomu]* or *[la, le]*.

The relative determiner in isiXhosa, i.e. *apho* in (51), is dependent for its form on the locative antecedent (*edolphini*). In other relative clauses in isiXhosa the relative determiner is dependent for its form on the subject of the relative clause (see (38) above).

The resumption in (51) with locative antecedents may be optional in all these languages. In the relative clauses below the resumption has been deleted.

(52) IsiXhosa: [eSprings] [apho, [pro, a1-fund-a [khona] ibanga leisithoba]
(in.Springs loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-study-fv [loc.abspro] standard of.nine: (In Springs where he studies Std. 9)

Xitsonga: [emakhaya] [laha, [pro, ndzi]-ti-fuw-el-a [khona] swifuwo]
(at.home loc.reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-refl-farm-appl-fv [loc.abspro] 8 animals: at home where I farm for myself animals)

Tshivenda: [tshit8angani] [hu-ne, [pro, a1-khou-bik-a [hone] khali ya vhuswa]
(in.kitchen loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-pres-cook-fv [loc.abspro] pot of porridge: in the kitchen where she is cooking a pot of porridge)

Sesotho: [toropong] [moo, [pro, ba]-ne-ng pro, ba]-rek-a [teng] [masela [a [ho-roka]]
(in.town loc.reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-past-rm-2 pro 2 AgrS-buy-fv there] materials of to-sew: in town where they were buying sewing materials)

The resumption in locative relative clauses as in (51) above, may appear as an empty pro co-indexed with AgrO if the verb in the relative clause is a transitive verb:

(53) Tshivenda: resumption [pro AgrO]:
   a. [mudavhini] [pro, a1-[hu]-gidim-el-a-ho pro]
      (on.field 1 pro 1 AgrS-loc.AgrO-run-appl-fv-rm loc.pro: On the field where he is running)
   b. [mudavhini] [hu-nei, [pro, a1-[hu]-gidim-el-a pro]
      (on.field loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS.cons-loc.AgrO-run-appl-fv: on the field where he is running)

The resumption above may also have the form of a locative absolute pronoun (Madadzhe 1997):
(54) [mudavhini] [hu-ne] [pro] a-r-gidim-el-a [hone]
(on.field loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-run-appl-fv loc.abspro: On the field where he is running)

With a copulative verb in the relative clause:
(English translation: everywhere where the children are)

(55) **Sesotho:** [hohle] [moo] [pro] [i-bana] [ba]-le-ng teng]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb-rm there)

**Xitsonga:** [hinkwako] [laha] [pro] [i-vana] [va]-nga kona]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb loc.abspro)

**Tshivenda:** a. [hot8] [he] [pro] [i-vhana] [vha]-nga kona]
((everywhere 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb loc.abspro)
b. [hot8] [he] [pro] [i-vhana] [vha]-a-vha hone]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-copvb loc.abspro)

**IsiXhosa:** [konke] [apho] [pro] [i-abantwana]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 AgrS-copvb-rm 2 children)

The resumptive pronoun in (55) in the case of Xitsonga and Tshivenda is the same as a locative absolute pronoun [kona/hone]. In Sesotho the locative noun teng appears in this position. In isiXhosa the locative pronoun kho may also be used as a locative copulative verb with the relative marker [yo].

**Locative subject in relative clause:**
**With a non-copulative verb:**
(English translation: in the river where it is deep)

(56) **Sesotho:** [nokeng] [moo] [pro] [ho-teb-ile-ng]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-deep-perf-rm)

**Xitsonga:** [enambyeni] [laha] [pro] [ku-ent-e-ke]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-deep-perf-rm)

**Tshivenda:** [mulamboni] [pro] [h-o-ts-a-ho]
(in.river loc.pro loc.AgrS-perf-deep-fv-rm)
[mulamboni] [h-e] [pro] [h-a-ts-a]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-cons-deep-fv)

**IsiXhosa:** [emlanjeni] [apho] [pro] [ku-nzulu]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-deep)

The resumptive pronoun in (56) is the empty pro co-indexed with the subjectival agreement morpheme [ho/ku/hu].

**With a copulative verb:**
(English translation: everywhere where there are children)

(57) **Sesotho:** [hohle] [moo] [pro] [ho-na-ng le bana]
(everywhere loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-copvb-rm with 2 children)
2.4.5 Passive relative

Passive verbs in a relative clause may appear with agents. Resumptive pronouns will appear in such agents.

(English translation: the dog by which the child was bitten)

(58) **Sesotho:** [ntjaː] [eoː [ngwanaː ə]-lom-il-w-e-ng [ke yonaː]]
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-bite-perf-pass-perf-rm by 9 abspro)

**Xitsonga:** [mbyanaː] [leyi [n'wanaj ə]-lum-iw-e-ke [hi yona]]
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-bite-pass-perf-rm by 9 abspro)

**Tshivenda:**

a. [hotshēː] [pro 1 hu-reme na vhana]
(9 dog 1 child 1 AgrS-perf-bite-fv-rm by apro)

b. [hotshēː] [hu-nēi [pro h-a-va na vhana]
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-cons-bite-pass-fv by 9 pro)

**IsiXhosa:** [injaː] [a]-luny-w-e [yi-yoː] umntwanaː]
(9 dog 1 reldet.AgrS-bite-pass-perf by 9 pro 1 child)

The resumptive pronoun has the form of an absolute pronoun in Sesotho and Xitsonga i.e. yona, and in Tshivenda and isiXhosa a pronoun yo appears as resumptive pronoun.

2.4.6 Possessive relative

The resumptive pronoun is in the possessive phrase which is a complement of a head noun in a NP. The possessive phrase is part of the subject or object or PP or locative phrase in a relative clause. The resumptive pronoun in the possessive phrase is the complement of the possessive [a].

2.4.6.1 Possessive with the subject of the relative

With non-copulative verbs:
(English translation: the woman whose children went to school)
The possessive pronoun within the subject position above functions as a resumptive pronoun, i.e. hae in Sesotho, kwe in Xitsonga, we in Tshivenda and khe in isiXhosa. In isiXhosa there is a relative determiner which reflects the noun class of the antecedent i.e. [reldet a + AgrS u of class l → o]. This form appears before the subject of the relative clause in the place of the pre-prefix of the subject noun, i.e. a in [a-ba-ntwana]. When the subject of the relative clause is not the same as its antecedent, the AgrS of the subject of the relative clause is used (see no. (38) above). This is evidently not possible above and that is why the antecedent has to play a role.

With copulative verbs:
(English translation: the preacher whose children are students)

(60) Sesotho: [morutii] [eo, [bana, [ba, hae], e-le-ng baithuti]
(1 preacher 1 reldet 2 chidlren 2 of 1 him agrcop-copvb-rm 2 students)

Xitsonga: [mufundhisi] [loyi, [vana, [va, kwe], va, nga vadyondzi]
(1 preacher 1 reldet 2 chidlren 2 of 1 him 2 AgrS-copvb 2 students)

Tshivenda: a. [mufundzi] [vhana, [vha, we], vha, re matshudeni]
(1 preacher 2 chidlren 2 of-1 him 2 AgrS-copvb 6 students)

IsiXhosa: [umfundisi] [o,-[bantwana, [ba, khe], ba, -e esikolweni]
(1 preacher 1 reldet.AgrS-2 children 2 of-1 her 2 AgrS-go-perf to.school)

See (59): the resumptive pronouns in the subject position have the same form of possessive pronouns as above (hae, kwe, we, khe) and the relative determiner in isiXhosa is also the same.
2.4.6.2 Possessive with the complement of a relative verb:

With non-copulative verbs:
(English translation: the old man whose food the women cook)

(61) **Xitsonga:** [madala] [loyi] [vavasati və]-swek-a-ka [swakudyə] [swa-]-kwe.,
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of-1 him)

**Sesotho:** [leqheku] [leo] [basadi ba]-phee-a-ng [dijo] [tsa]-lona,
(5 old.man 5 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of 5 him)

**Tshivenda:** a. [mukalaha] [vhasadzi ] vha-[bik]-a-[swakudya] [swa-]-ka [swak]-kwe,
(1 old.man 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of 1 him)

b. [mukalaha] [a-ne] [vhasadzi]-vh-[bik]-a [swak]-kwe,
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cons-cook-fv 8 food 8 of-1 him)

**IsiXhosa:** [ixhego] [a-] [ba]-bik-a [kwa]-lo [abafazi]
(5 old.man reldet-2 AgrS-cook-fv 15 food 15 of-5 him 2 women)

The resumptive pronoun is also the same as the possessive pronoun (**kwe**, **lona**, **we**, **lo**). This pronoun appears with the possessive [-a-] and this possessive phrase is the complement of the head N of the NP e.g. *swakudyə* in Xitsonga. The NP has the object position of the relative verb above. In isiXhosa the relative determiner is dependent on the form of the subject of the relative clause and not the antecedent as in (60), i.e. a-from *abafazi*.

With copulative verbs:
(English translation: the old man who the children are his helpers: the old man whose helpers the children are)

(62) **Xitsonga:** [madala] [loyi] [vana və]-nga [vapfuni] [va-]-kwe,
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvbm 2 helpers 2 of-1 him)

**Sesotho:** [leqheku] [leo] [bana e-le-ng] [bathusi] [ba]-lona,
(5 old.man 5 reldet 2 children agrcopvbm-rm 2 helpers 2 of 5 him)

**Tshivenda:** [mukalaha] [vhan]-re [vathusi] [vha]-we,
[mukalaha] [a-ne] [vhan]-a-vha [vathusi] [vha]-we,
(1 old.man reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-copvb 2 helpers 2 of 1 him)

**IsiXhosa:** [ixhego] [a-] [ba]-bik-a [kwa-lo] abantwana,
(5 old.man reldet 2 AgrS-copula-2 helpers 2 of-5 him 2 children)

The resumptive pronoun has the form of the possessive pronoun above.
2.4.6.3 Possessive with the prepositional phrase

With the instrumental preposition.

With a non-copulative verb:
(English translation: the old man with whose knife the woman cuts the meat)

(63) **Sesotho:** [leqheku] 1 [leoi] [mosadi] 1 [a]-seh-a-ng nama [ka] [thipa] [ya] lona] 1 (5 old.man 5 reldet 1 woman 5 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with 9 knife 9 of 5 him)

**Xitsonga:** [madala] [loyi] [wansati] [a]-tsem-a-ka nyama [hi] [mukwana] [wa]-kwe] (1 old.man 1 reldet 1 woman 1 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with 3 knife 3 of-1 him)

**Tshivenda:** a. [mukalah] [musadzi] [a]-tshe-a-ho n8ama [nga] [lufhanga] 1 (1 old.man 1 woman 1 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with 11 knife 11 of-1 him)

b. [mukalah] [a-ne] [musadzi] [a]-tshe-a n8ama [nga] [lufhanga] 1 (1 old.man 1 reldet 1 woman 1 AgrS-cons-cut-fv meat with 11 knife 11 of-1 him)

**IsiXhosa:** [ixhego] [a-] [ba]-sik-a inyama [nge] [mela] [ya] abafazi] (5 old.man reldet-2 AgrS-cut-fv meat with 9 knife 9 of-5 him 2 women)

With a copulative verb:
(English translation: the child about whose troubles the talk is)

(64) **Sesotho:** [ngwana] [eo] [puoi]-e]-le-ng [ka] [mathata] [a] hae] (1 child 1 reldet 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb- ABOUT 6 troubles 6 of 1 him)

**IsiXhosa:** [umntwana] [e]-[ngee]-[ngxaki] [za]-khe] intetho] (1 child 9 reldet.AgrS-about-10 troubles 10 of 1 him 9 talk)

**Xitsonga:** [nwa] [bulo] [ri]-nga [hi] [swiphило] [swa]-kwe] (1 child 1 reldet 5 talk 5 AgrS-copvb about 8 problems 8 of-1 him)

**Tshivenda:** a. [n(wana)] [nyambo] [i]-re [nga] [thaidzo] [dza]-we] (1 child 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb about 10 troubles 10 of-1 him)

b. [n(wana)] [a-ne] [nyambo] [y]-a-vha [nga] [thaidzo] [dza]-we] (1 child 1 reldet 9 talk 9 AgrS-cons-copvb-about 10 problems 10 of-1 him)

The instrumental preposition in (63, 64) is **[ka/nga/h]i** and the resumptive pronoun is the possessive pronoun.
With the associative preposition

With a non-copulative verb:
(English translation: the woman with whose husband the children are working)

(65) **Sesotho:** [mosadzi.i] [eo_i [banai ba_i-sebets-a-ng [le [monna_k [wa_k hae_i]]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm with 1 husband
1 of 1 her)

**Xitsonga:** [wansati_i] [loyi_i [vana_i va_i-tirh-a-ka [na [nuna_k [wa_k-kwe_i]]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm with 1 husband
1 of-1 her)

**Tshivenda:** a. [musadzi_i] [vhana_i vhai-shum-a-ho [na [munna_k [wa_k-we_i]]
(1 woman 2 children 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm with 1 husband
1 of-1 her)

b. [musadzi_i] [a-ne_i [vhana_i vh-a-shum-a [na [munna_k [wa_k-we_i]]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-work-fv with 1
husband 1 of-1 her)

**IsiXhosa:** [umfazi] [- [ba_i-sebenz-a [-no- [myeni_k [wa_k-khe_i] abantwana_k]
(1 woman reldet-2 AgrS-work-fv with-1 husband 1 of-1 her 2
children)

With a copulative verb:
(English translation: the man whose horse the old man has)

(66) **Sesotho:** [monna_i] [eo_i [leqheku_i le_i-na-ng [le [pere_k [ya_k hae_i]]
(1 man 1 reldet 5 old.man 5 AgrS-copvb-rm with 9 horse 9 of
1 him)

**Xitsonga:** [wanuna_i] [loyi_i [madala_i a_i-nga [ni [hanci_k [ya_k-kwe_i]]
(1 man 1 reldet 1 old.man 1 AgrS-copvb with 9 horse 9 of-1 him)

**Tshivenda:** a. [munna_i] [mukalaha_i a_i-re [na [bere_k [ya_k-we_i]]
(1 man 1 oldman 1 AgrS-copvb with 9 horse 9 of-1 him)

b. [munna_i] [a-ne_i [mukalaha_i a_i-vha [na [bere_k [ya_k-we_i]]
(1 man 1 reldet 1 oldman 1 AgrS-cons-copvb with 9 horse
9 of-1 him)

**IsiXhosa:** [indoda_i] [e- [li-r [ne- [hashe_k [la_k-yo_i] ixhego_i]
(9 man reldet-5 AgrS-with-5 horse 5 of-9 him 5 old.man)

2.4.6.4 Possessive with a locative phrase

With a non-copulative verb:
(English translation: the women to whose children the man goes)

(67) **Sesotho:** [basadi_i] [bao_i [monna_k a_i-y-a-ng [ho [banai [ba_k bona_i]]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 chidlrn 2 of 2
them)
Xitsonga: [vavasati] [lava] [wanuna] a-y-a-ka [eka] [vana] [va] [vona]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 children 2 of 2 them)

Tshivenda: a. [vhasadzi] [munna] a-y-a-[ho] [kha] [vha] [vho]
(2 women 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 children 2 of 2 them)
b. [vhasadzi] [vha-ne] [munna] a-y-a [kha] [vha] [vho]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-cons-go-fv to 2 children 2 of 2 them)

IsiXhosa: [abafazi] [e-y-a-] [ku] [bantwana] [ba-bo] indoda,
(2 woman 9 reldet AgrS-go-fv to 2 children 2 of 2 them 9 man)

With a copulative verb:
(English translation: the children in whose school the man is)

(68) Sesotho: [bana] [bao] [monna] a-le-ng [sekolong] [sa] [bona]
(2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb-rm in.7 school 7 of 2 them)

Xitsonga: [vana] [lava] [wanuna] a-nga [exikolweni] [xa] [vona]
((2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb in.7 school 7 of 2 them)

Tshivenda: a. [vha] [munna] a-re [tshikoloni] [tsha] [vho]
(2 children 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb in.7 school 7 of 2 them)
b. [vha] [vha-ne] [munna] a-vha [tshikoloni] [tsha] [vho]
(2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-cons-copvb in.7 school 7 of 2 them)

IsiXhosa: [abantwana] [e-s-] [esikolweni] [sa-bo] indoda,
(2 children 9 reldet AgrS-s-in.7 school 7 of 2 them 9 man)

The resumptive pronoun is a possessive pronoun in a locative phrase with a locative preposition in (67), i.e. [ho/eka/kha/ku] and locative morphology in (68), i.e. a locative suffix [-ng/-ni] and a locative prefix [-e] (only in Xitsonga and isiXhosa).

2.4.7 Summary of resumption

According to McCloskey (2006:97): "... there can be no syntactic feature which distinguishes resumptive pronouns from ordinary pronouns". Indeed, the preceding paragraphs have illustrated this abundantly. The various types of resumption in these languages is given below:

2.4.7.1 [pro AgrS]: an empty pronoun with features of person, number or noun class is co-indexed with a morpheme with the feature AgrS which appears as a prefix of a verb (see 18, 25, 16, 17, 9, 10). The co-indexed [pro AgrS] is deleted in Sesotho but with retention of the tone of AgrS (see 19, 20). With copulative verb [le] in Sesotho: an agreement morpheme [e-] appears in a relative clause as well as in non-relative clauses in i.a. identity statements (no. 24).

2.4.7.2 [AgrO, pro]: the empty pronoun above appears co-indexed with objectival agreement on the verb in the form of a prefixal morpheme (35, 36, 38, 39).
With ditransitive verbs the resumption may be expressed by means of an absolute pronoun (41, 42). The resumption of [AgrO pro] is always optional in Tshivenda when the relative determiner has a temporal feature in COMP (see (37)). Resumption as above may appear in embedded clauses (44).

2.4.7.3 Absolute pronoun and pronoun: the resumptive pronoun in prepositional relatives, locative relatives with non-locative antecedents and passive relatives may have the form of an absolute pronoun in Sesotho and Xitsonga and a pronoun in Tshivenda and isiXhosa (see 45-48, 49-50, 58).

2.4.7.4 Locative absolute pronoun as resumptive pronoun is found with a locative antecedent in a relative clause, but in Sesotho resumption is effected by means of a locative noun teng (see 51).

2.4.7.5 Resumption in possessive phrases in relative clauses is effected by means of possessive pronouns which are the complements of a possessive [-a] morpheme with AgrS (59-68).

2.4.8 Resumption in embedded clauses

See no. (44) above for examples of resumptives in embedded clauses and also Du Plessis (1978:100), Du Plessis and Visser (1992:344) for isiXhosa, as well as Madadzhe (1997:361-365) for Tshivenda. Below are some other examples from Xitsonga and Sesotho:

**Xitsonga:**
Resumptive pronoun: [AgrO, pro]

(69) a. [Swambalo] [leswi, [proJ ndziJ nga-vona [proK uJ-swJ-ambar-ile pro]]
(8 clothes 8 reldet 1 ps I-past-see 2 ps you 8 AgrO-put.on-perf 8 pro: clothes which I saw you have put on (swi, proJ)

b. [xivutiso] [lexi, [proJ a-aJ-rhandza [ku-xiJ-vutisa pro]]
(7 question 7 reldet 1 pro past 1 AgrS-like to-7 AgrO-ask 7 pro: question which he liked to ask (xiJ proJ)

Resumptive pronoun: absolute pronoun:

(70) [vanhu] [lava, [proJ a-aJ-tshama ni ku-hanya na vonaJ]
(2 people 2 reldet 1 pro past 1 AgrS-stay and to-live with 2 abspro: people with whom she stayed and lived) (vona)

The resumptive pronoun may be an embedded empty pronoun with only a feature of the antecedent:

(71) a. [proJ] [lexi, [proJ ndziJ-rhandza-ka [ku-ku-byela pro]]
(7 pro 7 reldet 1 ps pro I-like rm to-you-ask 7 pro: what I like to ask you) (proJ)

b. [nyamaJ] [leyi, [proJ a-nga-te [proJ ndziJ-nyika proJ ximanga]]
(9 meat 9 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-past-said 1ps pro I-give 9 pro 7 cat: meat which she said I give to cat) (proJ)
In an Infinitival clause:

(72)  a. [metswako: ] [eo: [pro: ke-1-lokela-ng [ho-e1-sebedisa pro: ]]
   (4 mixtures 4 reldet 1 ps pro l-must-rm to-4 AgrO-use 4 pro: mixtures which I must use (AgrO: pro: ) (Khaketla 1960:92)

   b. [thaka tsa hae: ] [tseo: [pro: a1-tshwanetse-ng [ho-bapala] kapa [ho-tsamaya le tsona; ]
   (10 friends of him 10 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-must-rm to-play or to-walk with 10 them: his friends with whom he must play or walk (abspro tsona) (Moiloa 1971:18)

In a hore-clause:

(73)  a. [leraba: ] [leo: [pro: a1-rata-ng [hore [kaofela ha bona; ] pro: ] le-ba2-tshwase]
   (5 snare 1 pro 1 AgrS-want-rm that all of them 5 pro 5 AgrS-2 AgrO-ensnare-subjunct: a snare which he wants that everyone of them it should ensnare them) (pro: AgrS; ) (Khaketla 1960:89)

   b. [malapa: ] [ao: [pro: ke1-tseba-ng [hore [pro: a1-na [le [barwetsana, [ba, o1-lokela-ng pro: ]]
   (6 households 6 reldet 1 ps pro l-know-rm that 6 pro 6 AgrS-copvb with 2 girls 2 reldet.AgrS 2 ps AgrO-suit 2 ps pro: households which I know that they have girls which suit you) (pro: AgrS; ) (Maake 1995).

   c. [banna ba bang: ] [bao: [pro: re1-se-ng [pro: re1-bon-e [hore [morao tjena] ditaba, pro: o1-di, -sebetsa [le bona; ]
   (2 other-men 2 reldet 1 pp pro 1 pp we-already-rm 1 pp pro 1 pp we-see-perf that later thus 10 issues 2 ps pro 2 ps you 10 AgrO-work with them: other men who we already saw that thus later the issues you work them with them) (bona:, abspro) (Khaketla 1960:98)

   (7 bomb of anger 7 reldet expl ho-past-rm expl ho-evident that if 7 AgrS-can-explode, 7 AgrS-will-split rocks: a bomb of anger which there was evident that if it can explode, it will split rocks (pro: AgrS; ) (Khaketla 1960:98)

   e. [mohatlen], [moo: [pro: ho1-bonahala-ng [hore [pro: ko-k-ile pro: a1-e1-otla pro: ] teng]
   (3 on.tail loc.reldet loc.ho-evident-rm that 1 pro 1 AgrS-past 1 pro 1 AgrS-9 AgrO-hit 9 pro there: on the tail where it is evident that he hit it there) (resumptive noun: teng) (Khaketla 1960:85)

   f. [Selone,] [eo: [pro: ho1-ne-ng [pro: ho1-bonahala [hore [setswalle [sa hae: ] le letswalo se-ne se-fet-e kgale haholo]
   (1 Selone 1 reldet expl ho-past-rm expl ho-evident that 7 friendship of 1 him with fear it-past it-end-perf long.ago very: Selone who there was evident that his friendship with fear ended very long ago) (hae: possessive pronoun) (Khaketla 1960:127)
Resumption in a participial clause:

(74)  

a. pro a-fumana diphetoh o [lefatseng,] [leoh, [proi ai-ne-ng [proi ai-le-tseba pro, [proi lei-se proi lei-fetoh-ile]  

(He-found changes 5 on.earth 5 reldet 1 AgrS-past-rm 1 AgrS-5 AgrO-know 5 pro 5 pro 5 AgrS-already 5 AgrS-change-perf: he found changes on earth which he knew it has already changed) (two resumptives:  
a. proi AgrSI (le), b. AgrOi proi (le) (Moiloa 1971:36).

b. [noha yane] [eo]i [proi ai-fuman-e-ng [proi ei-i-kgar-ile fesetering]  

(9 snake 9 that 9 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-find-perf-rm 9 pro 9 AgrS-refl-coil in window: that snake which he found it coiled itself in the window) (proi  
AgrSI (e) (Khaketla 1960:85).

c. [pheto ho] [eo]i [proi baI-fuman-a-ng [morena wa bona k [prok ak-e-na [le yona]  

(9 change 9 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-find-rm chief of them 1 pro 1 AgrS-ptc-copvb with 9 abspro.it: the change which they find their chief has)  
(abspro: yona) (Khaketla 1960:94).

d. [moro ho ona] [oo]i [basadi baI-ne-ng proi baI-a-qathatsa proo lebese]  

(3 vegetable 3 this 3 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-past-rm 2 pro 2 AgrS-3 AgrO-pour 3 pro 5 milk: this vegetable which the women pour milk on it) (AgrOi proi (-o-) (Moiloa 1971:29)

e. [selotho] [seo]i [e-le-ng kagle [proi ai-se-t-losa pro]  

(7 puzzle 7 reldet Agr-copvb-rm long.ago 1 AgrS-7 AgrO-think about 7 pro: the puzzle which is long ago he is thinking about it) (AgrOi proi )  
(-se-)

Resumption in a clause after the verb re:

(75)  

a. A-tshwana le [motho] [eo]i [e-re-ng [ha [proi ai-lokela [ho-bua ntho e thata], [proi ai-nahan-e mokgw a omotle]  

(he-resembled with 1 person 1 reldet agr-re-rm when 1 pro 1 AgrS-must to-speak thing difficult, 1 pro 1 AgrS-think-subjunct way nice:  
he resembled a person who, when he must say a difficult thing, he thinks about a nice way) (proi AgrSI (a-) (Khaketla 1960:100)

b. O-ne a-boets a-thuisa [ditaba tseo]. [Yare [mooi [prok ak-re-ng [prok ok-tla-di-tlohela pro] prok ak-nahan-e [tse ding]  

(He again meditated about 10 issues 10 those. When loc.reldet he-say-rm he-will-them-leave, he-think-subjunct others: he again meditated  
about those issues. When where he says he will leave them, he thinks  
about others (AgrOi proi (-di-) (Khaketla 1960:85).

2.5 Non-restrictive or appositive relatives

See Bianchi (2004), De Vries (2006) and Cinque (2008) for an overview of non-restrictive relatives. In the African languages of South Africa non-restrictive relatives are only distinguished from restrictive relatives through comma-intonation between the antecedent and the relative clause, e.g. in the Sesotho sentence below:
(76) O-ne a-tseba [thaka ts'a hae],[tseo, [pro; a; tshwanetse-ng [ho-bapala kapa ho-tsamaya [le tsona]]
   (he-past he-know 10 friends 10 of 1 him, 10 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-must-rm
to-play or to-walk with 10 them: he know his friends with whom he must play
or walk) (resumption abspro tsona) (Moiloa 1971:18).

The antecedent above is [thaka ts'a hae] and the relative clause has a relative
determiner tseo with a TP with a comma-intonation between the two.

2.6 Headless or free relatives

relative is a relative clause without a head". Nominal modifiers, including relative
clauses may appear without heads: see i.a. Du Plessis, Visser (1992:348-370) for a
range of nominal modifiers in isiXhosa which may appear without their heads e.g. p.
349 no. 8, a relative clause with and without a head:

(77) a. [Umfundi] [pro; o-gul-a-yo]
   (1 student 1 pro 1 reldet. AgrS-ill-fv-rm: a student who is ill)

   b. [pro] [pro; o-gul-a-yo]
   (1 pro 1 pro 1 reldet. AgrS-ill-fv-rm: who is ill)

In (77a) the antecedent of the relative clause is umfundi which is absent in (77b). In
all such cases an empty pro with the features of number, person or noun class will be
present as antecedent as above in (77b) where pro has the feature of a class 1 noun.
Such empty antecedents may appear with features of any person, number or noun
class, but it is frequently found that such antecedents have an indefinite and non-
specific reference or may refer to some previous discourse as an anaphoric pronoun
or sentential pronoun (see Du Plessis 2010:3 and Du Plessis, Visser 1992:20).

An empty pro as antecedent with these features above may have the following noun
class features:

(a) Noun class 1 and 2:

(78) IsiXhosa: See (77b) above.

Xitsonga: A-swi-pfun-i nchumu ku-vutisa [pro;] [loyi; [pro; a-endl-e-ke
[mhaka ya kona]
   (neg-8 AgrS-help-neg nothing to-ask-for [1 pro 1 reldet 1 pro
1 AgrS-do-perf-rm problem of there: it helps nothing to ask
for who did the problem of there)

Tshivenda: A-hu na [pro;] [pro; o-amb-a-ho [na mun(we)
   (neg-loc.AgrS with [1 pro 1 pro 1 AgrS-perf-speak-rm with
another: there is no one who spoke with another one)

Sesotho: Ha-ho [pro;] [y- [pro; a;ka-hanye-ets-a-ng]
   (neg-loc.AgrS [1 pro 1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-can-resist-fv-rm:
there is no one who can resist)
(b) Noun class 7 and 8 in Xitsonga, Tshivenda and Sesotho:

(79) **Tshivenda:**
   a. A-thi-dšívh-i [pro] [pro, tsh-o-l8-a-ho muthu]  
      (neg-1 ps AgrS-know-neg [7 pro 7] pro 7 AgrS-perf-bite-fv-rm  
       person: I don't know what has bitten a person)
   b. R-o-pf-a [pro] [pro; zw-o-it-e-a-ho]  
      (1 pp AgrS-perf-hear-fv [8 pro] 8 pro 8 AgrS-perf-do-  
       neut.poss-fv-rm: we heard what happened)

*Xitsonga:*
   a. A-wu-tiv-i [pro] [lexi] [pro; u-vula-vula-ka [xona]]  
      (neg-2 ps AgrS-know-neg [7 pro] 7 reldet 2 pspro 2 psAgrS-  
       say-rm 7 abspro: you don't know what you are saying)
   b. Sw-a-yil-a [pro] [leswi] [pro; u-swi-vul-a-ka]  
      (8 AgrS-pres-be.forbidden [8 pro] 8 reldet 2 ps 2 ps  
       AgrS-8 AgrO-say-rm: it is forbidden what you say)

**Sesotho:**
   Re-emetse [pro] [seo] [pro; ba-tla-se-bu-a pitsong: we-waited-  
   for them they-will-say in-the-meeting]

(c) Noun class 9 in isiXhosa:

(80) [pro] [e [-pro; si-nga-[y].azi-yo]  
      ([9 pro] reldet 1 pp AgrS-neg-9 AgrO-know-rm: what we don't know)

(d) Expletive in Sesotho, isiZulu and isiXhosa:

(81) **IsiZulu:**  
   U-se-hlezi emnyango ukuba emukele [pro] [o- [pro; ku-i-phum-a-  
      yo] [pro a-ngenis-e [pro] [o- [pro; ku-i-ding-ek-a-yo]  
      (he-now-sit at.door that he-receive [expl pro] reldet expl pro  
      expl ku-go.out-rm he-let-in [expl pro] reldet expl pro expl.ku-  
      need-poss-fv-rm: he now sits at the door so that he  
      receive what is going out and he let in what is needed)

**Sesotho:**
   [pro] [hoo, [pro; ke-sa-[ho].tseb-e-ng [ke hore na ba-feletse  
      bukeng efe]  
   ([expl pro] expl reldet 1 ps AgrS-neg-expl AgrO-know-neg-rm  
   it.is that Q they-have-finished in.std what: what I don't know is what  
   standard they have finished)

(e) Locative:

(82) **IsiXhosa:**
   a-nd-azi [pro] [apho; pro; ba-i-vel-a-khona]  
   (neg-l-know [loc.pro] loc.relset 2 pro 2 AgrS-come.from  
   loc.abspro: I don't know where they come from)

**Sesotho:**
   Ha-re-tseb-e [pro] [moo; [pro; ba-tsw-a-ng teng]  
   (not-we-know [loc.pro] loc.relset 2 pro 2 AgrS-come.from-fv-  
   rm there: we don't know where they come from)

**Xitsonga:**
   a-a-vuy-ile [pro] [Iaha; pro; a-a-ile kona]  
   (past-1 AgrS-come.back-perf [loc.pro] loc.relset 1 pro past-  
   1 AgrS-  
   go-perf loc.abspro: he came back from where he went)
Tshivenda: A-mu-vhudzisa [pro] [hu-ne, [pro₁ a₁-khou-y-a hone]
(he-him-ask [loc.pro] loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-pres-go-fv
loc.abspro: he asked him where he is going)

(f) Relative clauses of manner in Sesotho and Xitsonga:

Sesotho

Sesotho uses a locative relative determiner moo with an instrumental preposition ka as head, i.e. [ka-moo] while the relative clause has resumption with this PP as preposition [ka] with locative noun [teng], i.e. [ka-teng]:

(83) O-sebetsa [ka-[moo [pro₁ a₁-rat-a-ng [ka-[teng]]
(ke-work with-loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-like-fv-rm with-there: he works as he likes)

The resumption with [ka-teng] above may be deleted:

(84) Ke-ne ke-tlamehile ho-etsa [ka- [moo, [pro₁ ho-rat-a-ng yena [ka-teng]]
(I was forced to-do with-loc.reldet expl.ho-like-fv-rm 1 abspro: I was forced to do as there likes he (as he likes)

Xitsonga:

Xitsonga uses basically the same type of relative of manner as Sesotho. The locative relative determiner laha is preceded by a prepositional head hi as [hi-[laha]]. The resumption in the relative clause is a locative absolute pronoun kona preceded by a possessive ha as [ha-[kona]]:

(85) hi-ta-endla [hi-[laha [pro₁ u₁-vul-a-ka [ha-[kona]]
(we-will-do with-loc.reldet 2 ps AgrS-say-fv-rm posssha-loc.abspro: we will do as you say)

A relative clause of manner may also be expressed in Xitsonga by means of a relative determiner in class 8 (leswi) while the relative clause has resumption in the form of the absolute pronoun of class 8 (swona) preceded by a morpheme [xi] of class 7 (objectival agreement of class 8 (swi) may also be present on the relative verb):

(86) Tirhisani [pro₁] [leswi [pro₁ mi₁-[swi]-lav-is-a-ka [xi-[swona]]
(Work-you 8 pro 8 reldet 2 pp pro 2 pp AgrS-8AgrO-like-caus-fv-rm
xi-8 abspro: work how you like it)

The AgrO swi above is optional. However, it is compulsory for the relative verb to have the causative derivational suffix [-is-], i.e. [-lav-is-] above. The relative clause in (86) may have the form as in (85):

(87) Tirhisani [hi-[laha [mi-swí-lav-is-a-ka [ha-[kona]]
(Work as you like it)
2.7 Coordinated relative clauses

Coordinated relative clauses may appear with or without a conjunct such as [na/ni] in Xitsonga or [le/kapa/empa] in Sesotho. The structure of such coordinated relatives with the same antecedent will follow the structure as in (1) above:

(88)  
```
NP   
  |   
NP  CP  
  |   
CP CP  
```

Coordination in relative clauses will be discussed below with regard to coordination of the CP as in (88) and secondly, with regard to coordination within the Tense Phrase [TP] of the CP:

(89)  
```
NP   
  |   
NP  CP   
  |   
CP OP  C  
  |   
C' C  
  |   
TP TP  
```

Coordinated relative clauses with the same antecedent

This type of coordination is represented by the structure in (88) above.

Coordinated relatives in Xitsonga

Two or more relative clauses may appear with conjuncts like [na/ni] 'and' or [kambe] 'but' or even without any conjuncts:

(90)  
```
a. Hi-ta-lulamisa [swilo] [leswi; [pro; swi-nga-onhek-a] ni [leswi; [pro; swi-karhi pro; swi-onhek-a-ka laha kaya]  
  (We-will-set.right [8 things] 8 reldet 8 pro 8 AgrS-past-be.damaged-fv and 8 reldet 8 pro 8 AgrS-just.now 8 pro 8 AgrS-be.damaged-fv-rm here at.home: we will set right things which were damaged and which are just now damaging here at home)

b. [timpahlal] [leti; [pro; ti-nghen-a-ka] na [leti; [pro; ti-hum-a-ka] na [leti; [pro; ti-tis-iw-a-ka hi malori]  
  ([10 goods] 10 rel det 10 pro 10 AgrS-go.in fv-rm and 10 rel det 10 pro 10 AgrS-go.out-fv-rm and 10 rel det 10 pro 10 AgrS-bring-pass-fv-rm by lorries: goods which go in and which go out and which are brought by the lorries (Mahuhushi 1996:97).```
c. A-lava ku-vona [pro\i] [lomu\i \i pro\j a-a\-t-hox-a kona] na [lomu\i \i pro\j a-a\-t-hox-is-a xiswona]  
(He-wanted to-see [loc.pro] loc.reldet 1 pro past-1AgrS-make.mistake loc.abspro and loc.reldet 1 pro past-1AgrS-make.mistake-caus-fv xi-8 abspro: he wanted to see where he made a mistake and how did he make a mistake (Khosa 1994:116).

Tshivenda

Tshivenda has two types of relative clauses, i.e. relatives with a relative marker [-ho] and relatives with a relative determiner which has a temporal feature of [±past] (see no. (9) and (10) above).

Coordination with relatives with a relative marker [-ho]:

(91) [zwil\i siwa\i] [pro\i, zwi\-l-difh-a-ho] na [pro\i, zwi\-l-kalakat-a-ho]  
(8 food [8 pro 8 AgrS-be.tasty-fv-rm] and [8 pro 8 AgrS-be.bitter-fv-rm]: food which is tasty and which is bitter) (Rankhododo a.o. 1994:9).

Coordination with relatives with a determiner with [-ne/-e]:

(92) Ri-khou-livhuw-a nga maand\i 8a [vhat\-shannga na vhan(we\i)] [vha-ne\i, pro\i, vha\-khou-ri-thus-a] [vha-ne\i, pro\i, vha\-sa-tou-vh-a] [pro\i, pro\i vho\-livhan-a-ho na hel\\\i fhungo]  
(we-pres-thank with force [2 young.men and 2 others] [2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS.cons-pres-us-help-fv] [2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS.cons-neg-indeed-copvb-fv [2 pro] 2 pro 2 AgrS-perf-oppose-fv-frm with this matter]: we are thanking forcefully the young men and others who are helping us who are not indeed who opposed this matter] (Maisha 1996:47).

Coordination with relatives with a relative marker [-ho] and relatives with a relative determiner with a temporal feature [-ne/-e]:

(93) a. Ndi [muthu\i] [pro\i o-lug-a-ho] [a-ne\i, kha-e pro\j n-a-d8o-wan-a tshin(we na tshin(we)  
(lt-is [person] [1 pro 1 AgrS.perf-be.good-fv-frm] [1 reldet at-him (1 pro) 2 pppro 2ppAgrS-cons-fut-find-fv something and something]: It is a person who is good who with him you will find everything) (Maisha 1990:75).

b. Heyi tsimu khulwane ya musanda kanzhi i-wanal-a [fhethu\i] [pro\i h\-1-o-adz-a-ho] [hu-ne\i, pro\i, h\-1-a-nga mudavhini]  
(this garden big of chief's.village often 9 AgrS-be.found [loc.place] [loc.pro loc.AgrS-perf-spread.out] [loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-cons-copvb in.plain: This big garden of the chief's village often is found at a place which is spread out which is in a plain] (N\8evhut\8alu 1995:41).

c. D\i-ifneni ni d\i-vhumbe, ni-vh-e [lushaka\i] [pro\i lw\-1-o-khwat\8h-a-ho] [lu-ne\i, pro\i lw\-1-a-d\i-ko/d8-a kha zwa mvelelo yalwo]  
Sesotho:

Coordinated relative clauses in Sesotho can firstly be distinguished through the presence of restrictive and/or non-restrictive relative clauses.

**Coordination in which both relative clauses are restrictive** (as in Xitsonga and Tshivenda above (see 90-93) above)

(94)  

(a) Ke eng e thib-el-a-nga meetlo eo ho-i-kgeth-el-a [ngwana] [y]-[pro a-tla-bola-w-a] le [y]-[pro, a-tla-phel-a?]  
(11th is what which prevents customs those to-refl-choose-appl-fv [1 child]  
[1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-fut-kill-pass-fv] and [1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-fut-live-fv]: what prevents those customs to choose for itself a child who will be killed and who will live?) (Guma 1960:32).

(b) Ho-rialo nna Kganyapa, [nna] [y]-[pro, a-tsa-y-e-ng ka leeme le tshobotsi] empa [y]-[pro, a-tsa-y-e-ng ka toka le tshwanelo]  
(There-says-so I Kganyapa, [1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-neg-go-neg-frm with partiality and bias] but [1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-go-fv-frm with justice and right]: There says so I Kganyapa, I who doesn't go with partiality and bias but who goes with justice and right) (Guma 1960:31).

(c) Ho-ne ho-se ya setseng, ntle ho [bona] [ba, [pro, kul-a-ng haholo] kapa  
[ba, [pro, se-ng pro, ba-tlhol-el-w-a ke didho]  
(There-was there-is-not who remained, except for [2 them] [2 reldet.AgrS 2 pro be.ill-fv-frm much] or [2 reldet.AgrS 2 pro already-frm 2 pro 2 AgrS-refl-overcome-appl-pass-fv by limbs]: there was not one who remained, except for them who are very ill or who are already themselves overcome by their limbs) (Guma 1960:26).

(d) Morena ke [sethotsela ti feela] [se, [pro, se-na-ng maikutlo] [se, [pro, akarets-a-ng borena le metel]  
(chief is [7 ghost only] [7 reldet.AgrS 7 pro neg-copvb-frm opinions] [7 reldet.AgrS 7 pro sum.up-fv-frm chieftainship and customs]: the chief is just a ghost who has no opinions who sums up the chieftainship and the customs) (Guma 1960:32).

**Coordination in which the first relative clause is restrictive and the other relative clauses are non-restrictive**

(95)  

(a) Haeba ho-le teng [ho hong] [hoo, [pro, ke-hol-bolel-a-ng pro], [hoo,  
[maikutlong a hao e-se-ng nnete], pro o-hle pro o-hanyetse feela  
(if there-is there [something] [reldet pro 1 ps AgrS-AgrO-say-fv-frm pro],  
[reldet in.opinion of you copAgr-neg-frm truth], you-really you-protest only: If there is something which I am saying, which in your opinion is not the truth, you should really just protest) (Khaketla 1960:89).

(b) Ha-ke-tseb-e kgopoloe ya hao ka [diphetoho tsena] [tse, [pro, ntse-ng pro,  
di-ets-ahal-a], [tse, [pro, bile-ng pro, di-ntse-ng pro, di-tsw-el-a pele hoets-ets-ahal-a]  
(not-I-know thought of you about [10 changes 10 these] [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro continually-frm 10 pro 10 AgrS-do-neutpass-fv], [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro then-frm 10 pro 10 AgrS-continually-frm 10 pro 10 AgrS-go.out-
appl-fv forward to-do-neutpass-fv: I don’t know your thought about these changes which are continually happening, which then continually go on to happen (Moiloa 1971:36).

c. Ke-akaretsa [tsohle] [tse] [pro] phel-a-ng], [tse] [pro] tseb-a-ng hotsamaya] (I-include [10 everything] [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro live-fv-rm], [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro know-fv-rm to-walk]: I include everything which live, which can walk) (Khaketla 1960:89).

d. Ke ha [mokotlana wa haе] [o] [pro] dul-a-ng ka pokothong], [oo] [pro] a-i-ne-ng pro] a-i-ntsh-a [thele ho wona], pro o-w-el-a fatshe (It.is then [3 small.bag of him] 3 reldet.AgrS 3 pro sit-fv-rm in picket), [3 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-past-rm 1 AgrS-take.out-fv from 3 abspr], 3 pro 3 AgrS-fall-appl-fv down: It is then his small bag which sits in his pocket, from which he was taking out the money, falls down) (Maake 1995).

e. Ho-na le [morero] [oo] [pro] o-i-o-sebets-a-ng pro], [oo] [pro] o-i-sa-rat-e-ng ha pro re-o-tseb-a pro] (There is [3 plan] [3 reldet you-it-make], [3 reldet you-not-like-neg-rm if we-it-know: there is a plan which you make, which you don't like if we know it) (Khaketla 1960:98)

Coordination in which the relative clauses are all non-restrictive

(96)  a. Ke ka hoo a-ile-ng a-m-muisa ka [lentswe la monate], [le] [pro] tletse-ng lerato], [le] [pro] na-ng le molodi o monate] (It is why he-past-rm he-her-speak with [5 voice of niceness] [5 reldet 5 pro be.full.of-rm love], [5 reldet 5 pro have-rm with melody reldet nice]: It is why he spoke to her with a nice voice, which is full of love, which has a nice melody) (Khaketla 1960:93)

b. O-tenne [lerantha la borikgwe], [le] [pro] tshwehl-a-ng], [le] [pro] rok-il-w-e-ng ka malapi a mangata] (He-had-on [5 tatter of trousers] [5 reldet.AgrS 5 pro be.greasy-fv-rm], [5 reldet.AgrS 5 pro sew-perf-pass-perf-rm with cloths many]: he had on tattered trousers, which are greasy, which are sewn with many cloths)

IsiXhosa

As in Sesotho above, coordination in relative clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive (see (90)-(95) above).

Coordination in which both relative clauses are restrictive

For Xitsonga see (90), Tshivenda (91-93) and Sesotho (94).

(97)  a. Nd-enz-e [into] [e] [pro] be-proj-ndi-nga-yi-thand-i-pro] n- [e] [pro] nga-zanga pro] nd]-a-yi-phuph-a-pro] (l-do-perf [9 thing] [reldet 1 pspro past-1 pspro-1 psAgrS-neg-9 AgrO-like-neg 9 pro] and [reldet 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-neg-defvb-neg 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-cons-9 AgrO-dream-fv 9 pro]: I did something which I didn’t like and which I never dreamt about) (Tamsanqa 1971:118)
b. Ya-yi-li-[xhegoi] [e-ri [pro, li,-mnandi kakhulu] n- [e-ri [pro, li,-yi-thand-a-yo ingxoxo],
(He-was-[5 old.man] [reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-nice] and [reldet 5 AgrS 5 AgrO-like-fv-rm discussion]: he was a nice old man who likes discussion very much) (Tamsanqa 1971:52)

c. Umntu o-nga-khul-is-el-w-anga kw-ezo zinto w-o-mana e-s-enza [izinto] [e-ri [pro, zi-,phuth-ile-yo] [e-ri [pro, zi,-nge-na-sidima]
(person who was not brought up on those things he will continually do [10 things] [reldet 10 pro 10 agrS-fail-perf-rm] [reldet 10 pro 10 AgrS-neg-with-worth]: a person who was not brought up on those things will continually do things which failed which have no worth) (Mzamane 1959:46).

Coordination in which the second relative clause is non-restrictive (see also Sesotho no. (95) above)

(98) a. imihlathi e-se-yi-theth-a [into.] [e-ri [pro, nga-v-akal-i-yo], [e-ri [pro, shwantshwath-ek-a-yo]
(jaws which say [9 thing] [9 reldet.AgrS-neg-hear-neutpass-neg-rm], [9 reldet.AgrS-mumble-neutpass-fv-rm]: jaws which say something which is not audible which can be mumbled) (Mzamane 1959:52)

b. Imbulu yona i-no- [msila], [0- [si- [si-thungu]], [0- [pro homb-e kakuhle ngoboya]
(fabled.animal it it-has-[3 tail] 3 reldet.AgrS-copula-7 bundle], [3 reldet.AgrS pro-adorn-perf well with.wool]: the fabled animal has a tail which is a bundle, which is well adorned with wool) (Mzamane 1959:46).

Coordination within TP of relative clauses

Sesotho and IsiXhosa

See the structure (89) above. The first restrictive relative is not followed by another relative clause, but a CP where the verb has either the subjunctive or consecutive. Coordination without relative clauses may follow this sequence of CPs depending on the form of the first verb in the coordination: if the first verb is [-past] the second one will be subjunctive; if the first verb is [+past] the second one will be consecutive (see i.a. Du Plessis (1996) par. 4.1 and 4.3).

The second verb is Subjunctive:

(99) **Sesotho:** [batho] [ba-ri [pro, ri-thus-a-ng pro] [pro, ba,-ri-tem-el-e pro, masimo]
[2 people] [2 reldet/AgrS-2 pro-1 ps AgrO-help-fv-rm 1 pspro]] [2 pro 2 AgrS-1 ps AgrO-plough-appl-subjunct 1 pspro 6 lands]: people who are helping me who are poloughing the lands for me)

**IsiXhosa:** Kodwa ezi zinto zi-ya-diula zi-fane ne-[zulu]- [e-ri [pro,-be-pro,li,-dudum-a] [pro, li,-buy-e pro, li-zol-e]
(But these things they-pass they-resemble with-[5 weather]}
In the Sesotho sentence above [ba nthusang] has the present tense as well as [li-duduma] in the Xhosa sentence. The CP following on this relative clause has a subjunctive verb i.e. [ba-n-tem-el-e] in Sesotho and [li-buye li-zole] in isiXhosa.

The second verb is consecutive:

(100) **Sesotho:** A-fihla [patlellong] [moou [dinku\_i di\_i-fihl-ile-ng] [pro\_i ts\_i-a-both-a-tengz], [pro\_i ts\_i-a-thuis-a] (He-arrived [loc.place] [loc.reldet 10 sheep 10 AgrS-arrive-perf-rm] [10 pro 10 AgrS-cons-lie.down-fv there][10 pro 10 AgrS-cons-chew.cud-fv]: he arrived at the place where the sheep arrived and lied down and chew the cud) (Khaketla 1960:98).

**IsiXhosa:** Wa-za ngenye imini wa-bona ku-fika [ipolisa] [e-[pro\_i l\_i-a-fik-a] [pro\_i l\_i-a-m\_i-buza pro\_i ukuba ngu-ye na inkosikazi kaSolomon, wa-vuma la-m-nika [incwadi] [e-[pro\_i val-w-e] [pro\_i y\_i-a-tywin-w-a] (He-then on-certain day he-saw there-arrive [5 policeman] [reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cons-arrive-fv] [5 pro 5 AgrS-cons-1 AgrO-ask 1 pro if it-is she Q wife of-Solomon, she-said-yes he-her-gave 9 letter [9 reldet.AgrS 9 pro-close-pass-perf] [9 pro 9 AgrS-cons-seal-pass-fv]: he saw on a certain day there arrive a policeman who arrived and asked her if she is the wife of Solomon, she agreed and he gave her a letter which was closed and sealed)

In the Sesotho sentence above the relative verb is **fihliile** (perfect tense) and the coordinated CPs have consecutive verbs [tsa-botha] and [tsa-thuisa]. The isiXhosa sentence has two separate relative clauses: the first one has the antecedent [ipolisa] with a relative verb in the A-past tense [la-fika], followed by a coordinated CP with a consecutive verb [la-m-buja]. The second relative has an antecedent [incwadi] with a relative clause with a verb in the perfect tense [e-val-w-e] which is followed by coordinated CP with a verb in the consecutive [ya-tywin-w-a].

Coordination after deficient verbs:

There are deficient verbs which have compulsory complements in which the verbs of such complement CPs must have a certain form such as the participle, subjunctive, habitual mood and others. A coordinated CP may follow a relative clause with such a deficient verb with its specific complement. Some examples appear below:

Participial clause after deficient verbs:

(101) **Sesotho:** Motho o-ne a-le [mong feela] [eo\_i [pro\_i ke\_i-ne-ng pro\_i ke\_i-mo\_i-hloneph-a pro\_i], [pro\_i ke\_i-mo\_i-kumamel-a pro\_i] (person he-was he-is [one only] [1 reldet 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-defvb-1m 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-1 AgrO-respect 1 pro] [1 pspro 1
psAgrS-1 AgrO-adore-fv 1 pro: a person was one only whom I respected and adored)

The deficient verb above is [ne] which has a compulsory participial clause [ke-mohlonepha]. A coordinated participial clause follows the above one, i.e. [ke-mokgumamela].

Habitual clause after deficient verbs:

(102) **Sesotho:** Nakong ena bashemane ba-etsa matsete a [poone] [eo [pro ba-e-tla-nne pro ba-e-bes-e] [pro ba-e-j-e mariha] (In-time this boys they-make holes of [9 maize] [9 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-fut-defvb 2 pro 2 AgrS-9 AgrO-roast-habit] [2 pro 2 AgrS-9AgrO-eat-habit winter]: in this time the boys make holes of maize which they usually roast and eat in winter) (Moiloa 1971:30).

The deficient verb above is [nne] which has a compulsory habitual clause as complement, i.e. [ba-e-bes-e]. The coordinated clause then also has a habitual verb i.e. [ba-e-j-e].

**Xitsonga**

Xitsonga expresses coordination with a second CP after a relative clause if such a CP contains a verb within the so-called Dependent Mood (see Baumbach (n.d.): 246):

(103) a. [munhu] [loyi [pro a-dy-a-ka [pro a-thlела pro a-fihlula] (1 person [1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-eat-fv-rm [1 pro 1 AgrS-again 1 pro 1 AgrS-eat.breakfast]: a person who is eating and again eats breakfast] (Mkhari 2000:1)

b. [vatirhi] [lava [pro va-fanele-ke ku-sala [pro va-hlayis-a vana] (2 workers [2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-must-rm to-stay [2 pro 2 AgrS-protect-fv children]: workers who must stay and protect children]

c. [mhangela] [leyi [pro yi-hany-a-ka [pro yi-nga-ri na kaya] (guinea.fowl [9 reldet live-fv-rm [9 pro 9 AgrS-neg-copvb with home]: a guinea fowl which lives and has no home]

The dependent mood is within the second CP above i.e. in (a) it is [a-thlела a-fihlula] in (b) it is [va-hlayisa] and in (c) it is [yi-nga-ri].

**Tshivenda**

The second CP will always have a verb in the consecutive:

(104) a. monde ndi [wone] [u-ne [pro nd-a-l8-a nga-wo [pro nd-a-n(wal-a nga-wo] (Left.hand it.is [3 abspro] [3 reldet 1pro 1 AgrS-consec-eat-fv with-3 it [1 pspro 1 psAgrS-consec-write-fv with-3 it]: the left hand is the one with which I eat and with which I write] (Maisha 1990:1)

b. [zwin(we)] [zwi-ne [pro zw-a-nga-it-e-a [pro zw-a-kwam-a muya wa-n8u] (8 some.things [8 reldet 8 pro 8 AgrS-consec-do-neutpass-fv [8 pro 8
AgrS-consec-touch-fv soul of-you]: some things which can be done which touch your soul] (Maisha 1990:70)

c. [mithu] [pro i 0-d8i-doswol-a-ho [pro i a1-sala pro i 0-kuna]
(1 person [1 pro 1 AgrS.perf-refl-clean-fv-rem [1 pro 1 AgrS.remain 1 pro 1 AgrS.perf-be clean]: a person who has cleaned herself and who remains clean]

The dependent verb in the second CP above is in no. (a): [nda-ls8a], in no. (b): [zwa-kwama] and in no. c: [a-sala o-kuna].

2.8 Stacked relative clauses

See i.a. Jackendoff 1977, chapter 7. Such relative clauses may all be restrictive or a restrictive relative may be followed by a non-restrictive relative clause. A structure with two such stacked relative clauses may look as follows:

(105)

```
          NP
         /   |   \
  NP       CP_2
     /   |   \   
CP_1     NP
```

Restrictive stacked relative clauses:

(106) IsiXhosa

a. Wa-funda into entsha yo-kuba ngu-[mntu] [0-peth-e imali [0-fanele uku-ceng-w-a]
(He-learned thing new of-that it.is-1 person [1 reldet.AgrS-hold-perf money [1 reldet.AgrS-ought to-coax-pass-fv: he learned a new thing that it is a person who holds the money who ought to be coaxed] (Mzamane 1959:55)

b. Sel-e-na-wo n-amacebo e-[zinto] [e-[ma-[pro, zi-cel-w-e kuThixo [e- [pro, zi-ng-amalungelo eluntwini]
[already he-has-them even-plans of-10 things [reldet-hort-10 pro 10 AgrS-request-pass-subjunct from-God [reldet 10 pro 10 AgrS-copula-6 rights loc.mankind]: he already has plans of things which must be requested from God which are rights to mankind] (Mzamane 1959:47)

c. Ku-cacile ukuba ba-ne-[zinto] [a- [pro, ba-zit-theth-ile-yo pro, [a1-nga-zi-thand-ang a pro]
(it-is-clear that they-have-[10 things [reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-10 AgrO-speak-perf rm 10 pro [1 reldet.AgrS-neg-10 AgrO-like-neg 10 pro]: it is clear that they have things which they talked about which he didn't like]

In (106) there are in all the sentences two relative clauses which are stacked upon each other within the structure in (105), i.e. [CP_1] followed by [CP_2].

Sesotho
(107) O-ne a-e-na le [thutonyana] [e- [pro, a]-fokol-a-ng [eo, [pro, a]-ne-ng pro, a]-tl-e le yona,]
(he-was he-has with 9 little.education [9 reldet.AgrS-poor-fv-rm [9 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-past-rm 1 pro 1 AgrS-come-perf with 9 it]: he had a little education which is poor with which he came] (Maake 1995)

As in (106) there are two stacked restrictive relatives in (107).

Restrictive and non-restrictive stacked relative clauses

(108) IsiXhosa:

Ku-kho [iintombi] [e-[pro, ndi]-van-a kakhuulu na-zo, [e-[pro, ndi]-zi-xabis-e pro, ngaphezu kw-ezi za-lapha]
(There-are 10 girls [reldet 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-be.friendly-fv much with 10 them [reldet 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-10 AgrO-regard-perf 10 pro high of-these of-here]: there are girls with whom I am friendly, whom I regard higher as these of here] (Maake 1995).

Sesotho

a. Ke ka mohlolo ona feela a-ka-tseba-ng ho-kenya monna [tseleng ena] [eo, [yena, a]-e-rat-a-ng pro, [pro, a]-tlaets-e-ng]
(It is with wonder this only he-can-know-rm to-let.enter man [9 in.road this] [9 reldet 1 abspro 1 AgrS-9 AgrO-like-rm 9 pro, [1 pro 1 AgrS-9 AgrO-be.accustomed-perf-rm]: it is by means of this wonder only that he can know to let the man enter in this way which he likes, which he is accustomed to] (Khaketla 1960:87)

b. Letsopa le-se-ke le-mo-arabisa, a-fumane le-dumela ho-etsa [pro,] [seo, [pro, a]-se-lakats-a-ng pro, [pro, a]-se-hopots-e-ng]
(clay it-should-not it-him-question, he-find it-agree to-make [7 pro] [7 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-7 AgrO-wish-fv-rm 7 pro, [1 pro 1 AgrS-7 AgrO-think-perf-rm]: the clay should not question him, he finds it agrees to make what he wishes, what he thought of] (Khaketla 1960:86)

The non-restrictive relatives in Sesotho in (108) tend to appear without any relative determiner, but, instead, they rely on the relative determiner of the first restrictive relative, e.g. [eo] in (a) above with the non-restrictive relative [a-e-tlwaetse-ng] with no relative determiner.

2.9 Optionality of the relative determiner

The relative determiner in the relative clause may be optional. Such optionality is dependent on the definiteness or indefiniteness of the antecedent. The antecedent may for instance appear with a demonstrative or absolute pronoun in which case it will be definite. Then the relative determiner which also indicates definiteness may be optional. With antecedents in negative environments or antecedents which are interrogatives, the relative clause will be indefinite and thus an indefinite relative determiner may be optional. This optionality of relative determiners is restricted to Sesotho, isiXhosa and Xitsonga but not to Tshivenda. The Tshivenda relative determiner has a temporal feature which precludes its optionality.

Definite antecedent with a demonstrative in isiXhosa:
(109) Ndi-khumbula [lo mntwana] [pro, u]-nga-sa-nd]-azi-yo pro]
(I-remember [1 this child] [1 pro 1 AgrS-neg-still-me-know-rm 1 pspro]: I remember this child who does not know me anymore)

Definite antecedent with an Absolute pronoun:

(110) Sesotho: Tabeng eo ke [rona,] [pro, re]-ka-mo]-rut-a-ng pro]
(In-case that it is [1 pp we] [1 ppAgrS-can-him-teach-fv-rm: in this case it is we who can teach him)

Xitsonga: Hi [yena,] [pro, a]-va]-onhel-e-ke pro]
(it.is 1 him 1 pro 1 AgrS-2 them-spoil-perf-rm 2 pro: it is him who spoiled them)

IsiXhosa: Y-[eyona nto,] [pro, i]-nd]-khathaz-a-yo pro]
(It.is 9 abspro 9 thing 9 pro 9 AgrS-me-hinder-fv-rm 1 pspro: It is the very thing which hinders me)

Definiteness with first and second person antecedent:

(111) Sesotho: Ke [wena,] [pro, o-m-polel]-l-a-ng tsona]
(it.is you 2 pspro you-me-tell-appl-fv-rm it: it is you who are telling me it)

Definiteness with antecedents in class 1a/2a:

(112) Xitsonga: I [Makhahlela,] [pro, a]-nga-ndzi]-vek-a pro] laha
(it.is 1 Makhahlela 1 pro 1 AgrS-past-me-put-fv-here: It is Makhahlela who put me here)

Indefiniteness with negative environments:

(113) Sesotho: Ha-ho [motho,] [pro, a]-ka-b-a-ng le marato a mabedi]
(There-is-not 1 person 1 pro 1 AgrS-can-be-fv-rm with loves two: there is no person who can have two loves)

IsiXhosa: A-ku-kho [nto,] [pro, nd]-y]-oyik-a-yo pro]
(There-is-not 9 thing 9 AgrO-fear-fv-rm 9 pro: there is nothing that I am afraid of)

Indefiniteness with interrogatives:

(114) IsiXhosa: Ngaba ku-kho [nto,] [pro, u]-pheth-e yona,?
(Maybe there-is 9 thing you-touch-perf 9 it?: Is there maybe something which you touched?)

Xitsonga: I [mani] [pro, a]-nga-ta-vilel-a?
(it.is who 1 AgrS-fut-complain-fv?: It is who who will complain?)

Sesotho: Ho-ya ka eng [ntatae,] [pro, a]-sa-ka-ng pro, a]-mo-rut-a]
(There-go with what his father he-not-once-rm he-him-teach-fv: why didn't his father teach him once?)
Nouns functioning as temporal or causal prepositions:


The following nouns and nominal phrases may function as such prepositions in isiXhosa, i.e. they must have a relative clause as complement but without a relative determiner or resumption:

Temporal:

(115) [mini] [pro1 ndi-fik-a-yo]
(9day 1pspro 1psAgrS-arrive-fv-rm: the day I arrived)

Causal:

(116) [Ku-[ngoko] [pro1 ba-phum-elel-a-yo]
(It-is-that 2pro 2AgrS-pass-fv-rm: it is for that reason that they pass)

Concession:

(117) [Nangona] [pro1 ndi-phuph-ile-yo]
(although I dreamt)

The clause after the antecedent in (115-117) may be either a relative or a participial clause (see the references above).

Sesotho:

Temporal reference

(118) a. hona
Ha a-fihla teng, ke [hona] [a-qala-ng ho-lwana]
(When he arrives there, it is then he begins to fight)

Ke [hona] mohlomong dikgopolo tsa bona di-ne-ng di-ka-amohelwa mona le mane
(It is then maybe their thoughts could be accepted here and there)

b. Mohla
[Mohla] [a-fihla-ng], a-ama le ho-makala
(The day he arrived, he stood up with surprise)

Ke[mohla] [ho-tla-ng ho-binwa]
(It is the day when there will be singing)

c. ngwaha
[Ngwaha] [nna ke-ile-ng ka-ya teng], ha-ke-a-ka ka-ba-bona
(The year I went there, I didn't see them)

Cause
(119)  a. **hoo – ka hona**  
   Ho-dula ha ka ho yena ke [hoo[ [a-tsamaya-nga a-bua ka hona matsemeng]  
   (My staying with him is the reason he went about talking about it to the team of workers)

b. **ka hoo**  
   Ke [ka [hoo] [a-sa-batleng ho nthusa]  
   (It is for that reason he doesn’t want to help me)

c. **ka hona**  
   Ke [ka [hona] [a-neng a-sa-tsotelle hore na ba-ya hlalana kapa tjhe]  
   (It is for this reason that he didn’t care whether they are going to divorce one another or not)

d. **Lebaka**  
   Dinokana tse nyane di eketsa metsi a noka e kgolo, mme [ke [ka [baka leo [di sa pijeng]  
   (The small streams increase the water of the big river and it is for that reason they don’t dry up)

   Mona pampiring ho thwe feela [ke [ka lebaka la tabanyana e nngwe [e ntseeng e batlisiswa]  
   (Here in the paper it was just said it is because of a certain small matter that he was being investigated)

e. **hobaneng**  
   Ke [ka [hobaneng mosadi enwa a sa sebetseng]?  
   (Why doesn’t this woman work?)

**Manner**

(120) **hoo**  
   Maeto ana a hao a-se a-le mangata [hoo] [ke-se-ng ke-sa-tsebe]  
   (These journeys of you are already many to such an extent that I already don’t know)

   Ke-ne ke-tshohile [hoo] [ke-sa-tsebe-ng hore ke-tla-etsang]  
   (I was frightened to such an extent that I do not know that I will do what)

   Ba-halefile [hoo] [ba-seng ba-sa-rate le ho-bua feela]  
   (They were so mad that they did not like even to talk)

3. **CONCLUSIONS**

Relative clauses in the African languages of South Africa have more or less the same syntactic structure as relative clauses in other languages (see i.a. Bhatt (2002:44) above). The major differences in these relative clauses pertain to the issue of movement. The SA relative clauses have no WH-pronouns and also no WH-movement. Instead, an empty operator binder is present as well as a relative determiner or a relative feature in COMP. The relative verb is within TP with its two verbal shells and it may be marked as follows:

a. A distinctive tense form which resemble tense forms of the participle.
b. Resumption of the antecedent in the TP which is mostly obligatory.

c. The presence of a special relative marker suffix on the relative verb in certain cases.

As in other languages, restrictive, appositive and free relatives are to be found but with very little formal distinctions between them. With regard to the relative determiner: the form of the relative determiner frequently resembles the demonstrative: in Xitsonga it is composed of a definite morpheme [la + xi → lexi] and in Setswana an AgrS morpheme with a definite morpheme [a]: [le + a → lē]. These two forms are also demonstratives. In isiXhosa a definite morpheme a appears as relative determiner. This definite a may be followed by another temporal morpheme such as the hortative ma which may then appear with AgrS: [a- [ma-ba-V-e]]. Tshivenda has two relative types in which one has no relative determiner but can be distinguished through a relative marker ho. The other one has a relative determiner with a temporal feature: [AgrS + ne/e].

For a summary on resumption, see par. 2.4.7 above, as well as par. 2.4.8 for resumption in embedded clauses.

Appositive relatives are distinguished through a comma-intonation (see par. 2.5) while free relatives are those relatives without an overt antecedent but in these languages a compulsory pro (see par. 2.6).

Attention has also been given to coordinated and stacked relative clauses and Tshivenda and Xitsonga did show clear differences from the other languages in the use of the consecutive or dependent mood in such relatives (see par. 2.7, 2.8), i.e. within the TP of the relative.

Lastly, focus has fallen on the optionality of the relative determiner in relative clauses because of issues of definiteness or indefiniteness (see par. 2.9), as well as nominal expressions which now function as temporal, causal or concessive prepositions.

ABBREVIATIONS

1ps first person singular
2pp second person plural
abspro absolute pronoun
Agr agreement
AgrO objectival agreement
AgrS subjectival agreement
appl applicative
C complementizer
caus causative
cons consecutive
cop copulative
copvb copulative verb
CP complementizer phrase
D determiner
defvb deficient verb
DP determiner phrase
excl exclusive
expl expletive
fv final vowel
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