

COMPARATIVE SYNTAX OF THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA (BANTU LANGUAGES)

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA (BANTU LANGUAGES)

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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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1. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON RELATIVE CLAUSES

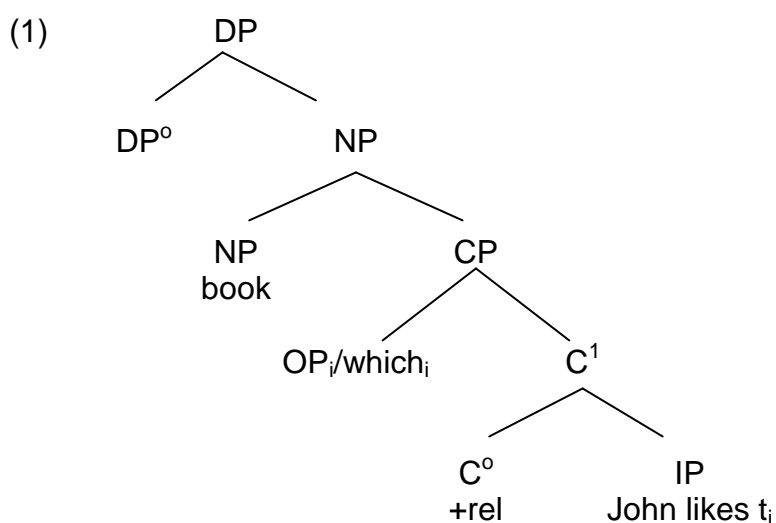
1.1 Definition of a relative clause

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.

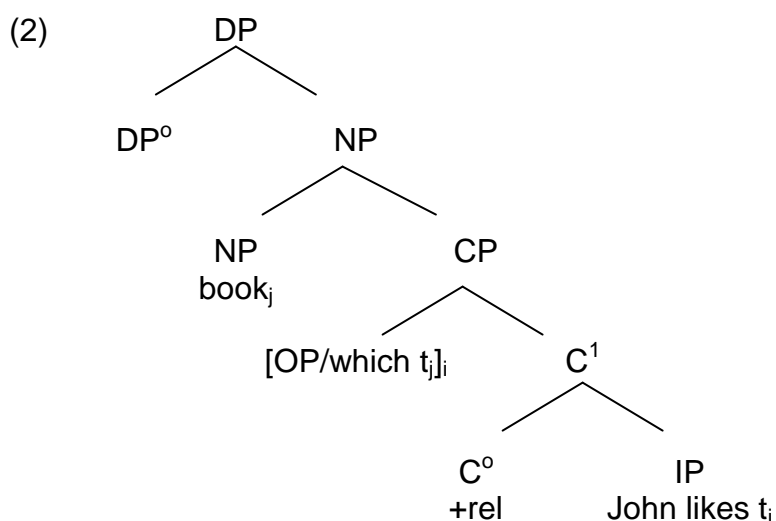
1.2 Structure of a relative clause

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:



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



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_i] [which_i the woman bought [e_i]

A resumptive pronominal in IsiXhosa:

Ndi-funa [ihempe_i] [a_j-yi_i-theng-ile-yo pro_i umfazi_j]
(I-want shirt she-it-buy-past-3rd 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 Riemsdijk 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 distribution of subject resumptive pronouns (1984:258-259).

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: [_{DP}NP_j [_{CP}OP_j C [_{IP} ... pro_j]]]. 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 [_Syou 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?

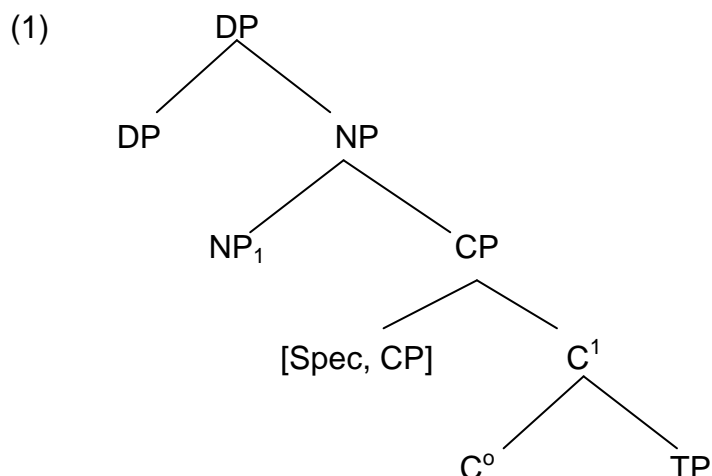
In (1) there are two empty positions associated with the WH-phrase: t and p. [p] is a parasitic gap on [t] (p. 4). According to Chomsky (1982:40) parasitic gaps are base-generated: ...x...t...p... (where x is an element in A-bar position, t is a variable bound by x, at S-structure p is assigned the same 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 (\pm 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.

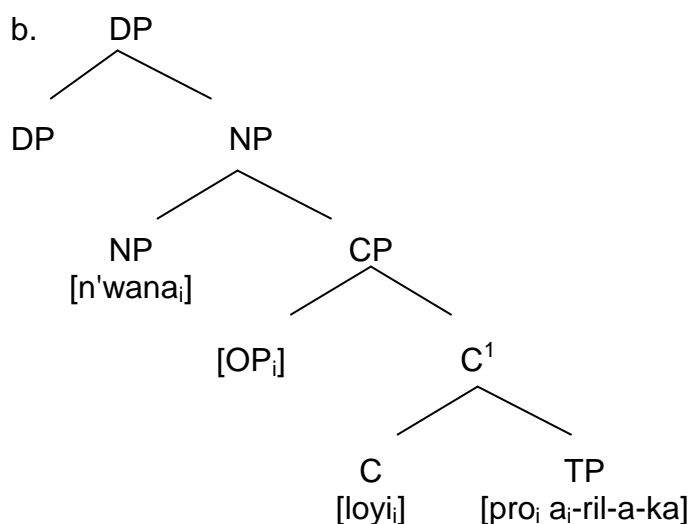
A structure with a relative clause may have the following categories (see Bhatt 2002):



In the African languages of South Africa (Bantu languages), [NP₁] in (1) is the antecedent of the relative clause [CP]. Within the relative clause [CP] these languages have a resumptive pronoun within [TP]. According to McCloskey (2006:106) resumptive pronouns are variables with a binder which must be a null operator [OP] in the [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 [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. [n'wana_i] [loyi_i [pro_i a_i-ril-a-ka]
 (1 child 1 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the child who is crying)



The antecedent of the relative clause CP is **n'wana**, the [Spec, CP] position has the null operator [OP] which is the binder of the resumptive pronoun [pro] co-indexed with AgrS in 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 TP as in (2b) above (see Du Plessis, Visser 1992:11), Visser (1987). The relative determiner is [loyi] in [C] and the relative clause has a relative marker [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:

(3) Sotho languages:

Setswana: [lɛsɛa_i] [lê_i [pro_i lɛ_i-lɛl-a-ng]
Sepedi: [lɛsɛa_i] [lê_i [pro_i [lɛ_i-ll-a-go]
Sesotho: [lɛsɛa_i] [lê_i [pro_i lɛ_i-ll-a-ng]
 [5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying]

(4) **Xitsonga:** [ricece_i] [lɛr_i [pro_i r_i-ril-a-ka]
 (5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: 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:

(5) Relative determiner

	Agr + Defin[a]	Sepedi	Setswana	Sesotho
Class 1	-	yô	yô	ya
2	ba+a	ba	ba	ba
3	o+a	wô	ô	ô
4	e+a	yê	ê	ê
5	le+a	lê	lê	lê
6	a+a	a	a	a
7	se+a	sê	sê	sê
8	di+a	tšê	tsê	tsê
9	e+a	yê	ê	ê
10	di+a	tšê	tsê	tsê
11	lo+a	-	lô	-
14	bo+a	bjô	bô	bô
15	ho/go+a	mô	gô	hô

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)

		[Defin [la] + Agr]	Relative deternuber
Class	1	-	loyi
	2	la + va	lava
	3	la + wu	lowu
	4	la + yi	leyi
	5	la + ri	leri
	6	la + wa	lawa
	7	la + xi	lexi
	8	la + swi	leswi
	9	la + yi	leyi
	10	la + ti	leti
	14	la + byi	lebyi
	15	la + ku	loku

2.2.2 IsiXhosa and isiZulu

(7) [abantwana_i] [a-[pro_i ba_i-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:

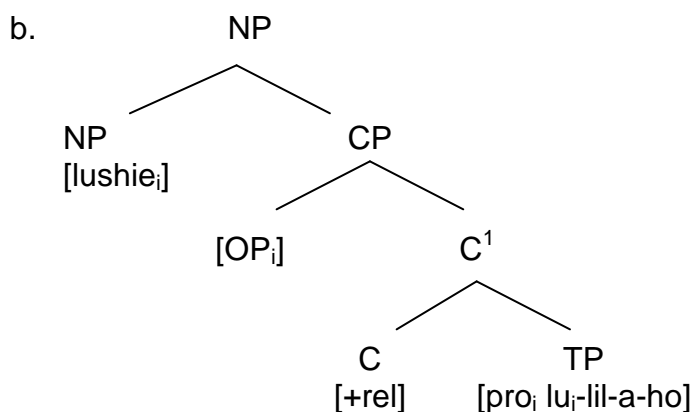
(8)

		Reldet [a] + AgrS	Coalesced form
Class	1	a + u	o
	2	a + ba	aba
	3	a + u	o
	4	a + i	e
	5	a + li	eli
	6	a + a	a
	7	a + si	esi
	8	a + zi	ezi
	9	a + i	e
	10	a + zi	ezi
	11	a + lu	olu
	14	a + bu	obu
	15	a + ku	oku

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:

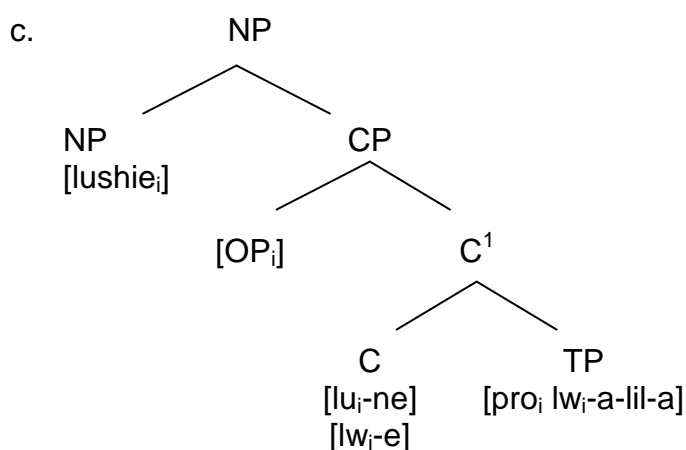
- (9) a. [lushie_i] [pro_i lu_i-lil-a-ho]
(11 baby 11 pro 11 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: the baby who is crying)



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

- (10) a. [-past **ne**]:
[lushie_i] [lu_i-ne [pro_i 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_i] [lw_i-e [pro_i lw_i-a-lil-a]
(11 baby 11 reldet (11 Agr-[+past]) 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-cry-fv:
the baby who cried)



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:

(11)

		[-past ne]	[+past e]
Class	1	a-ne	w-e (u+e)
	2	vha-ne	vh-e (vha+e)
	3	u-ne	w-e (u+e)
	4	i-ne	y-e (i+e)
	5	l8i-ne	l8-e (l8i+e)
	6	a-ne	e (a+e)
	7	tshi-ne	tsh-e (tshi+e)
	8	zwi-ne	zw-e (zwi+e)
	9	i-ne	y-e (i+e)
	10	dzi-ne	dz-e (dzi+e)
	11	lu-ne	lw-e (lu+e)
	14	vh-u-ne	h-e (vh-u+e)
	15	hu-ne	h-e (hu+e)

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_i] [pro_i vha_i-shum-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_i] [a- [pro_iba_i-sebenz-a-**yo**]
 (2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm)

Sepedi: [bana_i] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-šom-a-**go**]
 (2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-fv-rm)

Xitsonga: [vana_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-tirh-a-**ka**]
 (The children who are working)

b. **Present Tense Negative**

IsiXhosa: [abantwana_i] [a-pro_iba_i-nga-sebenz-i-**yo**]
(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)

Sepedi: [bana_i] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-sa-šom-e-**go**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)

Xitsonga: [vana_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga-tirh-i-**ki**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-neg-rm)
(The children who are not working)

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

IsiXhosa: [abantwana_i] [a-[pro_i-ba_i-sebenz-ile-**yo**]
(2 children reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)

Sepedi: [bana_i] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-šom-ile-**go**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)

Xitsonga: [vana_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-tirh-e-**ke**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-work-perf-rm)
(The children who worked)

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

Xitsonga: [vana_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga-tirh-angi-**ki**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-neg-work-negperf-rm)

Sepedi: [bana] [ba_i [pro_i ba_i-sa-šom-a-**go**]
(2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-negperf-work-fv-rm)

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

IsiXhosa: [ixhego_i] [e-[pro_i l_i-a-sebenz-a-**yo**]
(5 oldman reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-(A-past)-work-fv-rm: the old man who worked)

Summary:

	IsiXhosa	Sepedi	Xitsonga
Present Tense			
Positive	-yo	-go	-ka
Negative	-yo	-go	-ki
Perfect Tense			
Positive	-yo	-go	-ke
Negative	-	-go	-ki
A-past Tense	-yo	-	-

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_i] [e- [pro_i li_i-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

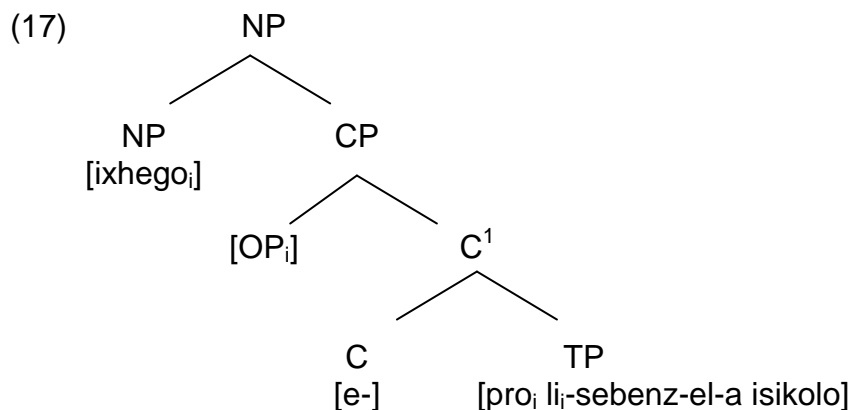
For an overview of relative clauses in various SA Bantu languages, see the following:

- 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:



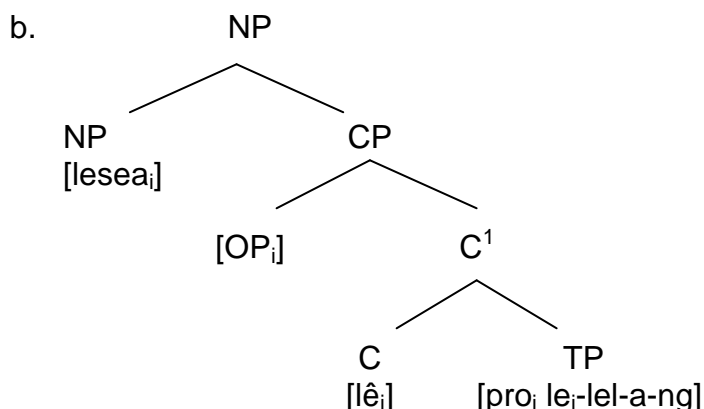
For a structure of Xitsonga relatives, see (2b) and for Tshivenda see no. (9b, 10c)

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. [lɛseɑ_i] [lê_i [p_{ro}_i lɛ_i-lɛl-a-ng]
 (5 baby 5 reldet 5 pro 5 AgrS-cry-fv-rm: 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) [leséa_i] [le_i [p_ro_i lé_i-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_i] [eo_i [ha ke-le tsietsing] pro_i a_i-m-phall-el-a-ng]
 (it is 1 he 1 reldet when I-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_i] [bao_i [e-sa-le-ng [pro_i ba_i-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 maker [-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_i] [eo_i [le yena] pro_i a_i-ne-ng pro_i a_i-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_i] [bao_i [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_i] [loyi_i [pro_i a_i-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_i a_i-]. 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_i) [l-_i [pro_i a_i-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_i] [leri_i [pro_i ri_i-ril-a-ka]
 b. [ricece_i] [leri_i [p_{ro}_i ri_i-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_i] [lama_i [pro_i m_i-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_i] [leyi_i [pro_i 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_i] [leti_i [pro_i **se**-ti_i-famb-a-ka]
 (10 cattle 10 reldet 10 pro inceptive-10 AgrS-go-fv-rm:
 the cattle who are now already going)
- b. [tihomu_i] [leti_i [pro_i **a**-ti_i-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_i] [le_i batl-a-ng lebese]
 (5 baby 5 reldet want-fv-rm 5 milk)
- Xitsonga:** [ricece_i] [leri_i lav-a-ka mafi]
 (5 baby 5 reldet want-fv-rm 6 mlik)
- Tshivenda:** a. [lushie_i] [pro_i lu_i-t8od8-a-ho luvhisi]
 (11 baby 11 pro 11 AgrS-want-fv-rm 11 milk)
 b. [lushie_i] [lu-ne_i [pro_i lw_i-a-t8od8-a luvhisi]
 (11 baby 11 reldet 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-want-fv 11 milk)
- isiXhosa:** [usana_i] [o-[pro_i lu_i-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_i] [bao_i [e-le-ng barutuwa]
 (2 children 2 reldet Agrcop-copvb-rm 2 students)
- Xitsonga:** [vana_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga vadyondzi]
 (2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 2 students)
- Tshivenda:** a. [vhana_i] [pro_i vha_i-re matshudeni]
 (2 children 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 6 students)
 b. [vhana_i] [vha-ne_i [pro_i vha_i-vha matshudeni]
 (2 children 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb 6 students)

IsiXhosa: [abantwana_i] [a- [pro_i ba_i-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_i] [ba_i dul-a-ng toropong]
(2 people 2 reldet stay-fv-rm in-town)

Xitsonga: [vanhu_i] [lava_i tsham-a-ka edorobeni]
(2 people 2 reldet stay-fv-rm in-town)

Tshivenda: a. [vhathu_i] [pro_i vha_i-dzul-a-ho d8oroboni]
(2 people 2 pro 2 AgrS-stay-fv-rm in-town)
b. [vhathu_i] [vha-ne_i [pro_i vhi-a-dzul-a d8oroboni]
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-cons-stay-fv in-town)

IsiXhosa: [abantu_i] [a-[pro_i ba_i-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_i] [ba_i le-ng toropong]
(2 people 2 reldet copvb-rm in-town)

Xitsonga: [vanhu_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-nga edorobeni]
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb in-town)

Tshivenda: a. [vhathu_i] [pro_i vha_i-re d8oroboni]
(2 people 2 pro 2 AgrS-copvb in-town)
b. [vhathu_i] [vha-ne_i [pro_i vhi-a-vha d8oroboni]
(2 people 2 reldet 2 pro 2AgrS-cons-copvb in-town)

IsiXhosa: [abantu_i] [a- [pro_i ba_i-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_i] [leyi_i [vana va-yi-rhandz-a-ka pro_i]
(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:

- (36) a. [mmbwa_i] [vhana vha-i_i-fun-a-ho pro_i]
(9 dog 2 children 2 AgrS-9AgrO-like-fv-rm-9 pro:
the dog which the children likes)
- b. [mmbwa_i] [i-ne_i [vhana vh-a-i_i-fun-a pro_i]
(9 dog 9 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-9AgrO-like-fv 9 pro:
the dog which the children likes)

In (36a) no relative determiner appears but the feature [rel] appears on COMP (see no (9b) above). In (36b) the resumptive pronoun (pro coindexed with [i]) is always optional, i.e. in relatives with a temporal feature [\pm 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_i] [a- [ba-yi_i-thand-a-yo pro_i abantwana]
(9 dog reldet 2 AgrS-9AgrO-like-fv-rm 9 pro 2 children:
the dog which the children like)

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_i] [eo_i [bana ba-e_i-rat-a-ng pro_i]
(9 dog 9 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-9AgrO-like-fv-rm 9 pro:
the dog which the children like)

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_i] [leswi_i [vavasati va-mi_i-nyik-a-ka pro_j swona_i]
(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_i] [tseo_i [basadi ba-le_j-ne-a-ng pro_j tsona_i]
(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. [zwil8iwa_i] [vhasadzi vha-nij-n8e-a-ho pro_i zwone_i]
 b. [zwiliwa_i] [zwi-ne_i [vhasadzi vh-a-nij-n8e-a pro_i zwone_i]
 (Food which the women given to you)

- IsiXhosa:** [ukutya_i] [a-[ba-nij-nik-a-yo pro_i kona_i abafazi]
 (15 food reldet 2 AgrS-2 pp AgrO-give-fv-rm 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_j enwa_j a_j-le-ng sona_i]
 (7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb-rm 7 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [pro_i] [lexi_i [wanuna_j loyi_j a_j-nga xona_i]
 (7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb 7 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** [pro_i] [tshi-ne_i [munna_j uyu_j a_j-vha tshone_i]
 (7 pro 7 reldet 1 man 1 this 1 AgrS-copvb 7 abspro)
- IsiXhosa:** [into_i] [a- [i_i-yi-yo_i indoda_j]
 (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.

The resumptive pronoun may appear in deeply embedded clauses (see i.a. Madadzhe 1997:361-365, Du Plessis, Visser 1992:344):

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

- (44) **Xitsonga:** [swivutiso_i] [leswi_i [pro_i ndzi_j-lav-a-ka [leswaku [vadyondzi
 va-swi_i-vutis-a pro_i]
 (8 questions 8 reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv-rm
 that 2 students 2 AgrS-8AgrO-ask-fv 8 pro)
- Sesotho:** [dipotso_i] [tseo_i [pro_i ke_j-batl-a-ng [hore [barutuwa ba-di_i-bots-e
 pro_i]
 (10 questions 10 reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv-rm
 that 2 students 2 AgrS-10AgrO-ask-subjunct 10 pro)

- Tshivenda:** [mbudziso_i] [pro_j ndi_j-t8od8-a-ho [uri [matshudeni a-dzi_i-vhudzis-
e
pro_i]
(10 questions 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv-rm that 6 students
6AgrS-10AgrO-ask-subjunct 10 pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [imibuzo_i] [e- [pro_j ndi_j-fun-a [ukuba [abafundi ba-yi_i-buz-e pro_i]
(4 questions reldet 1 ps pro 1 ps AgrS-want-fv that 2 students
2AgrS-4AgrO-ask-subjunct 4 pro)

In (44) the resumptive pronoun which is pro co-indexed with AgrO appears in the last CP with a complementizer (leswaku/hore/uri/ukuba).

2.4.3 The prepositional relative

2.4.3.1 Complement of the preposition [nga/hi/ka]

The resumptive pronoun has the same form as an absolute pronoun with the preposition **ka** in Sesotho and the preposition **hi** in Xitsonga. The preposition **nga** in Tshivenda and isiXhosa uses a regular pronoun ending on [-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) **Sesotho:** [selepe_i] [seo_i [monna_j a_j-rem-a-ng [ka sona_i] sefate]
(7 axe 7 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-chop-fv-rm with 7 abspro 7 tree)
- Xitsonga:** [xihloka₁] [lexi_i [wanuna_j a_j-tsem-a-ka [hi xona_i] murhi]
(7 axe 7 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-chop-fv-rm with 7 abspro 3 tree)
- Tshivenda:** [mbad8o_i] [munna_j a_j-rem-a-ho [nga-yo_i] muri]
(9 axe 1 man 1 AgrS-chop-fv-rm with-9pro 3 tree)
- IsiXhosa:** [izembe_i] [a-[i_j-gawul-a [nga-lo_i] umthi indoda_i]
(5 axe reldet 9 AgrS-chop-fv with-5pro 3 tree 9 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) **Sesotho:** [mosetsana_i] [eo_i [puo_j e_j-le-ng [ka yena_i]
(1 girl 1 reldet 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb-rm about 1 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [nhwanyana_i] [loyi_i [bulo_j ri_j-nga [hi yena_i]]
(1 girl 1 reldet 5 talk 5 AgrS-copvb about 1 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [musidzana_i] [a-ne_i [nyambo_j y_j-a-vha [nga-e_i]
(1 girl 1 reldet 9 talk 9 AgrS-cons-copvb about-1pro)
b. [musidzana_i] [nyambo_j ij-re [nga-e_i]]
(1 girl 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb about-1pro) \
- IsiXhosa:** [intombi_i] [a-[i_j-[nga-yo_i] intetho_j]
(9 girl reldet 9 AgrS-about-9pro 9 talk)
(The relative determiner will be [A+i→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_i] [bao_i [morena_j a_j-kopan-a-ng [le bona_i]]
(2 people 2 reldet 1 chief 1 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [vanhu_i] [lava_i [hosi_j y_j-hlangan-a-ka [na vona_i]]
(2 people 2 reldet 9 chief 9 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [vhathu_i] [khosi_j i_j-t8angan-a-ho [na-vho_i]]
(2 people 9 chief 9 AgrS-meet-fv-rm with 2 pro)
b. [vhathu_i] [vha-ne_i [khosi_j y_j-a-t8angan-a [na-vho_i]]
(2 people 2 reldet 9 chief 9 AgrS-cons-meet-fv with 2 pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [abantu_i] [a-[i_j-hlangan-a [na-bo_i] 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_i] [eo_i [ngwana_j a_j-na-ng [le yona_i]]
(9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb-rm with 9 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [peni_i] [leyi_i [n'wana_j a_j-nga [na yona_i]]
(9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb with 9 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [peni_i] [n'wana_j a_j-re [na-yo_i]]
(9 pen 1 child 1 AgrS-copvb with-9 pro)
b. [peni_i] [i-ne_i [n'wana_j a_j-vha [na-yo_i]]
(9 pen 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS.cons-copvb with-9 pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [usiba_i] [a_j-na-lo_i umntwana_j]
(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)

- (49) **Sesotho:** [setulo_i] [seo_i [ngwana_j a_j-dul-a-ng [ho sona_i]
(7 chair 7 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-sit-fv-rm on 7 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [xitulu_i] [lexi_i [n'wana_j a_j-tsham-a-ka [eka xona_i]
(7 chair 7 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-sit-fv-rm on 7 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [tshidulo_i] [ñwana_j a_j-dzul-a-ho [kha-tsho_i]
(7 chair 1 child 1 AgrS-sit-fv-rm on-7pro)
b. [tshidulo_i] [tshi-ne_i [ñwana_j a_j-dzul-a [kha-tsho_i]
(7 chair 7 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS.cons-sit-fv-on-7pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [isitulo_i] [a_j-hlal-a [ku-so_i] umntwana_j]
(7 chair 1reldet.AgrS-sit-fv on-7pro 1 child)

The verb in the relative clause is a copulative verb:
(English translation: the pain in which the children are)

- (50) **Sesotho:** [bohloko_i] [boo_i [bana_j ba_j-le-ng [ho bona_i]
(14 pain 14 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb-rm in 14 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [ku-vava_i] [loku_i [vana_j va_j-nga [eka kona_i]
(15 pain 15 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb in 15 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** [vhut8ungu_i] [vhana_j vha_j-re [kha-ho_i]
(14 pain 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb in-14 pro)
[vhut8ungu_i] [vhu-ne_i [vhana_j vh_j-a-vha [kha-ho_i]
(14 pain 14 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-copvb in-14 pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [ubuhlungu_i] [a- [ba_j-ku-bo_i abantwana_j]
(14 pain reldet 2 AgrS-in-14 pro 2 children)

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_i] [moo_i [monna_j a_j-dul-a-ng teng_i]
(in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm there)
- Xitsonga:** [edorobeni_i] [laha_i [wanuna_j a_j-tsham-a-ka kona_i]
(in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm loc.abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [doroboni_i] [munna_j a_j-dzul-a-ho hone_i]
(in.town 1 man 1 AgrS-stay-fv-rm loc-abspro)
b. [doroboni_i] [hu-ne_i [munna_j a_j-dzul-a hone_i]
(in.town loc.reldet 1 man 1 AgrS.cons-stay-fv loc.abspro)

isiXhosa: [edolophini;_i] [apho;_i] [i_j-hlal-a khona;_i] indoda;_i]
(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 (edolophini). 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;_i] [apho;_i] [pro_j a_j-fund-a [~~khona~~;_i] ibanga lesithoba]
(in.Springs loc.reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-study-fv [~~loc.abspro~~]
standard of.nine: (In Springs where he studies Std. 9))
- Xitsonga:** [emakhaya;_i] [laha;_i] [pro_j ndzi_j-ti-fuw-el-a [~~kona~~;_i] 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;_i] [hu-ne;_i] [pro_j a_j-khou-bik-a [~~hone~~;_i] 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;_i] [moo;_i] [pro_j ba_j-ne-ng pro_j ba_j-rek-a [teng;_i] [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]:
- [mudavhini;_i] [pro_j a_j-[hu_j]-gidim-el-a-ho pro_i]
(on.field 1 pro 1 AgrS-loc.AgrO-run-appl-fv-rm loc.pro: On the field where he is running)
 - [mudavhini;_i] [hu-ne;_i] [pro_j a_j-[hu_j]-gidim-el-a pro_i]
(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_i] [hu-ne_i [pro_i a_i-gidim-el-a [hone_i]
(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_i] [moo_i [bana_j ba_j—le-ng teng_i]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb-rm there)
- Xitsonga:** [hinkwako_i] [laha_i [vana_j va_j-nga kona_i]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb loc.abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [hot8he_i] [vhana_j vha_j-nga kona_i]
(everywhere 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb loc.abspro)
b. [hot8he_i] [hu-ne_i [vhana_j vh_j-a-vha hone_i]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-copvb
loc.abspro)
- isiXhosa:** [konke_i] [apho_i [ba_j-kho-yo abantwana_j]
(everywhere loc.reldet 2 AgrS-loc.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_i] [moo_i [pro_i ho_i-teb-ile-ng]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-deep-perf-rm)
- Xitsonga:** [enambyeni_i] [laha_i [pro_i ku_i-ent-e-ke]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-deep-perf-rm)
- Tshivenda:** [mulamboni_i] [pro_i h_i-o-ts-a-ho]
(in.river loc.pro loc.AgrS-perf-deep-fv-rm)
[mulamboni_i] [h-e_i [pro_i h_i-a-ts-a]
(in.river loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-cons-deep-fv)
- isiXhosa:** [emlanjeni_i] [apho_i [pro_i ku_i-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_i] [moo_i [pro_i ho_i-na-ng le bana]
(everywhere loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-copvb-rm with 2 children)

- Xitsonga:** [hinkwako_i] [laha_i [pro_i ku_i-nga na vana]
(everywhere loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-copvb with 2 children)
- Tshivenda:** a. [hot8he_i] [pro_i hu_i-re na vhana]
(everywhere loc.pro loc.AgrS-copvb with 2 children)
b. [hot8he_i] [hu-ne_i [pro_i h_i-a-vha na vhana]
(everywhere loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-cons-copvb with 2 children)
- IsiXhosa:** [konke_i] [apho_i [pro_i ku_i-kho abantwana]
(everywhere loc.reldet loc.pro loc.AgrS-copvb 2 children)

As in (57) the resumptive pronoun is the empty pro coindexed with AgrS.

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:** [ntja_i] [eo_i [ngwana_j a_j-lom-il-w-e-ng [ke yona_i]]
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-bite-perf-pass-perf-rm by 9 abspro)
- Xitsonga:** [mbyana_i] [leyi_i [n'wanaj a_j-lum-iw-e-ke [hi yona_i]]
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1AgrS-bite-pass-perf-rm by 9 abspro)
- Tshivenda:** a. [mmbwai_i] [n(wana_j o_j-lun(-w-a-ho [nga-yo_i])
(9 dog 1 child 1 AgrS.perf-bite-pass-fv-rm by apro)
b. [mmbwai_i] [y-e_i [n(wana_j a_j-lun(-w-a nga-yo_i))
(9 dog 9 reldet 1 child 1 AgrS-cons-bite-pass-fv by 9 pro)
- IsiXhosa:** [inja_i] [a_j-luny-w-e [yi-yo_i] umntwana_j]
(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)

- (59) **Sesotho:** [mosadi_i] [eo_i [bana_j [ba_j hae_i] ba_j-ile-ng sekolong]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 of 1 her 2 AgrS-went-rm to.school)
- Xitsonga:** [wansati_i] [loyi_i [vana_j [va_j-kwe_i] va_j-y-e-ke exikolweni]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 of-1her 2 AgrS-go-perf-rm to.school)
- Tshivenda:** a. [musadzi_i] [vhana_j [vha_j-we_i] vh_j-o-y-a-ho tshikoloni]
(1 woman 2 children 2 of-1her 2 AgrS-perf-go-fv-rm to.school)
b. [musadzi_i] [w-e_i [vhana_j [vha_j-we_i] vh_j-a-y-a tshikoloni]
(1 woman 1 reldet 2 children 2 of-1her 2 AgrS-cons-go-fv to.school)
- IsiXhosa:** [umfazi_i] [o_i-[bantwana_j [ba_j-khe_i] ba_j-y-e esikolweni]
(1 woman 1 reldet.AgrS-2 children 2 of-1 her 2 AgrS-go-perf 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 I → **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:** [moruti_i] [eo_i [bana_j [ba_j hae_i] e-le-ng baithuti]
(1 preacher 1 reldet 2 children 2 of 1 him agrcop-copvb-rm 2 students)
- Xitsonga:** [mufundhisi_i] [loyi_i [vana_j [va_j-kwe_i] va_j-nga vadyondzi]
(1 preacher 1 reldet 2 children 2 of 1 him 2 AgrS-copvb 2 students)
- Tshivenda:** a. [mufundzi_i] [vhana_j [vha_j-we_i] vha_j-re matshudeni]
(1 preacher 2 children 2 of-1 him 2AgrS-copvb 6 students)
b. [mufundzi_i] [a-ne_i [vhana_j [vha_j-we_i] vh-a-vha matshudeni]
(1 preacher 1 reldet 2 children 2 of-1 him 2 AgrS-cons-copvb 6 students)
- IsiXhosa:** [umfundisi_i] [o_i-[bantwana_j [ba_j-khe_i] ba_j-[ng-[abafundi]
(1 preacher 1 reldet.AgrS-2 children 2 of-1 him 2 AgrS-copula-2 students)

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_i] [loyi_i] [vavasati_j va_j-swek-a-ka [swakudya_k [swa_k-kwe_i]]
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of-1 him)
- Sesotho:** [leqheku_i] [leo_i] [basadi_j ba_j-pheh-a-ng [dijo_k [tsa_k lona_i]]
(5 old.man 5 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of 5 him)
- Tshivenda:** a. [mukalaha_i] [vhasadzi_j vha_j-bik-a-ho [zwil8iwa_k [zwa_k-we_i]]
(1 old.man 2 women 2 AgrS-cook-fv-rm 8 food 8 of 1 him)
b. [mukalaha_i] [a-ne_i] [vhasadzi_j-vh-a-bik-a [zwil8iwa_k [zwa_k-we_i]]
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 women 2 AgrS-cons-cook-fv 8 food 8 of-1 him)
- IsiXhosa:** [ixhego_i] [a- [ba_j-bik-a [ukutya_k [kwa_k-lo_i]] abafazi_j]
(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. **swakudya** 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_i] [loyi_i] [vana_j va_j-nga [vapfuni_k [va_k-kwe_i]]
(1 old.man 1 reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-copvb 2 helpers 2 of-1 him)
- Sesotho:** [leqheku_i] [leo_i] [bana_j e-le-ng [bathusi_k [ba_k lona_i]]
(5 old.man 5 reldet 2 children agrcop-copvb-rm 2 helpers 2 of 5 him)
- Tshivenda:** [mukalaha_i] [vhana_j vha_j-re [vhathusi_k [vha_k-we_i]]
[mukalaha_i] [a-ne_i] [vhana_j vh_j-a-vha [vhathusi_k [vha_k-we_i]]
(1 old.man reldet 2 children 2 AgrS-cons-copvb 2 helpers 2 of 1 him)
- IsiXhosa:** [ixhego_i] [a-[ba_k- [ng-[abancedi_j [ba_j-lo_i]] abantwana_k]]
(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_i] [leo_i] [mosadi_j a_j-seh-a-ng nama [ka [thipa_k [ya_k lona_i]
(5 old.man 5 reldet 1 woman 5 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with
9 knife 9 of 5 him)
- Xitsonga:** [madala_i] [loyi_i] [wansati_j a_j-tsem-a-ka nyama [hi [mukwana_k [wa_k-
kwe_i]
(1 old.man 1 reldet 1 woman 1 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with 3 knife
3 of-1 him)
- Tshivenda:** a. [mukalaha_i] [musadzi_j a_j-tshe-a-ho n8ama [nga [lufhanga_k
[lwa_k-we_i]
(1 old.man 1 woman 1 AgrS-cut-fv-rm meat with 11 knife 11
of-1 him)
b. [mukalaha_i] [a-ne_i] [musadzi_j a_j-tshe-a n8ama [nga [lufhanga_k
[lwa_k-we_i]
(1 old.man 1 reldet 1 woman 1 AgrS.cons-cut-fv meat with
11 knife 11 of-1 him)
- IsiXhosa:** [ixhego_i] [a- [ba_j-sik-a inyama [nge- [mela_k [ya_k-lo_i] abafazi_j]
(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_i] [eo_i] [puo_j-e_j-le-ng [ka [mathata_k [a_k hae_i]
(1 child 1 reldet 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb-rm about 6 troubles 6 of 1
him)
- IsiXhosa:** [umntwana_i] [e_j-[ngee-[ngxaki_k [za_k-khe_i] intetho_j]
(1 child 9 reldet.AgrS-about-10 troubles 10 of 1 him 9 talk)
- Xitsonga:** [n'wana_i] [loyi_i] [bulo_j ri_j-nga [hi [swiphiko_k [swa_k-kwe_i]
(1 child 1 reldet 5 talk 5 AgrS-copvb about 8 problems 8 of-1
him)
- Tshivenda:** a. [n(wana_i) [nyambo_j i_j-re [nga [thaidzo_k [dza_k-we_i]
(1 child 9 talk 9 AgrS-copvb about 10 troubles 10 of-1 him)
b. [n(wana_i) [a-ne_i] [nyambo_j y_j-a-vha [nga [thaidzo_k [dza_k-we_i]
(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/hi] 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:** [mosadi_i] [eo_i] [bana_j ba_j-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_j va_j-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_j vha_j-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_j vh_j-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_i] [a- [ba_j-sebenz-a [no- [myeni_k [wa_k-khe_i] abantwana_j]
(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_j le_j-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_j a_j-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_j a_j-re [na [bere_k [ya_k-we_i]
(1 man 1 oldlman 1 AgrS-copvb with 9 horse 9 of-1 him)
b. [munna_i] [a-ne_i] [mukalaha_j a_j-vha [na [bere_k [ya_k-we_i]
(1 man 1 reldet 1 oldlman 1 AgrS.cons-copvb with 9 horse
9 of-1 him)
- IsiXhosa:** [indoda_i] [e- [li_j- [ne-[hashe_k [la_k-yo_i] ixhego_j]
(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_j a_i-y-a-ng [ho [bana_k [ba_k bona_i]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 children 2 of 2
them)

- Xitsonga:** [vavasati_i] [lava_i [wanuna_j a_j-y-a-ka [eka [vana_k [va_k vona_i]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 children 2 of 2 them)
- Tshivenda:** a. [vhasadzi_i] [munna_j a_j-y-a-ho [kha [vhana_k [vha_k-vho_i]
(2 women 1 man 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm to 2 children 2 of-2 them)
b. [vhasadzi_i] [vha-ne_i [munna_j a_j-y-a [kha [vhana_k [vha_k-vho_i]
(2 women 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS.cons-go-fv to 2 children 2 of-2 them)
- IsiXhosa:** [abafazi_i] [e_j-y-a- [ku-[bantwana_k [ba_k-bo_i] indoda_j]
(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_i] [bao_i [monna_j a_j-le-ng [sekolong_k [sa_k bona_i]
(2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb-rm in.7school 7 of 2 them)
- Xitsonga:** [vana_i] [lava_i [wanuna_j a_j-nga [exikolweni_k [xa_k vona_i]
((2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb in.7school 7 of 2 them)
- Tshivenda:** a. [vhana_i] [munna_j a_j-re [tshikoloni_k [tsha_k-vho_i]
(2 children 1 man 1 AgrS-copvb in.7 school 7 of-2 them)
b. [vhana_i] [vha-ne_i [munna_j a_j-vha [tshikoloni_k [tsha_k-vho_i]
(2 children 2 reldet 1 man 1 AgrS.cons-copvb in.7 school 7 of-2 them)
- IsiXhosa:** [abantwana_i] [e_j-s- [esikolweni_k [sa_k-bo_i] indoda_j]
(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_i AgrS_i]: 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_i pro_i]: 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_i pro_i]

- (69) a. [Swambalo_i] [leswi_i [pro_j ndzi_j-nga-vona [pro_k u_k-swi_i-ambar-ile pro_i]
(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_i pro_i)
- b. [xivutiso_i] [lexi_i [pro_j a-a_j-rhandza [ku-xi_i-vutisa pro_i]
(7 question 7 reldet 1 pro past-1 AgrS-like to-7 AgrO-ask 7 pro:
question which he liked to ask (xi_i pro_i)

Resumptive pronoun: absolute pronoun:

- (70) [vanhu_i] [lava_i [pro_j a-a_j-tshama ni ku-hanya na vona_i]
(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. [pro_i] [lexi_i [pro_j ndzi_j-rhandza-ka [ku-ku-byela pro_i]
(7 pro 7 reldet 1 pspro I-like-rm to-you-ask 7 pro:
what I like to ask you) (pro_i)
- b. [nyama_i] [leyi_i [pro_j a_j-nga-te [pro_j ndzi_j-nyika pro_i ximanga]
(9 meat 9 reldet 1 pro 1 AgrS-past-said 1pspro I-give 9 pro 7 cat:
(meat which she said I give to cat) (pro_i)

Sesotho:

In an Infinitival clause:

- (72) a. [metswako_i] [eo_i [pro_j ke_j-lokela-ng [ho-e_i-sebedisa pro_i]
 (4 mixtures 4 reldet 1 pspro I-must-rm to-4AgrO-use 4 pro:
 mixtures which I must use (AgrO_i pro_i) (Khaketla 1960:92)
- b. [thaka tsa hae_i] [tseo_i [pro_j a_j-tshwanetse-ng [ho-bapala] kapa
 [ho-tsamaya le tsona_i]
 (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_i] [leo_i [pro_j a_j-rata-ng [hore [kaofela ha bona_k] pro_i
 le_j-ba_k-tshwase]
 (5 snare 5 reldet 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_i AgrS_i) (Khaketla 1960:89)
- b. [malapa_i] [ao_i pro_j ke_j-tseba-ng [hore [pro_i a_i-na [le [barwetsana_k [ba_k
 o₁-lokela-ng pro₁]
 (6 households 6 reldet 1 ps pro I-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_i AgrS_i) (Maake 1995).
- c. [banna ba bang_i] [bao_i [pro_j re_j-se-ng [pro_j re_j-bon-e [hore [morao tjena]
 ditaba_k pro₁ o₁-di_k-sebetsa [le bona_i]
 (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 pspro 2 ps you-10 AgrO-work
 with them_i; other men who we already saw that thus later the issues
 you work them with them) (bona_i; abspro) (Khaketla 1960:98)
- d. [seqhomane_i [sa kgalefo]] [seo_i [pro_j ho_j-ne-ng [pro_j ho-bonahala
 [hore [ha pro_i se_i-ka-qhoma] pro_i se_i-tla-petsola mafika]
 (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_i AgrS_i)
 (Khaketla 1960:98)
- e. [mohatleng_i] [moo_i [pro_j ho_j-bonahala-ng [hore [pro_k o_k-ile pro_k a_k-e₁-otla
 pro₁ [teng_i]
 (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_i] [eo_i [pro_j ho_j-ne-ng [pro_j ho_j-bonahala [hore [setswalle [sa hae_i]
 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 diphetoho [lefatshengi] [leo_i [pro_i a_j-ne-ng [pro_j a_j-le_i-tseba pro_i [pro_i le_i-se pro_i le_i-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. pro_i AgrS_i (le), b. AgrO_i pro_i (le) (Moilola 1971:36)
- b. [noha yane_i] [eo_i [pro_j a_j-fuman-e-ng [pro_i e_i-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) (pro_i AgrS_i (e) (Khaketla 1960:85).
- c. [phetoho_i] [eo_i [pro_j ba_j-fumana-ng [morena wa bona_k [pro_k a_k-e-na [le yona_i]
 (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. [moroho ona_i] [oo_i [basadi_j ba_j-ne-ng pro_j ba_j-a-qathatsa pro_k 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) (AgrO_i pro_i (-o-)) (Moilola 1971:29)
- e. [selotho_i] [seo_i [e-le-ng kgale [pro_j a_i-se_i-losa pro_i]
 (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) (AgrO_i pro_i (-se-))

Resumption in a clause after the verb **re**:

- (75) a. A-tshwana le [motho_i] [eo_i [e-re-ng [ha [pro_i a_i-lokela [ho-bua ntho e thata], [pro_i a_i-nahan-e mokgwa o motle]
 (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) (pro_i AgrS_i (a-)) (Khaketla 1960:100)
- b. O-ne a-boetse a-thuisa [ditaba tseo_i]. [Yare [moo_j [pro_k a_k-re-ng [pro_k o_k-tla-di-tlohela pro_i] pro_k a_k-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) (AgrO_i pro_i (-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 tsa hae]_i, [tseo_i [pro_j a_j-tshwanetse-ng [ho-bapala kapa ho-tsamaya [le tsona_i]
 (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**) (Moilola 1971:18).

The antecedent above is [thaka tsa 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

See i.a. Grimshaw (1978), Grosu (2002) and Van Riemsdijk (2006:340): "A free 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_i] [pro_i o_i-gul-a-yo]
 (1 student 1 pro 1 reldet. AgrS-ill-fv-rm: a student who is ill)
- b, [pro_i] [pro_i 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_i] [loyi_i [pro_i a_i-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_i] [pro_i 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_i] [y_i- [pro_i a_i-ka-hanyets-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-d8ivh-i [pro_i] [pro_i 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_i] [pro_i zw_i-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_i] [lexi_i [pro_j u_j-vula-vula-ka [xona_i]
(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_i] [leswi_i [pro_j u_j-swi_i-vul-a-ka]
(8 AgrS-pres-be.forbidden [8 pro] 8 reldet 2 ps pro 2 ps
AgrS-8 AgrO-say-rm: it is forbidden what you say)

- Sesotho:** Re-emetse [pro_i] [seo_i [pro_j ba_j-tla-se_i-bu-a pitsong: we-waited-
for what they-will-say in-the-meeting]

(c) Noun class 9 in isiXhosa:

- (80) [pro_i] [e [-pro_j si_j-nga-[y_i]-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_i] [o- [pro_i ku_i-phum-a-
yo [pro a-ngenis-e [pro_i] [o- [pro_i 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-neut.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_i] [hoo_i [pro_j ke-sa-[ho_i]-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_i] [apho_i [pro_j ba_j-vel-a khona_i]
(neg-I-know [loc.pro] loc.reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-come.from
loc.abspro: I don't know where they come from)

- Sesotho:** Ha-re-tseb-e [pro_i] [moo_i [pro_j ba_j-tsw-a-ng teng_i]
(not-we-know [loc.pro] loc.reldet 2 pro 2 AgrS-come.from-fv-rm
there: we don't know where they come from)

- Xitsonga:** a-a-vuy-ile [pro_i] [laha_i [pro_j a-a-y-ile kona_i]
(past-1 AgrS-come.back-perf [locpro] locreldet 1 pro past-
1AgrS-
go-perf loc.abspro: he came back from where he went)

Tshivenda: A-mu-vhudzisa [pro_i] [hu-ne_i [pro_j a_j-khou-y-a hone_i]
 (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_i [pro_j a_j-rat-a-ng [ka-[teng_i]
 (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_i [pro_j-ho_j-rat-a-ng yena [ka-teng_i]
 (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_i [pro_j u_j-vul-a-ka [ha-[kona]
 (we-will-do with-loc.reldet 2 ps AgrS-say-fv-rm possha-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):

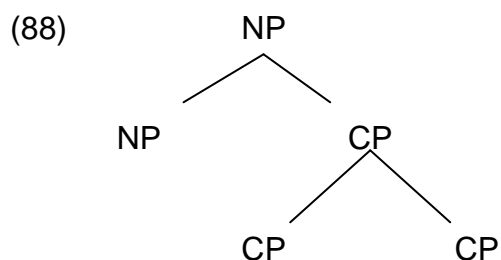
(86) Tirhisani [pro_i] [leswi_i [pro_j mi_j-[swi_i]-lav-is-a-ka [xi-[swona_i]
 (Work-you 8 pro 8 reldet 2 pp pro 2 pp AgrS-8AgrO-like-caus-fv-rm
 xi-8 abspro: work how you like it)

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 (87):

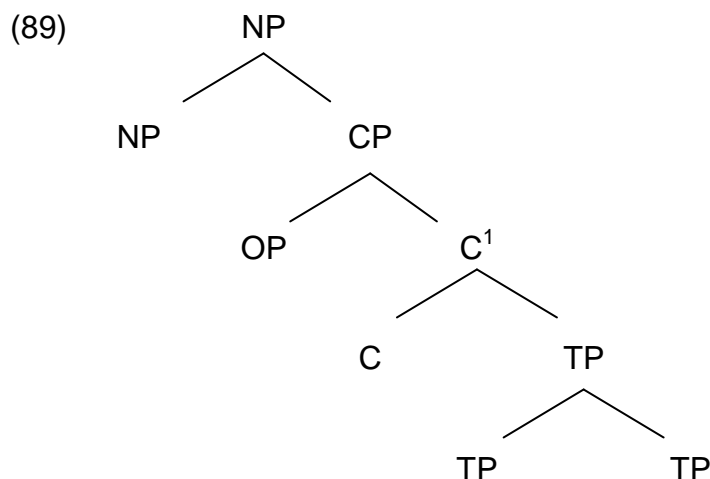
(87) Tirhisani [hi-[laha [mi-swi-lav-is-a-ka [ha-[kona]
 (Work as you like it)

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:



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:



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_i] [leswi_i [~~pro_i~~ swi_i-nga-onhek-a] ni [leswi_i [~~pro_i~~ swi_i-karhi pro_i swi_i-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. [timpahla_i] [leti_i [~~pro_i~~ ti_i-nghen-a-ka] na [leti_i [~~pro_i~~ ti_i-hum-a-ka] na [leti_i [~~pro_i~~ ti_i-tis-iw-a-ka hi malori]
 ([10 goods] 10 rel det 10 ~~pro 10 AgrS~~-go.in fv-rm and 10 reldet 10 ~~pro 10 AgrS~~-go.out-fv-rm and 10 reldet 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 [pro_j a-a_j-hox-a kona] na [lomu_i [pro_j a-a_j-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 (Khosha 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 [\pm past] (see no. (9) and (10) above).

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

- (91) [zwi_l8iwa_i] [pro_i zwi_i-d_l8ifh-a-ho] na [pro_i zwi_i-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_l8a [vhat_l8hannga na vhan(we_i) [vha-ne_i [pro_i vha_i-khou-ri-thus-a] [vha-ne_i [pro_i vha_i-sa-tou-vh-a [pro_j] [pro_j vh-o-livhan-a-ho na hel_l8i 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-rm 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-d_l8o-wan-a tshin(we na tshin(we)
 (It-is [person] [1 pro 1 AgrS.perf-be.good-fv-rm] [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_i-o-adz-a-ho] [hu-ne_i [pro_i h_i-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_l8evhut_l8alu 1995:41).
- c. D_l8ipfeni ni d_l8ivhumbe, ni-vh-e [lushaka_i] [pro_i lw_i-o-khwat_l8h-a-ho] [lu-ne_i [pro_i lw_i-a-d_l8i-khod_l8-a kha zwa mvelelo yalwo]
 (hear yourself and form yourself, you-become-subjunct [11 family] [11 pro 11 AgrS-perf-be.strong-fv-rm] [11 reldet 11 pro 11 AgrS-cons-refl-praise-fv at 8-of 9-success 9-of-11-it: Hear yourself and form yourself and become a family which is strong and which praises itself with things of its success] (Maumela, Madima 1972:86).

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-ng meetlo eo ho-i-kgeth-el-a [ngwana_i] [y_i-[pro a_i-tla-bola-w-a] **le** [y_i-[pro_i a_i-tla-phel-a?]
(It.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_i] [y_i- [pro_i a_i-sa-y-e-ng ka leeme le tshobotsi] **empa** [y_i-[pro_i a_i-y-a-ng ka toka le tshwanelo]
(There-says-so I Kganyapa, [I 1 reldet-1 pro 1 AgrS-neg-go-neg-rm with partiality and bias] but [1 reldet-1 pro 1 AgrS-go-fv-rm 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_i] [ba_i [pro_i kul-a-ng haholo] **kapa** [ba_i [pro_i se-ng pro_i ba_i-i-tlhol-el-w-a ke ditho]
(There-was there-is-not who remained, except for [2 them] [2 reldet.AgrS 2 pro be.ill-fv-rm much] or [2 reldet.AgrS 2 pro already-rm 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_i feela] [se_i [pro_i se-na-ng maikutlo] [se_i [pro_i akarets-a-ng borena le meetlo]
(chief is [7 ghost only] [7 reldet.AgrS 7 pro neg-copvb-rm opinions] [7 reldet.AgrS 7 pro sum.up-fv-rm 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_i] [hoo_i [pro_i ke_i-ho_i-bolel-a-ng pro_i], [hoo_i [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-rm pro], [reldet in.opinion of you copAgr-neg-rm 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 kgopolo ya hao ka [diphetoho tsena_i] [tse_i [pro_i ntse-ng pro_i di_i-ets-ahal-a], [tse_i [pro_i bile-ng pro_i di_i-ntse-ng pro_i di_i-tsw-el-a pele ho-ets-ahal-a]
(not-I-know thought of you about [10 changes 10 these] [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro continually-rm 10 pro 10 AgrS-do-neutpass-fv], [10 reldet.AgrS 10 pro then-rm 10 pro 10 AgrS-continually-rm 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] (Moilola 1971:36).

- c. Ke-akaretsa [tsohle_i] [tse_i [pro_i phel-a-ng], [tse_i [pro_i tseb-a-ng ho-tsamaya]
(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 hae_i] [o_i [pro_i dul-a-ng ka pokothong], [oo_i [pro_i a_j-ne-ng pro_i a_j-ntsh-a tjelete ho wona_i], 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 money 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_i] [oo_i [pro_i o_j-o_i-sebets-a-ng pro_i], [oo_i [pro_i o_j-sa-rat-e-ng ha pro re-o_i-tseb-a pro_i]
(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_i], [le_i [pro_i tletse-ng lerato], [le_i [pro_i 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_i], [le_i [pro_i tshwehl-a-ng], [le_i [pro_i 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_i] [e_j- [pro_i be-pro_j-ndi_j-nga-yi-thand-i pro_i] n- [e_j-pro_j-nga-z-anga pro_i nd_j-a-yi-phuph-a pro_i]
(I-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-[xhego_i] [e_i- [pro_i li_i-mnandi kakhulu] n- [e_i- [pro_i li_i-yi_j-thand-a-yo ingxoxo_j]
 (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_i] [e_i- [pro_i zi_i-phuth-ile-yo] [e_i- [pro_i zi_i-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 1959:48).

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_i] [e_i- [pro_i nga-v-akal-i-yo], [e_i- [pro_i 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_i] [o- [si- [si-thungu], [o- [pro hamb-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_i] [ba_i- [pro_i n_j-thus-a-ng pro_j] [pro_i ba_i-n_j-tem-el-e pro_j 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 ploughing the lands for me)
- IsiXhosa:** Kodwa ezi zinto zi-ya-dlula zi-fane ne-[zulu_i] [e_i- [pro_i-be-pro_ili_i-dudum-a] [pro_i li_i- buy-e pro_i li_i-zol-e]
 (But these things they-pass they-resemble with-[5 weather]

[reldet-5 pro-defvb-5 pro-5 AgrS-rumble-fv] [5 pro 5 AgrS-defvb-subjunct 5 pro 5 AgrS-be.calm-subjunct]: but these things pass and they resemble the weather which was rumbling and again becomes calm)

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_i] [moo_i [dinku_j di_j-fihl-ile-ng] [pro_j ts_j-a-both-a teng_i], [pro_j ts_j-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_i] [e- [pro_i li-a-fik-a] [pro_i li-a-m_j-buza pro_j ukuba ngu-ye na inkosikazi kaSolomon, wa-vuma la-m-nika [incwadi_i] [e_i-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 **fihlile** (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-buza]. 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_i] [eo_i [pro_j ke_j-ne-ng pro_j ke_j-mo_i-hloneph-a pro_i], [pro_j ke_j-mo_i-kgumamel-a pro_i]
(person he-was he-is [one only] [1 reldet 1 pspro 1 psAgrS-defvb-rm 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_i] [eo_i [pro_j ba_j-tla-nne pro_j ba_j-e_i-bes-e] [pro_j ba_j-e_i-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_i] [loyi_i pro_i a_i-dy-a-ka [pro_i a_i-tlhela pro_i 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_i] [lava_i [pro_i va_i-fanele-ke ku-sala [pro_i 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_i] [leyi_i [pro_i yi-hany-a-ka [pro_i 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-tlhola 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_i] [u-ne_i [pro_j nd_j-a-l8-a nga-wo_i [pro_j nd_j-a-n(wal-a nga-wo_i]
 (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_i) [zwi-ne [pro_i zw_i-a-nga-it-e-a [pro_i zw_i-a-kwam-a muya wa-n8u]
 (8 some.things [8 reldet 8 pro 8 AgrS-consec-do-neutpass-fv [8 pro 8

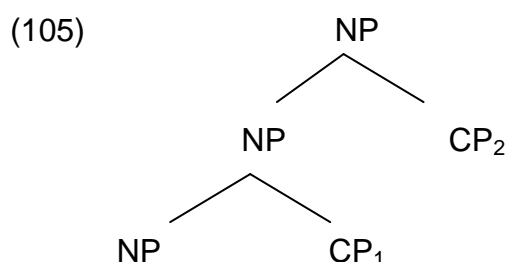
AgrS-consec-touch-fv soul of-you]: some things which can be done which touch your soul] (Maisha 1990:70)

- c. [muthu_i] [pro_i o_i-d8i-doswol-a-ho [pro_i a_i-sala pro_i o_i-kuna]
 (1 person [1 pro 1 AgrS.perf-refl-clean-fv-rm [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-l8a], 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:



Restrictive stacked relative clauses:

(106) IsiXhosa

- a. Wa-funda into entsha yo-kuba ngu-[mntu_i] [o_i-pheth-e imali [o_i-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-pas-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_i] [e-[ma-[pro_i zi-cel-w-e kuThixo [e- [pro_i 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_i] [a- [pro_i ba-zi-theth-ile-yo pro_i [a_k-nga-zi-thand-anga pro_i]
 (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. [CP₁] followed by [CP₂].

Sesotho

- (107) O-ne a-e-na le [thutonyana;_i] [e;_i [p_{ro}_i e;_i-fokol-a-ng [e_o_i [p_{ro}_j a;_i-ne-ng p_{ro}_j a;_j-tl-e le yona;_i]
 (he-was he-has with 9 little.education [9 reldet.AgrS-poor-fv-rm [9 reldet 1 p_{ro} 1 AgrS-past-rm 1 p_{ro} 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;_i] [e-[p_{ro}_j ndi;_j-van-a kakhulu na-zo;_i, [e- [p_{ro}_j ndi;_j-zi-xabis-e p_{ro}_j ngaphezu kw-ezi za-lapha]
 (There-are 10 girls [reldet 1 p_{sp}ro 1 p_sAgrS-be.friendly-fv much with-10 them [reldet 1 p_{sp}ro 1 p_sAgrS-10 AgrO-regard-perf 10 p_{ro} 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;_i] [e_o_i [yena;_j a;_j-e-i-rat-a-ng p_{ro}_i, [p_{ro}_j a;_j-e-i-tlwaets-e-ng]
 (It is with wonder this only he-can-know-rm to-let.enter man [9 in.road this] [9 reldet 1 abs_{pro}_j 1 AgrS-9 AgrO-like-rm 9 p_{ro}, [1 p_{ro} 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 [p_{ro}_j] [seo;_i [p_{ro}_j a;_j-se-i-lakats-a-ng p_{ro}_i, [p_{ro}_j a;_j-se-i-hopots-e-ng]
 (clay it-should-not it-him-question, he-find it-agree to-make [7 p_{ro}] [7 reldet 1 p_{ro} 1 AgrS-7 AgrO-wish-fv-rm 7 p_{ro}, [1 p_{ro} 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. [e_o] 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_i] [pro_i u_i-nga-sa-nd_j-azi-yo pro_j]
 (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**_o] [pro_i re_i-ka-mo_j-rut-a-ng pro_j]
 (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**]_i] [pro_i a_i-va_j-onhel-e-ke pro_j]
 (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_i] [pro_i i_i-ndij-khathaz-a-yo pro_j]
 (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]_i] [pro_i 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]_i] [pro_i a_i-nga-ndzi_j-vek-a pro_j 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]_i] [pro_i a_i-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]_i] [pro_i ndi_j-y_i-oyik-a-yo pro_j]
 (There-is-not 9 thing I 9 AgrO-fear-fv-rm 9 pro: there is nothing that I am afraid of)

Indefiniteness with interrogatives:

- (114) **IsiXhosa:** Ngaba ku-kho [nto]_i] [pro_i u_j-pheth-e yona_i?]
 (Maybe there-is 9 thing you-touch-perf 9 it?: Is there maybe something which you touched?)
- Xitsonga:** I [mani]_i] [pro_i a_i-nga-ta-vilel-a?]
 (It.is who 1 AgrS-fut-complain-fv?: It is who who will complain?)
- Sesotho:** Ho-ya ka eng [ntatae]_i] [pro_i a_i-sa-ka-ng pro_i a_i-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:

IsiXhosa: See Du Plessis (1978:243-271) and Du Plessis and Visser (1992:183-217).

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] [pro_i ndi_j-fik-a-yo]
(9day 1pspro 1psAgrS-arrive-fv-rm: the day I arrived)

Causal:

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

Concession:

(117) [Nangona] [pro_i ndi_j-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-ng 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 pjheng]
 (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 ntseng 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 sebitseng]?
 (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 **1a** with AgrS: [la + xi → lexi] and in Setswana an AgrS morpheme with a definite morpheme [a]: [le + a → lê]. 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

loc	locative
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
OP	operator
pass	passive
perf	perfect tense
pro	pronoun
progr	progressive
rel	relative
reldet	relative determiner
rm	relative marker
Spec	specifier
subjunct	subjunctive
T	tense
TP	tense phrase
V	verb

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