

THE PREDICATIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN TSONGA  
(A descriptive study of its form and function)

by

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"Ku dya i kengeta".

(To eat is to repeat).

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This dissertation is dedicated to

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Mrs. R.E.S. Mabyalane  
and to all the Mabyalanes

without whose guardianship my talents would not  
have seen the light of day.



DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation for the degree Master of Arts at the University of the North hereby submitted by me, had not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or at another university, and that it is my work in design and in execution and that all material contained herein is recognised.

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### 0.1 Motivation

In Tsonga, as far as we are aware, very little of scholastic significance has been done in the field of the relative. However, even in cases where these studies were undertaken little attention was paid to the predicative relative clause constructions. By "predicative relative clause constructions" we refer to the qualificative clauses with verbal and copulative elements or forms. At times some attention was given to the verbal relative constructions but practically nothing was then said about the copulative. Still, even the information about verbal relative construction is scanty and superficial. Mention can be made of scholars such as Beuchat and Dr. Baumbach who have devoted some attention to the relative construction in Tsonga. But, they, too, only refer to this in passing when discussing certain linguistic aspects of major concern to them. For instance, Dr. Baumbach, in his unpublished M.A. dissertation and his Doctoral thesis entitled 'n Klank en Vormleer in Songa and 'n Klassifikasie van die Tsongadialekte van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, respectively, refers to the relative construction only in brief. A limited number of Tsonga school grammars include a few paragraphs dealing very superficially with the verbal relative construction. Thus the field of the relative construction in Tsonga is still unexplored and justifies a more serious investigation.

### 0.2 Object of study

The main object of this study is to investigate as closely as possible, all features of the predicative relative construction, as noted in the Tsonga literature and, as observed in ordinary speech or conversation. This study



focusses attention on the examination of the form and the function of the constructions, grouped together under the category of word-groups referred to as the relative predicatives. Since a language study is never complete, our present study may also be found wanting in certain respects. Nonetheless, this study, it is hoped, will stimulate further research on the subject.

### 0.3 Method of investigation

The material that is analyzed has been obtained from existing Tsonga literature as well as from informants during formal and informal conversations. This data was collected in the form of brief notes and, where necessary, a tape-recorder was used in the collection of data. In analysing this material, all relative constructions will receive attention.

### 0.4 Manner of presentation

This study is divided into five chapters. In Chapter I the work already done by others on the relative construction in a number of languages is briefly examined. Particular reference is made to contributions made by Doke in Zulu and in Southern Sotho, Cole in Tswana, van Eeden in Southern Sotho and Fortune in Shona. These will be dealt with to give a general background to the problematic nature of the relative construction in the various Bantu languages. Special reference will then be made to studies in Tsonga by Beuchat and Baumbach. This chapter will include a comparative evaluation of the contributions made by several scholars and a summary of the most significant features.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the investigation of the morphology of the verbal relative construction in Tsonga in the direct and the indirect relationships. In Chapter 3, the question of mood will be briefly investigated.

Opinions of linguists on this question of moods will be sought to enable us to determine whether the relative could be regarded as a proper mood or not, that is, whether in our conjugation of the relative clause we could refer to various moods. Linguistic criteria such as morphology, syntax, semantics and phonology will be used to help establish this. After demonstrating the position of the relative, Chapter 4 will logically follow, wherein the direct and the indirect verbal relative clauses will be fully conjugated. Deficient verbs, auxiliary verbs, modal formatives etc. will be employed in the perfective and imperfective aspects. Chapter 5 will treat the copulative relative constructions - form and conjugation. When all is said and done, the study will be rounded off by giving a summary of our findings as regards the form and the function of the predicative relative clause constructions.

#### 0.5 Orthography

As far as practicable all examples are, in principle, written according to the current official orthography. This is consolidated in the Departemental Orthography for Tsonga entitled Tsonga Terminology and Orthography, No. 3 1972. However, for reasons of linguistic significance, it has been decided to write the SC and the OC as prefixes to the verbal forms. These concords will be hyphenated to the verbal stems to meet the official orthography half-way.

## CHAPTER I

## EARLIER STUDIES ON THE PREDICATIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

From what follows below, it will be noticed that scholars treat this subject differently.

1.1 In The Textbook of Zulu Grammar Doke's opening remark on the chapter dealing with the relative construction, is a comparison of the English and Zulu relative constructions. He observes that :

"In English there are relative pronouns which are capable of being used; some as subject, others as object and others as either subject or object of the subordinate verb. In Zulu, in place of the relative pronoun, there is the relative concord, but this relative concord can only be used as subject of the relative predicate" (Doke, 1954, p.318).

After this comparison, Doke divides the relative constructions into two distinct sets, namely, "those which have a relative concord in agreement with the antecedent (The relative of direct relationship) and those which show that agreement not in the relative concord with which they begin, but in some other way (The relative of indirect relationship)" (Doke, 1954, p. 318)

The direct relative relationship is divided by Doke into the following sub-heads :



- (a) that formed from relative stems :  
*abantwana bafunda isifundo sabo esilukhuni*  
 (The children are learning their difficult lesson)
- (b) that formed from copulatives :  
*sinenkosi engumfundisi*  
 (we have a chief who is a teacher)
- (c) that formed by subjectival verb relationship  
 These are divided into two types :
- (i) the plain subjectival relationship  
 e.g. *umuntu ohambileyo*  
 (the person who went)
- (ii) the subjectival possessive relationship  
 e.g. *izinkomo ezimilenze yazo inodaka/ayinadaka*  
 (the cattle whose legs are muddy/are not muddy)  
 (with indicative predicate)  
*izinkomo ezimilenze yazo enodaka/engenadaka*  
 (the cattle whose legs are muddy/are not muddy)  
 (with relative predicate)  
*izinkomo ezimilenze yazo inodaka/ingenadaka*  
 (the cattle whose legs are muddy/are not muddy)  
 (with special participial predicate)

Under the indirect relationship Doke shows all the oblique cases of the relative clause construction in Zulu and these he groups as follows :

- (a) Objectival relationship which he sub-divides into :

- (i) plain objectival relationship  
*abantu engibabonayo*  
 (the people whom I see)
- (ii) objectival possessive relationship  
*umuntu engibone induna yakhe*  
 (the person whose captain I saw)
- (b) Adverbial relationship which he also sub-divides into :
- (i) locative relationship  
*indlu umuntu ahlala kuyona*  
 (the house in which a person lives)
- (ii) conjunctive relationship  
*abantu engihamba nabo bangamaThembu*  
 (the people with whom I travel are Thembu)
- (iii) instrumental relationship  
*induku engamshaya ngayo*  
 (the stick with which I struck him)
- (iv) agentive relationship  
*umuntu ashaywa nguyey useboshiwe*  
 (the person by whom he was struck is now under arrest)
- (v) comparative relationship  
*indoda abagijima njengokugijima kwayo*  
 (the man like whom they run)
- (vi) positional relationship  
*indoda esihlezi phandle kwendlu yayo*  
 (the man outside whose house we are sitting)



Doke and Mofokeng have also made a study of the relative constructions in Southern Sotho. In their Textbook of Southern Sotho Grammar, they discuss the various relative clauses which they divide into the direct and the indirect relative clause constructions. Of the direct relative clause construction, they say :

"Most of the relatives in this group, however, are those that are formed from verbs whose subjects are the antecedents qualified by the clauses. The relative concord agreeing with the antecedent is prefixed to the verb which, basically participial, in the most cases assumes the relative suffix -ng". (Doke and Mofokeng, 1957, p. 422)

e.g. *motho ea ratang bana*  
(the person who likes children)

However, they still point out that with verbal auxiliaries the relative suffix -ng is used optionally, e.g. *batho ba-tla-fihla hosasa/batho ba-tlang ho-fihla hosasa* (the people who will arrive tomorrow)

After this brief exposition of the direct relative clause construction, Doke and Mofokeng devote a good number of pages on the direct relative construction. They observe that :

"... in indirect construction the relationship is oblique, and the concord used in the clause as subject of the relative predicate is not in agreement with the antecedent. The antecedent, is, however, referred to by means of a demonstrative pronoun which agrees with it." (Doke and Mofokeng, 1957, p.p. 423 - 424)

Doke and Mofokeng discuss the various relationships which are found under the indirect relative clause construction. They refer to the following indirect relationships :

A Subjectival possessive relationship

e.g. *batho bao bana ba-bona ba-tsamaileng*  
(the people whose children have left)

B Objectival relationship which they sub-divide into :

(i) plain objectival relationship

e.g. *ngoana eo ke-mo-shapileng*  
(the child whom I have beaten)

(ii) objectival possessive relationship

e.g. *morena eo ke-rekileng likhomo tsa-hae*  
(the chief whose cattle I have bought)

C Adverbial relationship

The following adverbial relationships appear in their work :

(i) locative relationship

e.g. *batho bao ke-eang ho-bona*  
(the people to whom I am going)

(ii) conjunctive relationship

e.g. *batho ba re-tsamaeang le-bona*  
(the people with whom we are going)

(iii) instrumental relationship

e.g. *chelete eo re-rekang lijo ka-eona*  
(the money with which we buy food)

(iv) agentive relationship

e.g. *bona monna eo ke-rutiloeng ke chelete ea-hae*

(see the man by whose money I was educated)

## (v) manner-comparison relationship

e.g. *leshole leo ba-utsoang joale ka-lona*  
(the thief like whom they steal)

## (vi) positional relationship

e.g. *motse oo batho ba-bokaneng kantle ka-oona*  
(the village outside which the people  
are gathered)

## D Copulative relationship

e.g. *batho bao e-leng masholu*  
(people who are thieves)  
*libini tseo e-leng litichere*  
(singers who are teachers)  
*sekolo seo e-leng sa-rona*  
(the school which is ours)

At the end of the chapter of their book referred to, Doke and Mofokeng conclude by providing a scheme of the relative clause construction for Southern Sotho as follows :

## A "Direct Relative Construction

1. with verbs : A + RC + V - RS
2. with copulatives : A + RC + CV - RS + CB

## B Indirect Relative Construction

1. Subj. Poss. Rel. : A + D + S PC + SC + V - RS
  2. Objectival relationship :
    - (i) plain : A + D + (S) + SC + OC + V - RS
    - (ii) poss. : A + D + (S) + V - RS + NO + PC + PS
  3. Adverbial relationship :
    - (i) plain : A + D + (S) + SC + V - RS + AD
    - (ii) poss. : A + D + (S) + SC + V - RS + NO + PC + PS
  4. Copulative Rel. : A + D + IC + CV - RS + CB."
- (Doke and Mofokeng 1957, p. 428 - 429)



1.2 According to Cole in his Introduction to Tswana Grammar, "All relatives have a predicative basis, i.e. they are fundamentally copulative or verbal forms which are used attributively and therefore function as qualificatives." (Cole, 1955, p. 171)

Cole divides his relatives into two types, namely, the direct and the indirect relationships each of which is brought into concordial agreement by either the direct or the indirect relative concord. These concords, Cole discusses in full.

For the direct relationship he establishes the following relative stems :

- (a) primitive : *kae* e.g. *ngwana yookae?*  
 (a child who is how big?)  
*kana* e.g. *ngwana yookana*  
 (a child who is as big as this)
- (b) miscellaneous : *selepe sesebogale*  
 (a sharp axe)  
*mosimane yoobotlhale*  
 (a clever boy)

Furthermore, Cole divides the relatives into the following syntactical categories according to the relationship which exists between the antecedent and the relative predicate :

- (a) plain objectival relationship  
*dikgomo tseredirekileng*  
 (the cattle which we have bought)  
*monna yobatho bamonyatsang*  
 (the man whom people despise)

- (b) subjectival possessive relationship  
*Mosadi yongwana wagagwe olwalang*  
 (the woman whose child is sick)
- (c) objectival possessive relationship  
*batho bakerutang bana babone*  
 (the people whose children I teach)
- (d) adverbial relationship which he sub-divides into :
- (i) conjunctive adverbial relationship
1. plain : *batho bakebuang lebone*  
 (the people with whom I am speaking)
  2. possessive : *kgosi ekebuang lebatho bayone*  
 (the chief with whose people  
 I am speaking)
- (ii) instrumental adverbial relationship
1. plain : *thipa enama esegwang kayone*  
 (the knife with which the meat  
 is cut)
  2. possessive : *monna yobarekang kamadi agagwe*  
 (the man with whose money they  
 are buying)
- (iii) agentive adverbial relationship
1. plain : *batho barethusitseng kebone*  
 (the people by whom we were helped)
  2. possessive : *setlhare sebana batlhabilweng  
 kemitlwa yasone*  
 (the tree by whose thorns the  
 children were pricked)
- (iv) manner-comparative adverbial relationship
1. plain : *monna yobalekang goopela jaakaene*  
 (the man like whom they are try-  
 ing to sing)



2. possessive : *monna yobaopelang jaakamosadi wagagwe*

(the man like whose wife they sing)

(v) locative adverbial relationship

e.g. *monna yokeyang kwagoene*

(the man to whom I am going)

*batho bareyang kwametseng yabone*

(the people to whose villages we are going)

*felo faketlaagang ntlo teng*

(the place where I shall build a house)

*kwagodimo kwamanong afofang teng*

(up above where the vultures fly)

*kwanokeng ekeyang kwagoyone*

(at the river to which I am going)

*kwanokeng kwakeyang teng*

(at the river whither I am going)

Finally, in the same chapter on the relative in Tswana, Cole also provides a sub-heading entitled "Elliptical Relative Constructions." He subsequently observes that :

"Partial or complete ellipsis of the relative concord may occur in the formation of both direct or indirect relatives, though this, on the whole, is rare in Tswana, and is always alternative to the full formation. Ellipsis occurs only when the antecedent is definite or emphatic in the mind of the speaker and therefore occurs mainly when the antecedent is an absolute or demonstrative pronoun, and more particularly when these are inflected to form copulatives." (Cole, 1955, p. 186)

In support of the above observation, Cole cites the following examples :

- (a) In the case of direct relatives, the initial element only of the direct relative concord is elided, e.g. *kenna kemmonyeng*, as against the full form, *kenna yokemmonyeng*  
(it is I who saw him)
- (b) In the case of indirect relatives the whole of the indirect concord is elided, e.g. *ketsone kedibatlang*, as against, *ketsone tsekedibatlang*  
(it is they (which) I want)

In conclusion he says :

"Relatives of both direct and indirect relationship may be used independently of their antecedents, and are then functionally relative qualificative pronouns or pronominal clauses ... Note that elliptical relative constructions can never be used independently of the substantives which they qualify."  
(Cole, 1955, p. 187)

1.3 In A Handbook of the Zulu Language, Ziervogel a.o. make a clear distinction between the direct and the indirect relationships. They maintain that :

"... the kind of relative in which the antecedent is also subject or object of the main predicate is only a grammatical antecedent. The kind of relative in which the antecedent can only be the subject of the relative predicate, i.e. of the rela-

tive clause, and in which neither the subject nor the object of the main predicate can agree with the relative concord is called the indirect relative relationship". (Ziervogel, a.o., 1967, p. 127)

They treat the relative construction in Zulu in this manner :

#### The direct relative relationship

In the treatment of the direct relationship, Ziervogel a.o. first give an example with an English translation and then explain the construction, e.g.

*Lo-muntu ukhuluma ngezwi elivevezayo njengomuntu okhalayo*  
(This man speaks with a tearful voice like someone crying)  
*Umtwana owasika umunwe wakhe uye esibhedlela*  
(The child who cut its finger has gone to hospital)

Furthermore, they point out that for the most part the relative suffix is used optionally except in the present tense where it is always placed at the end of the relative verb, e.g.

*engimbonayo* but *engimbona kangingi*  
(I who see him (often) )  
*abasahambayo* but *abasahamba kakhulu*  
(those who still travel (much) )  
*ezizohamba*  
(those which will go)  
*abahambile (yo)*  
(those who have gone)

#### The indirect relative relationship

This they divide into different kinds of relationships as follows :

A Adverbial relationship

(a) A locative relationship

*Isihlalo umalume ahlala kuso ngesami*

(The chair on which uncle sits is mine)

(b) An instrumental relationship

*Ngifuna ipenseli umfundi angabhala ngalo*

(I am looking for a pencil with which the scholar can write)

(c) A connective relationship

*Ingane izintombi ezidlala nayo iyahleka*

(The baby with whom the girls play is laughing)

(d) A prepositional relationship

*Umuthi abahlezi phansi kwawo unomthunzi omkhulu*

(The tree under which they sit has a large shade)

(e) A relationship of manner-comparison

*Itholeinja egijima njengalo ngelincane*

(The calf like which the dog runs is a small one)

(f) A relationship of size-comparison

*Ithole imbuzi ekhule ngangalo ngilami*

(The calf as big as which the goat has become is mine)

(g) A relationship of plain comparison

*Intombi umfana ahlakani phe kunayo ufunde eJozi*

(The girl in comparison with whom the boy is clever has studied in Johannesburg)

B Object Relationship

As far as this relationship is concerned they point out



that when the relative predicate has an object which is the subject of the main clause, the object concord appears before the verbstem of the relative predicate, e.g.

*Umfazi amsizayo umfana ufundile*

(The woman whom the boy helps is learned) or

*Umfazi omsizayo umfana ufundile*

(The woman who helps the boy is learned)

Referring to the above examples they remark that the a- in the first example refers to the antecedent umfana whereas o- in the second refers to the antecedent umfazi.

#### C Possession relationship

Ziervogel a.o. further indicate that when the antecedent, i.e. the subject of the relative clause is the grammatical possession of the subject or object of the main predicate, the English relative clause introduced by "whose" is expressed, e.g.

*Umfazi ongane yakhe igulayo uyahlupheka*

(The woman whose child is ill suffers)

#### D Agentive relationship

According to them this expresses a relationship with reference to the agent of the passive predicate and expresses the English relative clause introduced by "by whom, by which". e.g.

*Amadodo elinywa yiwo insimu asediniwe*

(The men by whom the field is ploughed are tired)



1.4 In The Eastern Sotho, Ziervogel's most important observation regarding the relative construction is that :

"The employment of the verbal stem as relative necessitates two types of constructions ... based on the participial mood of the verb and consequently has as many tenses as this mood. The verbal relative, being participial in form, employs the SC of this mood and the participial suffix -xo of the verb, while the demonstrative is usually used although not necessary. Without the demonstrative one has simply the participial mood, and the term 'relative' becomes once more purely functional." (Ziervogel, 1967, p. 48)

Ziervogel divides the relative construction into the direct and the indirect relationships. He discusses these relationships in detail with appropriate examples translated from the Eastern Sotho languages (Kutswe, Pai and Pulana) to English. When referring to the direct relative construction he says :

" In this type of construction the relative predicate is preceded by a demonstrative which is, in effect, a relative pronoun and agrees with an antecedent which is the subject of the relative verb." (Ziervogel, 1967, p. 49) e.g.

*musadi ku a-limaro usasehiye*

(the woman who is ploughing is beautiful)

On the other hand, he says, in the indirect relationship "the relative predicate is preceded by a demonstrative which is, in effect, a relative pronoun, and agrees with an antecedent which is not the subject of the relative verb." (Ziervogel, 1967, p. 49)

Ziervogel finds a variety of relationships for the indirect relative clause constructions for the Eastern Sotho, namely,

(a) object relationship

*munna lo ki-mufunaxo u-khova mutini ku*  
(the man whom I seek lives at this kraal)

(b) possessive relationship

*musadi lo ki-mufunelaxo lilepe la-xe u-le-xaya*  
(the woman whose hoe I am seeking for is at home)

(c) locative relationship

*nklu ki a-khovaxo xu yona ki-ya-tzitzane*  
(the house in which he lives is father's)

(d) conjunctive relationship

*munna lo va-vulavulaxo na-ye (li-yeni) wa-ki-tiva*  
(the man with whom they are talking knows me)

(e) instrumental relationship

*ala mašura la musadi a releha ka-wona*  
(here is the fat with which the woman cooks)

(f) agentive relationship

*imbya le muyisenyana a-lumiyexo ki-yona ki-ya-ka*  
(the dog by which the boy was bitten is mine)

1.5 F.S. Mncube has also something worth the while to say about the relative construction in his Xhosa Manual. He, too, has discovered two types of the relative construction, namely, the direct and the indirect relationships.

Mncube distinguishes the following kinds of the relatives for the direct relationship :

- (a) that formed from relative stems  
*umalume uthenge ihase eligwangqa edolophini*  
 (my maternal uncle bought a bay horse in town)
- (b) that formed from copulatives
- (i) plain copulative  
*sinabafundi abaziinkokeli*  
 (we have students who are leaders)
- (ii) subjectival relationship  
*umfazi ogwada lakhe liphelile ubiza amakhwenkhwe*  
 (the woman whose snuff is finished is calling the boys)

Under the relative of indirect relationship Mncube includes all the oblique cases of the relative clause construction in Xhosa. He classifies them into two main relationships, namely,

- (a) objectival and  
 (b) adverbial

(a) objectival relationship which he sub-divides into :

- (i) plain objectival relationship  
*amasimi endiwalimayo ngala*  
 (these are the fields I plough)
- (ii) objectival possessive relationship  
*umuntu azatshisa indlu yakhe izigebenga naanku*  
 (here is the person whose house the robbers burnt)



(b) adverbial relationship whose main types he outlines as follows :

- (i) locative relationship  
*indlu endangena kuyo yeyokuqala*  
(the house into which I entered is the first one)
- (ii) conjunctive relationship  
*umntu endathetha naye nguMzamo*  
(the person with whom I spoke is Mzamo)
- (iii) instrumental relationship  
*amafutha ekuhanyiswa ngawo imoto avela eMelika*  
(the oil by which cars are motivated, come from America)
- (iv) agentive relationship  
*inthetho endicaphukiswa yiyo yile kaHoffman*  
(the speech by which I was annoyed is Hoffman's)
- (v) manner-comparison relationship  
*umntu afunde njengaye uMzamo nguMatebese*  
(the person as much as whom Mzamo is learned is Matebese)
- (vi) positional relationship  
*ivenkile ezaye zizimela ngemva kwayo ezigebenga ivaliwe*  
(the shop behind which the robbers used to hide is closed)

1.6 Fortune, in *An Analytical Grammar of Shona*, treats the relative construction under the term "relative qualificative". He defines the "relative qualificative" as follows :



"The relative qualificative is a word or phrase which (i) consists of a predicate  
 (ii) expresses an action or state qualificative of a substantive, and  
 (iii) is concordially related to a substantive by the relative concords".

(Fortune, 1955, p. 181)

Like Doke and those cited above, Fortune, too, maintains that there are two types of relationships which obtain between the antecedent and the "relative qualificative", namely, the direct and the indirect relationships.

After describing the "relative qualificative," the direct and the indirect relationships, Fortune continues to give a comprehensive analysis of the relative predicate (derived from the verb and copulative); the relative concord and the stem. A detailed exposition illustrated with suitable examples illuminates his discussion of the relative clause construction. In the first place, he treats the relatives of the direct relation of which the concord is viewed as playing an essential role in the different tenses, aspects, modes and implications.

It is interesting to note that Fortune finds that in the relatives of indirect relation, the relative concords consist of possessive concords agreeing with the antecedent in class.

Fortune deals briefly with the indirect relationships supplying suitable Shona examples translated literally into English. The indirect relative relationships are dealt with by him under the following sub-headings :

(i) object of the relative predicate

- (ii) possessor of a possessee linked to the relative predicate.
- (iii) in adverbial relation to the relative predicate, which may be (a) locative, (b) instrumental, (c) conjunctive.

1.7 In her Notes on the Qualificative in Tsonga, P.D. Beuchat has this to say on the relative construction :

"On the morphological and syntactical grounds the relative constructions in Tsonga can be sub-divided into (a) the direct and

(b) the indirect relatives.

- (i) The relative constructions are of a qualificative nature.
- (ii) Syntactically (word-order in the sentences, concordial agreement with the antecedent) they resemble the qualificative.
- (iii) They influence the tones of the preceding noun they qualify like other qualificatives do."  
(Beuchat, n.d., p. 10)

In her opinion the relative may also be treated verbally because :

- (i) "In Tsonga (contrasting with Zulu or Sotho) all relative stems are predicates, mainly verbal, so that there is one relative corresponding to each tense of the basic conjugation.
- (ii) As a result, the morphemes (formatives) involved are, essentially, something exclusively predicative, and their occurrence and use is best understood if one keeps in mind how they are used with non-relative predicatives.

- (iii) All the tones borne by the relative are typical of that of the verbal conjugation."  
(Beuchat, n.d. p. 10)

Like most scholars quoted in the preceding paragraphs, Beuchat also commences with a brief discussion of the direct relative construction which is followed by the indirect relative construction. She says the direct relative "is introduced by the relative concord which agrees with the antecedent. The latter is also the subject of the relative predicate." (Beuchat, n.d. p. 10)

e.g. *munhu loyi a-tirhaka*  
(the person who works)

In this example, she intimates, munhu is the subjectival antecedent qualified by the relative clause whereas loyi is the relative concord which agrees with the antecedent.

Her sub-division of the indirect relationship can be summed up as follows :

(i) Objectival relationship

Here the antecedent is the object of the relative predicate and is represented by the OC.

e.g. *xihlangi lexi hi-xi-rhandzaka*  
(the baby (whom) we love)

(ii) Possessive subjectival relationship

The antecedent owns the subject of the relative predicate.

e.g. *vanhu lava vana va-vona va-tirhaka*  
(the people whose children work)

(iii) Possessive objectival relationship

The antecedent owns the object of the relative predicate.



e.g. *vanhu lava ndzi-vonaka vana va-vona*  
 (the people whose children I see)

(iv) Adverb relationship

Beuchat says that these can be sub-divided, if necessary, according to the types of adverb involved.

(a) plain relationship

*tihosi leti mi-vulavulaka na-tona* (associative)  
 (the chiefs with whom you are talking)  
*nhonga leyi n'wana a-tlangaka ha yona* (instrumental)  
 (the stick with which the child plays)

(b) possessive relationship

*vafana lava hi-tlangeke ni vanghana va vona*  
 (associative) (the boys with whose friends we played)  
*wansati loyi hi-phamelaka hi nkombe wakwe*  
 (instrumental) (the woman with whose laddle we serve)

(v) Locative relationship

She sub-divides this into three types governed by the nature of the antecedent :

(a) the antecedent is a plain noun (not a locative)

*xitolo lexi hi-xavaka eka xona*  
 (the shop in which we buy)

(b) the antecedent as a locative derived from a noun

1. the relative clause introduced by laha and closed by kona.



*exikolweni laha va-dyondzaka kona*  
 (the school where they study)

2. an alternative construction introduced by a relative concord agreeing with the noun from which the locative is derived.

e.g. *exikolweni lexi va-dyondzaka eka xona*  
 (the school in which they study)

- (c) the antecedent as a noun of the locative classes or a special locative. The relative clause is always introduced by *laha* or more rarely by *lomu* and closed by *kona*.

e.g. *ehansi laha va-tshameke kona*  
 (down (below) where they are sitting)  
*endzeni ka yindlu lomu va-yimbelelaka kona*  
 (inside the house where they are singing)

1.8 In the booklet entitled The Verb in Zulu, Beuchat makes this observation about the relative :

"Morphologically and syntactically the relative is a qualificative (a) it consists of a prefix, showing a concordial agreement with the noun prefix and a stem; (b) it usually follows, in word order the substantive with which it is in concordial agreement and which it qualifies; this means that it fits into the same slot, in the sentence, as the other qualificatives." (Beuchat, 1966, p. 61)

1.9 In his M.A. dissertation 'n Klank- en Vormleerstudie van Songa, Dr. Baumbach devotes a few paragraphs on the relative clause construction. Like most scholars he also divides the relative into the direct and the indirect relationship.

What is important to note here is that, to him the relative concord is formed with the help of the demonstrative of the first position followed by the subjectival concord. He indicates that the demonstrative is abbreviated by means of the elision of the last syllable, e.g.

*Tihomu leti ti-fambaka < tihomu leti-fambaka*  
(the cattle which go)

## EVALUATION

From what has been said about the relative construction above, one observes that scholars are at variance in their approach as regards the question of detail. In the ensuing paragraphs we are going to review critically, in a comparative manner, the contributions made by different scholars in this field.

- 1.10 As already mentioned Doke studies the relative in a uniform pattern in the works referred to in his treatise. He groups the relative clause construction into the direct and the indirect relationships. In his classification he seems to be in full agreement with some scholars such as, Cole, Beuchat, Baumbach, Fortune, to quote a few, who divide or group the relative in like manner. Thus it can be safely concluded that there are two main types of relationships of the relative construction, namely, the direct and the indirect. Further still, the relative of the indirect relationship is also sub-divided into sub-relations.
- 1.11 One of Doke's outstanding contributions is his remark that in Zulu the relative concord in indirect relationship differs from that in the direct relationship in the 3rd person class 1 singular form, which is a instead of o. Like Doke for Southern Sotho, Cole, in Tswana, also gives a comprehensive conjugation of the direct and the indirect relationships of the relative constructions. These contributions are of significance to our study of the relative construction in Tsonga.



- 1.12 Prof. Ziervogel made a study of the relative in several languages, but in each of them his stress shifts. For example, he regards, in Eastern Sotho, the demonstrative which precedes the relative clause as a "pronoun". But in A Grammar of Swazi (not cited above), he seems to view the relative as syntactically similar to, but morphologically different from the adjective in terms of the concord used. In A Handbook of the Zulu Language, Ziervogel also distinguishes between the direct and the indirect relationships. However, it is worthy to note that his direct relationship includes brief explanations with examples of the auxiliary predicates - an important observation of significance in the study of the relative construction in Tsonga.
- 1.13 Mncube's classification of the relative construction into the direct and the indirect relationships does not reveal any substantial difference from what his predecessors have done. What is commendable about Mncube's work is that he has, in all instances, given illustrative Xhosa sentences in the various moods and tenses. His contribution, thus consists mainly in his supply of sufficient illuminative examples in Xhosa to illustrate the various features of the relative construction.
- 1.14 Like some scholars above, Beuchat also treats the relative construction under the headings of the direct and the indirect in her Notes on the qualificative in Tsonga, but says nothing about the copulative. Again, in her Verb in Zulu, valuable information can be gathered about the



morphology and the syntax of the relative construction. From the examples given by the scholars mentioned above, it is fitting to note that the relative always follows the substantive which it qualifies and that the two are bound together by the relative concord.

## TERMS

1.15 A universally acceptable definition of a term valid for all languages and satisfying all schools of linguists has thus far not been achieved. What follows below is but a tentative attempt at describing and explaining the terms used in our treatise and does not claim to be complete and authoritatively satisfactory. Still, it is hoped that this will serve to clear any confusion or misunderstanding that may possibly arise between the research-worker and his readers who might be attaching different semantic values to certain terms referred to in this study.

### 1.15.1 The relative concord

From the discussion above, scholars seem to have reached a general consensus that an antecedent and a relative verb are brought into grammatical concordance by what they term "the relative concord." In a Tsonga sentence such as *vanhu, lava va-vabyaka, va-etlela*, in terms of these scholars' contention, *lava va-* is then a relative concord.

The question now arises whether the term "concord" really fits the form *lava va-* as a true concord, as it does in the case of the SC, the OC and the AC. Hereunder is a table of some Tsonga concords taken from Unisa Tsonga 1,

Guide 2 to serve as a means of comparison :

<i>Class</i>	<i>SC</i>	<i>OC</i>	<i>AC</i>	<i>RC</i>
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>-n'wi-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>loyi a- ~ la-</i>
7	<i>xi-</i>	<i>-xi-</i>	<i>xi-</i>	<i>lexi xi- ~ lexi-</i>
9	<i>yi-</i>	<i>-yi-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>leyi yi- ~ leyi-</i>
11	<i>ri-</i>	<i>-ri-</i>	<i>ri-</i>	<i>leri ri- ~ leri-</i>

A closer look at the table shows that the SC, the OC and the AC on the one hand differ considerably on morphological grounds from the "relative concord" on the other. Obviously the former group of concords is structurally monomorphemic, whereas the latter elements are polymorphemic. From this the "relative concords" are seen by them as composite forms and consist of two to three elements. The full or longer form consists of three elements :

*le + -xi + xi-*  
*le + -yi + yi-*  
*le + -ri + ri-*

whose contracted forms consist of two elements.

*le + xi-*  
*le + yi-*  
*le + ri-*,

where the second *-xi*, *-yi*, *-ri* have been elided.

Hence if we take morphology as our starting point for our grammatical categories it is advisable to regard the so-called "relative concord" as something more than an ordinary concord. However, we do not disprove the fact that in the sentence above *lava va-* has a concordial function.

Although the initial element of the "relative concord" shows identity of form with the basic form of the demonstrative, it must be stressed, that in this type of construction it has completely lost its demonstrative force. Furthermore, there seems to be a phonological distinction between the "relative concord" and the demonstrative brought about by a difference in tone, compare :

*Tihomu* lèti ta-dya (Demonstrative)

*Tihomu* létí tí-dyaka (RC)

But what is important is that the "relative concord" consists of two or more morphemes and can thus not be regarded as a "concord" in the same sense, as for instance, the SC or the OC. It seems, therefore, inappropriate to call two things that differ morphologically, no matter how small the difference may be, by similar names.

In his Bantu Linguistic Terminology, Doke regards a concord as "formal agreement between words in a sentence, or grammatical relationship achieved by uniformity of inflection. The concordial element itself is called the concord." (Doke, 1935, p. 74) The Oxford English Dictionary Vol. II explains the term in a more or less similar way as Doke's when it sees the concord as a "formal agreement between words as parts of speech, expressing relation of fact between things and their attributes or predicates. This formal agreement consists in the words concerned being put in the same case, number, gender and person, as well as the inflexional structure of the language provided for this, or as other considerations (in respect to gender and number) do not forbid it." (Oxford, 1961, p. 773)



Both definitions of the concord are syntactically orientated and say nothing about its morphology. They only point out that a concord serves to mark an agreement between words in a construction - grammatically connected. Regarding the morphemic composition of concords, the definition does not state clearly.

In view of the fact that the form referred to by the term "relative concord" is not a suitable connotation, it is preferred to refer to this concordial form as a "relative particle". It must be intimated that the relative particle, when used together with its adjuncts, helps in the formation of constructions such as the predicative relative constructions. The relative particle is, therefore, considered to be a word containing concordial elements. Although it cannot be employed in isolation such as it is the case with nouns, pronouns, verbs etc., it must, nevertheless, be considered as a word since its referent is a relation that exists extralinguistically. The relative particle is an element which is grammatically or morphologically related to a particular noun class and its function is to establish a relation of qualification between the substantival antecedent and the relative clause. It brings the relative clause in readiness for use as a qualificative of the substantival antecedent. It could also be called a signal of warning to the hearer that a particular kind of construction will be employed as a qualificative.

#### 1.15.2 Predicate and Predicative

In grammatical discussions the two terms are used rather loosely. Usually they are used inter-changeably as synonyms. In his Introduction to Tswana Grammar, Cole defines a predicate as "the word or group of words



signifying the action which is carried out or undergone by the subject or the state in which a substantive is". (Cole, 1955, p. 57). Concerning the "predicative" he observes that it is :

".... a word which signifies the occurrence of an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive is." (Cole, 1955, p. 63)

From these definitions it is crystal clear that Cole regards the two terms as synonymous. Similarly Doke defines the predicative as :



".... a word which signifies an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive is." (Doke, 1954, p. 35)

In the Zulu Grammar, Doke seems to be contented with the use of the predicative as meaning one and the same thing as the predicate.

In this study a predicate and a predicative will be treated as distinct concepts. The term "predicative" will refer to a structural form of a verb used in a sentence. This structural form is customarily the verb or verbal form which is preceded by a SC. In the sentence vafana lava va-dyaka swiwitsi (boys who eat sweets), the relative clause lava va-dyaka, is structurally a predicative clause. It consists of the relative particle lava (with a concordial function) plus the relative predicative, va-dyaka. Consequently, va-dyaka in the above sentence can also pass as a qualifying predicative.

A predicative may have one or more predicatives. cf



Ass.	=	Associative
Adv.	=	Adverbial
Poss.	=	Possessive
ˊ	=	High toneme
ˋ	=	Low toneme
>	=	becomes
<	=	comes from
~	=	varies
	=	Shows the relationship that exists between the antecedent and the concords within the relative clause.
	=	Shows that the SC with its subject is not related to the antecedent.
CC	=	Class concord

## CHAPTER II

## THE VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSE

2.0 This chapter purports to show as clearly as possible how the verbal relative clause is constructed in Tsonga. This means that the chapter will deal only with the form of the relative construction that is formed with the verb stem as base. The various sub-divisions of the verbal relative clause will be dealt with in full. The main sub-divisions referred to here are the direct and the indirect relationships existing between the antecedent and the relative clause. The sentences that will be used, will of necessity consist of at least two clauses, namely, the main or principal clause and a relative qualificative clause.

As pointed out in paragraph 1.15.1 the relative clause is always introduced by a relative particle - both in the direct and the indirect relationships. The following is a table of the relative particles as they will be used in our study :

<i>Class</i>	<i>RP</i>	<i>SC</i>	<i>Contracted form</i>
1	<i>loyi</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>l'a</i>
2	<i>lava</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>la'va-</i>
3	<i>lowu</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>lo'wu-</i>
4	<i>leyi</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>le'yi-</i>
5	<i>leri</i>	<i>ri-</i>	<i>le'ri-</i>
6	<i>lama ~ laya</i>	<i>ma ~ ya-</i>	<i>la'ma ~ la'ya-</i>
7	<i>lexi</i>	<i>xi-</i>	<i>le'xi-</i>
8	<i>leswi</i>	<i>swi-</i>	<i>le'swi-</i>
9	<i>leyi</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>le'yi-</i>



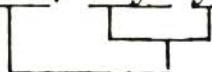
<i>Class</i>	<i>RP</i>	<i>SC</i>	<i>Contracted form</i>
10	<i>leti</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>le'ti-</i>
11	<i>leri</i>	<i>ri-</i>	<i>le'ri-</i>
10	<i>leti</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>le'ti-</i>
14	<i>lebyi</i>	<i>byi-</i>	<i>le'byi-</i>
6	<i>lama ~ laya</i>	<i>ma ~ ya-</i>	<i>la'ma ~ la'ya</i>
15	<i>loku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>lo'ku-</i>
21	<i>ledyi</i>	<i>dyi-</i>	<i>le'dyi-</i>
6	<i>lama ~ laya</i>	<i>ma ~ ya-</i>	<i>la'ma ~ la'ya-</i>

From the very outset it is important to note that the contracted form of the relative particle will not be used in this study. Although we have used the apostrophe in the contracted form for the sake of showing elision, the modern Tsonga orthography discourages its usage.

#### 2.1.0 The verbal relative clause in the direct relationship.

In the direct relationship of the verbal relative clause the antecedent, that is, the substantial noun or pronoun of the main or principal clause qualified by the relative clause is usually the subject of the relative predicate. Hence, the SC of the subjectival antecedent is prefixed to the relative verb. Here the relative clause is in a subjectival relationship to the antecedent. The antecedent is represented in the relative verb. The RP is related to the antecedent by means of the CC of the antecedent. This can be illustrated by the following sentences :

Hosi, léyí yí-fúmàkà vánhù, ya-karhata



(The chief, who rules people, is troublesome)

Hosi, léyí yí-vàkáyí-fúmá vánhù, ya-karhata



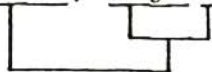
(The chief, who is ruling people, is troublesome)

The antecedent hosi in the above sample sentence is a subjectival noun of the main clause which is qualified by the relative predicates yí-fumaka and yí-vaka yí-fuma.

2.1.1 It is important to note that the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural do not use a special RP but borrow their forms from class 1 and 2. When the antecedent is a pronoun of the 1st and 2nd persons we may find the following examples in Tsonga.

- (a) Where use is made of the relative particle of class 1 before absolute pronouns.

(i) Mina, lóyí á-tírhàkà, ndza-vabya



(I, who work, am ill)

Hina, lává vá-trhàkà, ha-vabya



(We, who work, are ill)

(ii) Wena, lóyí á-tírhàkà, wa-vabya



N'wina, lává vá-tírhàká, ma-vabya

(You, who work, are ill)

- (b) There also exists a possibility of using the RP of class 1 and 2 together with the SC of the absolute pronoun, here only the full form is used, e.g.

Mina, lói ndzí-tírhàká, ndza-vabya

(I, who work, am ill)

Hina, lává hí-tírhàká, ha-vabya

(We who work are ill)

Wena, lói ú-tírhàká, wa-vabya

N'wina, lává mí-tírhàká, ma-vabya

(You, who work, are ill)

- 2.1.3 There are also cases where the RP is normally in agreement with the antecedent and the SC is that of the class to which the antecedent belongs.

#### CLASS

1. Yena, lói á-tírhàká, wa-vabya

(He, who works, is ill)

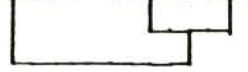
2. Vona, lává vá-tírhàká, va-vabya.

(They, who work, are ill)



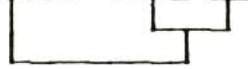


Murhi, lówú wú-ómísiwèké hí ndzílò, wu-wile.



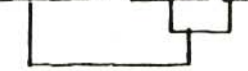
(The tree, that has been dried by fire, has fallen).

Mirhi, léyí yí-ómísiwèké hí ndzílò, yi-wile.



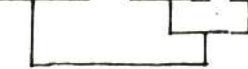
(The trees, that have been dried by fire, have fallen).

Mufana, lói á-véngíwàká hí vávásàtí, wa-karhata.



(The boy, who is hated by women, is troublesome).

Vafana, lává vá-véngíwàká hí vávásàtí, va-karhata.

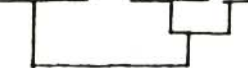


(The boys, who are hated by women, are troublesome).

(b) Conjunctive extension

The conjunctive *ni-/na-* is used to show the relation of conjunction between the antecedent and the relative clause, e.g.

Mufana, lói á-fámáká ní mbyáná, u-tlharihile.



(The boy, who is going with a dog, is brilliant).

Huku, léyí yí-tèké ná yèná, yi-nonile.



(The fowl, with which he came, is fat).

Tihuku, létí tí-tèké ná vòná, ti-nonile.

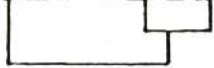


(The fowls, with which they came, are fat).

(c) Comparison extension

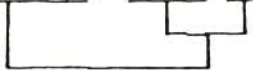
Here joining words such as tani hi, onge i, ku fana na are employed, e.g.

Wanuna, lóyí á-vúlávúláká óngé i tátánà, i Murhonga.



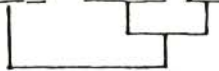
(The man, who talks like father, is a Rhonga).

Vavanuna, lává vá-vúlávúláká tání hí tátánà, i Varhonga.



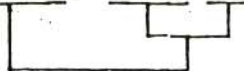
(The men, who talk like father, are Rhongas).

Huku, léyí yí-nònéké kú fáná ní sèkwá, i ya mina.



(The fowl, which is as fat as a duck, is mine).

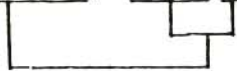
Tihuku, létí tí-nònéké kú fáná ní mäsèkwá, i ta mina.



(The fowls, which are as fat as ducks, are mine).

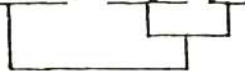
(d) Possessive object extension

Wansati, lóyí á-tíváká xíhlàngì xákwé, u-fambile.



(The woman, who knows her child, has left).

Honci, léyí yí-án'wísàká swíhòncáná swá yóná, hi leyi.



(The pig, that suckles its litter, is this).

Tihonci, létí tí-án'wísàkà swìhòncáná swá tòná, hi leti.

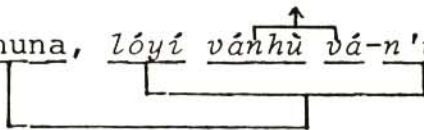


(The pigs, that suckle their litter, are these).

### 2.2.0 The verbal relative clause in indirect relationship

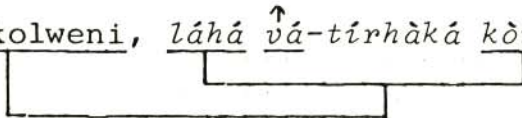
Unlike in the direct verbal relative clause, where the antecedent is also the subject of the relative predicate, the antecedent in the indirect relationship is not the subject of the relative predicate, but the antecedent then stands in some or other relationship to words within the relative clause (not subjectively). The relationship between the relative clause and the antecedent can display a great variety in nature, but the subject-predicate relationship will not exist. As in the case of the direct relative clauses, use is also made of the relative particles (as quoted on p. 36) to link up the antecedent with the relative clause. The RP still follows immediately the antecedent or the extension thereof.

Wanuna, lói vánhù vá-n'wí-vónàkà, wa famba.



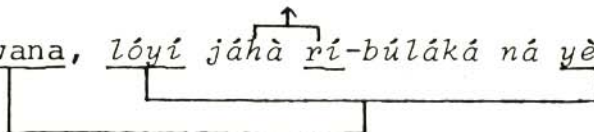
(The man, whom people see, is going).

Exikolweni, láhá vá-tírhàkà kòná, i kule.



(At the school, where they work, is far).

Nhwana, lói jáhà rí-búlákà ná yèná, u-sasekile.



(The lady, with whom the gentleman chats, is beautiful).

Xihloka, léxi jáhà rí-tsémàkà hí xòná, xa-kariha.

(The hatchet, with which the gentleman chops, is sharp).

Nghala, léyí ndzì-gúléléké tínó rá yòná, yi-file.

(The lion, whose tooth I extracted, is dead).

The indirect relative clauses can be divided into several sub-categories depending on the nature of the relationship of the antecedent with the other words in the relative clause. These relationships are outlined as follows :

- (a) objectival relationship,
- (b) adverbial relationship,
- (c) possessive relationship.

Each of the relationships, (b) and (c) can be further subdivided as dealt with below.

(a) Objectival relationship

2.2.1 In the objectival relationship the antecedent is the object of the relative predicate and is represented in the relative clause by a corresponding RP and OC, e.g.

Ximanga, léxi vá-xì-rhándzàkà, xi-lahlekile.

(The cat, which they love, is lost).

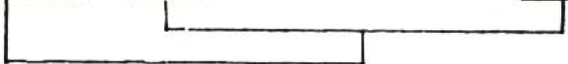
The above example evinces that the antecedent, *ximanga*, is the object of the relative verb, *rhandzaka*, which is preceded immediately by the OC, *-xì-* represents the antecedent.



The RP, *lexi*, in the sentence is followed by the SC, *va-*, which is indicative of an understood substantival subject of the relative clause (in this case a noun or pronoun of cl. 1 plural which has no relation with the antecedent).

There are also cases where the antecedent is represented in the relative clause by its own absolute pronoun. This always happens when the relative predicate takes two objects, e.g.

Timbuti, léti ndzi-kù-bélàkà tóná, ti-tele.




(The goats, for which I beat you, are many).

In this sentence, the relative clause has two objects, namely, *tona*, the absolute pronoun which represents the antecedent, *timbuti*, subject of the main clause and *-ku-*, the OC of the 2nd person singular.

Because of the fact that the antecedent is the object of the relative clause in the indirect objectival relationship, the OC cannot be left out. If such an omission takes place the indirect relative clause changes to a direct relative clause which then prefixes the formative /hi-/ to the substantival agent, thereby changing the relative verb to passive. Compare the following sentences :

Ximanga, léxi vá-xi-rhándzàkà, xi-lahlekile.



(The cat, which they love, is lost).

Ximanga, léxi xi-rhándziwàká hí vòná, xi-lahlekile.

(The cat, which is loved by them, is lost).

(b) Adverbial relationship

2.2.2 In Tsonga there are various kinds of adverbial word groups with which the relative verb may be associated. These adverbial forms show distinguishable relation in the relative clause. The following is an illustrated discussion of the different adverbial relationships of the indirect verbal relative clause :

2.2.2.1 Locative adverbial relationship

The locative relationship can be divided into three main types depending on the nature of the antecedent employed to give the relative clause its locative clause its locative qualities.

- (i) Where the antecedent is a noun derived from the old locative class prefix of Ur-Bantu origin, pa-, ku-, mu- whose Tsonga equivalents are ha-, ku-; mu-. The relative clause is introduced by laha or lomu and closed by kona, which is then the locative form related to the antecedent e.g.

(e) Hansi, láhá hí-tshámàká kòná, i kule,

(Down below, where we stay, is far).

(e) Ndzeni ka holo, lómú hí-yimbélélàká kòná, ka hisa.

(Inside the hall, where we sing, is hot).

(e) Ndzhaku ka garaji, láhá váná vá-tlángélàkà kòná,  
kuni tinyoka.

(Behind the garage, where the children play,  
there are snakes).

- (ii) Where the locative prefix eka is prefixed to the absolute pronoun which represents the antecedent in the relative clause.

Damu, léri hí-njóvélàkà ékà ròná, ri-entile.

(The dam, in which we fish, is deep).

Murhi, lówú hí-wisàkà ékà wòná, wu-tlhumile.

(The tree, under which we rest, is dense).

Nsimu, léyí vá-byálàkà ékà yòná, yi-nonile.

(The field, in which they plant, is fertile).

- (iii) Where the antecedent is basically a locative derived from various nouns by affixing the prefix e- or a- and the suffix -ini-. In such a construction the relative clause is introduced by laha and terminates by kona as in (i).

Hi-ya edorobeni, láhá hí-tírhàkà kòná.

(We are going to town, where we work).

Wanuna u-tshama ekerekeni, láhá hí-gándzélàká kòná.

(The man stays at the church, where we worship).

Ndzi-fikile evhengeleni, láhá á-xávisàká kòná.

(I arrived at the store, where he sells).

Sometimes the above relative clauses can be introduced by a relative particle which agrees with the noun from which the locative antecedent is derived. The relative clause may then terminate with *kona* or it may terminate with the absolute pronoun, corresponding with the noun class of the antecedent, to which is prefixed the locative prefix *eka-*.

Hi-ya edorobeni, léri hí-tírhàká kòná/ékà ròná.

(We are going to town where we work).

Wanuna u-tshama, ekerekeni, léyi hí-gándzélàká kòná/ékà yòná.

(The man stays at church, where we worship).

Ndzi-fikile exivandleni, léxi á-xávisélàká kòná/ékà xòná.

(I arrived at the place, where he sells).

#### 2.2.2.2 Conjunctive adverbial relationship

Here the antecedent is represented in the relative clause



by the adverbial word group formed from the absolute pronoun and the conjunctive adverbial formative, na, e.g.

Mufana, lói ndzi-vúlávúlàkà ná yèná, u-tlharihile.

(The boy, to whom I am talking, is brilliant).

Vavanuna, lává hí-búlàkà ná vòná, a va-twisisi.

(The men, with whom we chat, do not understand).

Ximanga, léxí á-tèké ná xóná, xi-sasekile.

(The cat, with which he came, is beautiful).

In the above examples the absolute pronouns can be shortened by dropping the final syllable and the initial syllable is then affixed to the conjunctive formative na—thus becoming naye, navo and naxo, respectively. e.g.

Mufana, lói ndzi-vúlávúlàkà náyé, u-tlharihile.

Vavanuna, lává hí-búlàkà návó, a va-twisisi.

Ximanga, léxí á-tèké náxó, xi-sasekile.

### 2.2.2.3 Instrumental relationship

The formative hi showing instrumentality is used in this instance, e.g.

Nkombe, lówú nhwánà á-swékàkà hí wóná vúsá, hi lowu.

(Here is the wooden spoon with which the lady cooks porridge).

Switina, léswí xíqèvéngà xí-fáyèké fásítéré hí swóná,  
i-swinyingi.

(The bricks, with which the criminal broke the window are many).

Nhwana, lói jáhà rí-tínyùngúbyísàkà hí yèná, u-bihile.

(The lady, with whom the gentleman prides himself, is ugly).

In this kind of relationship the formative hi is the instrumental particle which indicates the instrument with which the action is carried out.

### 2.2.2.4 Agentive relationship

In Tsonga this occurs when the relative verb is in the passive and in indirect relationship to the antecedent.

Wansati, lói vúswà byí-swékiwèké hí yèná, wa-vabya.

(The woman, by whom the porridge was cooked, is ill).

Xihloka, léxi kú-tsémiwàká hí xòná, xa-kariha.

(The axe, with which chopping is done, is sharp).

Mukwana, lówú wánúnà á-tlhàvíwèké hí wòná, i wa mina.

(The knife, with which the man has been stabbed, is mine).

The difference between the instrumental and the agentive adverbial relationships lies in the fact that the relative verb is passive in the latter whereas it is active in the former. However, both of them make use of the formative hi together with the absolute pronoun which also agrees with the antecedent.

#### 2.2.2.5 Comparison relationship

Here use is made of conjunctions such as tani hi, onje hi, / ku funa na/ ni cf 2.1.2 (C) in the relative clause to show comparison with regard to manner or size.

Wanuna, lói hí- vúlávúlàká kú fáná ná yèná, wa-vabya.

(The man, like whom we talk, is ill).

Munhu, lói máphórísá á-n'wí-búkútelàká onje i donki, i makwerhu.

(The person, whom the police beat as if he were a donkey, is my brother).

#### (c) Possessive relationship

2.2.3.0 Because of the structural uniqueness of the

possessive relationship in the relative clause we choose to give it special attention, although it may sometimes be easily treated under the adverbial relationship. Here a distinction can be discerned between the antecedent (as possessive) and what it possesses (the possessee or possessor). The antecedent is represented in this relative clause by the absolute pronoun preceded by the possessive particle; or it is represented by the personal possessive pronoun when the antecedent is the 1st, 2nd or 3rd person.

2.2.3.1 In the sentence,

Wanuna, lói ndzi-tívàkà mbyáná yá yèná, u-tile

(The man whose dog I know, has come).

the possessee, mbyana, possessed by the antecedent, wanuna, is not the subject but the object of the relative predicate. Furthermore, similar instances as the one above, can be cited for other relationships in which the possessive features in the relative clause.

(i) Locative possessive relationship

Hosi, léyí ndzi-tshámàkà étikwéni rá yóná, ya-karhata.

(The chief, in whose country I stay, is troublesome).

(ii) Conjunctive possessive relationship

Wansati, lói jáhà rí-búlàkà ní n'wáná wákwé, u kwala.

(The woman, with whose child the gentleman chats, is here).



(iii) Possessive in agentive relationship

Valungu, lává ndzi-pfúniwàká hi máxáká yá vóná, va-fikile.

(The whiteman, by whose relatives I am being helped, have arrived).

2.2.3.2 There are instances where the possession is the subject of the relative predicate, e.g.

Munhu, lóyí mbyáná yákwé yi-láhlékèké, u-hlundzukile.

(The person, whose dog is lost, is angry).

In this sentence there is evidence of subject relationship between the possession of the antecedent, mbyana, and the relative predicate, yi-lahlekile. The antecedent, munhu, is represented in the relative clause by the RP loyi, and by the possessive pronoun, yakwe.

2.2.3.3 Cases where the possession is not the subject of the relative predicate can also be cited. In this instance the possession stands in an object relation to the relative predicate and another substantive serves as the subject of the relative clause.

In, Wansati, lóyí hi-nwàká byàlwá byákwé, u-fikile,

(The woman, whose beer we drink, has arrived), the antecedent, wansati, is followed immediately by the RP and then follows the relative verb to which the SC hi is prefixed. The subject, hina, is implied by the SC hi. The possession of the antecedent, byalwa, is also the object

of the relative predicate. The antecedent is further represented by a possessive pronoun, byakwe.

2.2.3.4 Other interesting cases of this nature also exist :

Wansati, lói byàlwá byákwé hí-byi-nwàkà, u-fikile.

(The woman, whose beer we drink, has arrived).

Here the possession of the relative clause, byalwa, comes directly after the RP, lói, and then follows the possessive pronoun, byakwe. This is then followed by the relative predicate consisting of the SC hi and the OC byi- prefixed to the relative verbstem, nwaka.

A further interesting example is :

Ndzi-vona wanuna, lói vókó rà n'wáná wákwé rí-tshòvékéké.

(I see the man, whose child's arm is broken).

The substantive, voko, is the subject of the relative clause at the same time it is the possession of n'wana and again, n'wana is the possession of the antecedent indicated by the possessive pronoun, wakwe.

In the following example, voko is now an object of the relative predicate in the relative clause.

Ndzi-vona wanuna, lói ndzi-tshòvéké vókó rà n'wáná wákwè.

(I see the man, whose child's arm I broke).

2.3.0 In conclusion it will be well to stress that the relative particles used in the direct and indirect verbal relative clause do not, in the main, differ. Despite this similarity in terms of the relative particles, the direct and indirect verbal relative clauses differ because of the nature of the relationship which exists between the antecedent and the relative predicate. Whereas the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause of the direct relationship, in the indirect relationship the antecedent is not the subject of the relative predicate.

## CHAPTER III

## THE RELATIVE AS A BASIC MOOD

3.0 In Chapter 2 we indicated the ways in which the direct and the indirect relative clauses can be formed in Tsonga. Logically this third chapter should deal directly with the conjugation of same. But on trying to do this, certain problems came to the fore; that is, it became apparent that the relative in Tsonga has a tendency of excluding other moods. As a result, this chapter is set-aside for the investigation of the relative as an independent mood which cannot be arbitrarily regarded as an appendage to another mood. This investigation will take the form of establishing what is really meant by the term "mood". A few outstanding scholars will be selected to show how they view this concept and how they classify their moods. Thereafter, a distinction between the various moods will be made by applying certain linguistic criteria, namely, morphology, syntax, semology and phonology, as objective measures of determining whether we are justified or not in regarding the relative as a basic mood, capable of a fullscale conjugation and not subservient to other moods.

What is a Mood?

3.1.0 This is a very difficult question to answer in precise terms. Hereunder we refer to some scholars of no mean reputation who have attempted to express their views with regard to this concept.

3.1.1 Lyons says :

"Mood, like tense, is frequently realized by



inflecting the verb or by modifying it by means of auxiliaries" (Lyons, 1968, p. 307).

This definition, while ignoring other linguistic features such as semantics, syntax and phonology, concentrates on the morphological features of the mood only.

3.1.2 Ziervogel seems to stretch the question of the identification of the mood further by referring not only to its morphology but also to its syntax when he observes :

"The term mood indicates the form assumed by a predicative to show how the speaker views the relation between the subject and predicative" (Ziervogel, 1959, p. 142).

Ziervogel here also makes an important observation when he regards a mood as a feature of the predicative. He differs with Lyons who limits a mood to verbs only. Further still, Ziervogel continues to stress the importance of morphology when he remarks :

"In Bantu, form plays a very important part in the whole linguistic set-up, and in the case of moods no less than in other spheres". (Ziervogel, 1959, p. 142)

Here he agrees with Lyons.

3.1.3 Of the term "mood", The Oxford English Dictionary has this to say :

"Mood is a particular form or state of the verb, showing the manner in which the being,

action or expression is represented. Any one of the several groups of forms in the conjugation of a verb which serve to indicate the function in which the verb is used, i.e. whether it expresses a predication, a command, a wish or the like". (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1970, p. 638)

The Oxford English Dictionary also brings in semological features to bear on moods.

3.1.4 In Glossary of Linguistic Terminology, Mario Pei says :

"The term mood or mode refers to distinction in verbal forms which indicate the relations between one verbal in the sentence and another which show the speaker's attitude towards the state of affairs which a verbal represents". (Pei, 1966, p. 227)

Pei's definition also takes semantic features into account but the occurrence of a mood is governed by verbs in sentences. This implies that two sentences must of necessity be present for any mood to exist.

3.1.5 The Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language also defines the mood as :

"Distinction of form in a verb to express the manner in which the action of state it denotes is conceived, whether as fact; or as a matter of assumption, volition, intention, possibility etc; a set of forms expressive of these modal forms". (Webster, n.d. p. 1782)

Webster's conception of mood includes an unlimited number of modal forms - this is suggested by the use of 'etc' in his definition.

3.1.6 From the views expressed by these scholars above, it is clear, that morphological and syntactical features of the moods are the most important, if not the only, distinguishing features. Generally, too, they seem to agree that any mood makes use of modal morphemes. They also maintain that as a particular form or state of verb a mood serves to denote the particular function of a verb. The shortcomings of the above definitions are that scholars have attempted to define a mood in a manner which can be universally valid for all languages at all times. The fact is any definition of a linguistic aspect is valid only to that language and cannot be amorphously applied to all the languages in the world. Hence these definitions are wanting in detail and cannot be applied as they are to Tsonga without risking some amount of incompleteness.

#### Classification of Moods

3.2.0 After giving a few definitions of a mood it is worth the while, at this stage, to show how some scholars in different languages name and classify the moods. This will enable us to determine whether certain moods are to be grouped together or not as moods of the same status. This, in turn, will aid us in finding out where we can place the relative predicative within the linguistic framework of Tsonga.

3.2.1 In The Text book of Southern Sotho Grammar, Doke and Mofokeng make this classification of moods :

- (i) The infinitive



- (ii) The imperative
- (iii) The indicative
- (iv) The potential
- (v) The participial sub-mood (under this mood they include the relative)
- (vi) The subjunctive mood. Of these moods (i) and (ii) are regarded by these writers as less than real moods, whereas (iii) - (vi) are regarded as true moods. According to them, therefore, moods can be divided into two categories, namely, "real" moods and "lesser" moods. That is, they give an impression that moods are not only linguistically different but are of a different status.

3.2.2 Similarly, Cole, in his Introduction to Tswana Grammar, classifies and discusses the Tswana moods which he distinguishes into two major sub-divisions, namely, "the non-finite forms or dub-moods" and "the finite moods". The former sub-division consists of "the infinitive and the imperative, which, while retaining certain verbal characteristics, are syntactically nouns and interjectives respectively." (Cole, 1955, p. 235). The latter sub-division, which always employs the SC, he divides into primary and secondary types. The primary moods consist of the indicative and the conditional, both of which have a four-fold division of tenses - the principal positive and negative; the participial positive and negative. The principal tense forms are employed in the main clauses while the participial forms occur in subordinate constructions and provide the basis for the formation of relative clauses. The subjunctive is the only secondary mood. Schematically this sub-division is set out as follows by Cole on p. 236.



NON-FINITE		FINITE MOODS			
		PRIMARY		SECONDARY	
Infinitive		Indicative		Subjunctive	
Imperative		Conditional			
Pos.	Neg.	Principal	Participial		Pos. Neg.
		Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.
				Basis of Relative Clause construction	
Never has SC		Must have SC			
May have OC		May have OC			

From this table it is evident that Cole recognises only five moods for Tswana, namely, the infinitive, the imperative, the indicative, the conditional and the subjunctive.

3.2.3 In A Handbook of the Northern Sotho Language Professor Mokgokong a.o. recognize the following moods for Northern Sotho : indicative, participial, subjunctive, potential, habitual, infinitive and imperative. Unlike the scholars above, Mokgokong a.o. does not explicitly divide these moods into the main and sub categories. Nonetheless, they agree that the infinitive and the participial as well as the potential cannot be viewed as proper moods. Referring to the participial this remark seems pertinent in indicating that there is no agreement as regards the participial as a real mood. "The participial mood is not regarded as a mood by some scholars (Mokgokong a.o., 1969, p. 66). The same is true of the potential; for they say : "Some scholars also regard the potential form as a mood." (Mokgokong a.o., 1969, p. 72).

From what emanates from these remarks one gathers the impression that the writers have their doubts as to the authenticity of calling the potential and the participial, moods.

3.2.4 In A Grammar of Northern Transvaal Ndebele, Ziervogel discusses the following moods only : indicative, participial, subjunctive and potential. As far as the latter is concerned, he observes, it is not likely to be regarded as a formal mood because it is not governed by either deficient verbs or conjunctions. He also remarks that there is very little difference in the grammatical form (positive) of the indicative and of the participial. The above remarks, by Ziervogel, leave one with a feeling that he conceives of the Ndebele moods as belonging to two distinct categories although he does not actually name them. Like the scholars quoted above, it is not clear how Ziervogel came to delimit the moods in Ndebele to four while other languages list more.

3.2.5 Fortune, in his Analytical Grammar of Shona, has also made some contribution towards the study of moods in Shona. He discusses the infinitive as a non-finite mood; on the one hand, deserving its own category, while on the other hand, he classifies together the imperative, indicative, potential, participial, relative, subjunctive and hortative as moods of the same category. However, Fortune attempts to give a well-illustrated exposition of these moods to differentiate them.

3.2.6 In The Philosophy of Grammar, Jespersen also airs his views concerning moods in English. He intimates that :

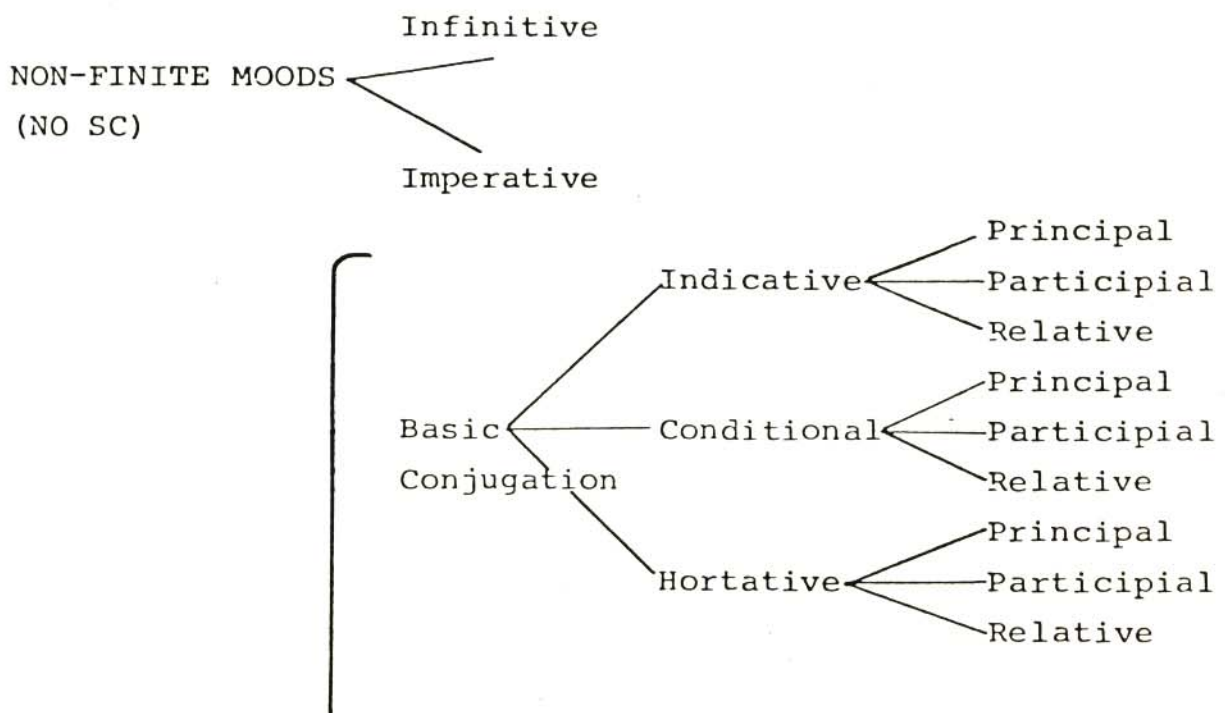
"Many grammars enumerate the following moods in English, indicative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive and participle.

It is, however, evident that infinitives and participle cannot be co-ordinated with others."

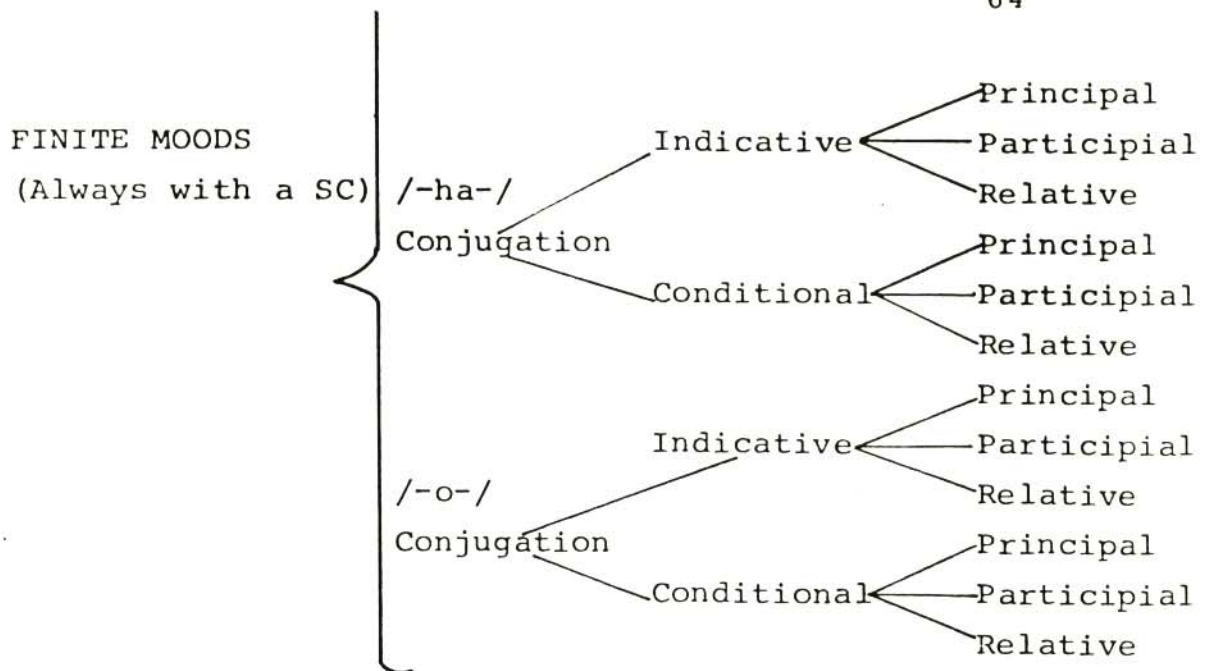
(Jespersen, 1958, p. 313).

Jespersen's last sentence in this quotation leaves him with only three moods for the English language, namely, the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative, which he respectively refers to as fact-mood, thought-mood and will-mood. Here, too, no criteria have been laid down for the preference of selecting only three moods to the total exclusion of the others.

3.2.7 For Tsonga P.D. Beuchat divides the moods into two groups - the non-finite and the finite moods as it is the case with Cole's division of the Tswana moods. Under the non-finite moods she groups together the infinitive and the imperative both of which do not make use of the SC. On the other hand her finite moods comprise the indicative, the conditional and the hortative. In her Notes on the Qualificative in Tsonga, p. 22 she presents these moods diagrammatically as follows :







This attempt at classifying the various moods in Tsonga into finite and non-finite moods suggests that moods can be grouped into different categories. From the diagram it is interesting to note that the relative is just a sub-category of the finite moods and does not feature in the category of the non-finite moods. However, it is not clear what criterion Beuchat has used to classify these moods. For instance, one wonders why the conditional mood is recognized as being of the same status as the indicative and the hortative. As a matter of fact, the conditional is not exclusive of the other moods, so that Beuchat's classification needs some explanation to be linguistically understandable. Furthermore, why does she group the implicative formative /-ha-/ and /-o-/ as if they were basic moods? This classification, in its present form, is confusing because it creates the impression that progressive morphemes and suffixal elements affixed to verbstems could also be regarded as moods not merely as modal formatives.

3.2.8 In the Unisa Tsonga I study guide 2 of 1973 we find a discussion of the following moods : the indicative, the dependent and the hortative as well as the infinitive and the imperative.



Linguistic characteristics for these moods are briefly outlined. This is quite commendable as it helps the reader to distinguish certain moods from others. But the question which arises is why only three moods have been selected for treatment. We realize also that the infinitive and the imperative are discussed together as those types of linguistic aspects that show different features from those displayed by proper moods.

3.2.9 From the above discussion it is clear that the question of moods is so problematic an aspect of linguistics that we cannot claim to discuss it fully in a study of this kind. The classification of moods into various categories leaves much to be desired. As evident from the above, scholars tend to label and classify certain linguistic forms as "moods" without ever explaining why and how they come to such conclusions. That is, they have not bothered themselves to lay down criteria for doing so. This kind of thing may be regarded as a cause for the diversity of classification of moods in the same language by different writers. It is worthy, however, to remark that the employment of criteria is the only solution for the attainment of objective results in the classification or the definition of concepts.

#### The Tsonga Moods

3.3.0 As pointed out, the question of moods is a topic by itself so vast that it will not be fair to deal with it as a sub-heading in this treatise. Here it is just cursorily treated because it is a necessary link in the conjugation of the relative clause. Since there exists no satisfactory definition and classification of the moods, it is imperative to resort to some linguistic criteria

for the identification of the basic moods for Tsonga. It must be remembered from the very beginning that even these criteria have no claim to the final solution of the problem of moods, as it is not our aim to deal with it in depth. But it is our belief that these criteria will be useful in our decision-making when the question of whether the relative is a mood or not, is raised. However, for the purposes of the study of the conjugation of the relative predicate we are compelled, at this stage, to select certain moods which appear to be basic for Tsonga. Thus we choose the following moods as basic for Tsonga, to illustrate our viewpoint concerning the distinction of one mood from the other : the indicative, the imperative, the cohortative and the subjunctive. In the distinction of these moods we are going to apply such linguistic criteria as morphology, syntax, semantics and phonology. Here, only sentences in the present tense affirmative and negative will be used for comparison.

### 3.3.1 The Indicative

#### (a) Morphological characteristics

In the positive and negative of the verb the terminatives -a and -i respectively are employed. The verb is always preceded by the SC both in the positive and negative conjugations but an a- further precedes the SC in the negative form. The structure of this mood can be thus represented :

#### Positive

- (i) SC - a - R - a : ndza-tirha ndzi-a-tirha (I Work).
- (ii) SC - R - a : ndzi-tirha.

(i) and (ii) are referred to respectively as the long (definite) and short (indefinite) forms of the indicative.

### Negative

Both forms have the same structure in the negative, e.g.

a - SC - R - i : a-ndzi-tirhi (I do not work).

### (b) Syntactical characteristics

(i) The indicative can employ a substantival subject, e.g.

*Mina ndza-tirha.* (I, I work).

*Mina ndzi-tirha sweswi.* (I, I work now).

(ii) The indicative can be followed by an object or extensions of the predicate. This is a feature which is binding to the short form of the indicative if it is to be intelligible, e.g.

*ndza-tirha endlwini.* (I work in the house).

*ndzi-tirha endlwini.* (I work in the house).

(iii) Both the definite and the indefinite forms can incorporate OC., e.g.

*ndza-wu-tirha.* (I work it).

*ndzi-wu-tirha sweswi.* (I work it now).

### (c) Semological characteristics

(i) Both the long and the short forms of the indicative express a statement of fact. The two



forms do not of necessity imply that the action is actually taking place at the moment of speaking but that the action may be carried out occasionally at other times.

PositiveNegative*Tihomu ta-dya*

(cattle graze)

*Tihomu ti-dya byanyi*

(cattle graze grass)

*tihomu a-ti-dyi*

(cattle do not graze)

*tihomu a-ti-dyi byanyi.*

(cattle do not graze grass)

- (ii) The semantic distinction between the long and the short forms lies in the emphasis. The long form, especially, if used together with the object, is more emphatic than the ordinary short form, e.g.

*ndza-tirha namuntlha* (I do work today)*ndzi-tirha namuntlha* (I work today)(d) Phonological characteristics

In the long and the short forms all the subjectival concords of the 1st and the 2nd persons (singular and plural) carry low tones. But the 3rd person and all the other classes have high toned subjectival concords. e.g.

I     ndzá-tìrhà                     hà-tìrhà  
       *ndzì-tìrhà ngopfu*     *hì-tìrhà ngopfu*

II    *wà-tìrhà*                         *mà-tìrhà*  
       *ù-tìrhà ngopfu*             *mì-tìrhá ngopfu*



- III 1. *wá-tírhà*  
       *ú-tírhá ngopfu*
2. *vá-tírhà*  
       *vá-tírhá ngopfu*
3. *wá-pfúrhà*  
       *wú-pfúrhá ngopfu*
4. *yá-pfúrhà*  
       *yí-pfúrhá ngopfu.*

### 3.3.2 The imperative

This will only be regarded as a mood in so far as it is verbal and not predicative in nature. However, most scholars regard this both in form and function as verbal and interjective. Nonetheless, the imperative in Tsonga displays the following characteristic features.

#### (a) Morphological characteristics

- (i) It consists of a verbstem and a subject which is always implied, e.g.  
*(wena) tirha!* (you) work!
- (ii) The plural form may consist of a root + a + ni, e.g.  
*(n'wina) tirhani!* (you) work!
- (iii) In the plural it may incorporate an OC and the form of the verbstem will then be root + eni, e.g.  
*wu-tirheni!* (do it)  
*n'wi-tirhiseni!* (cause him to work)

In the singular the verb ends in -e/-i when the OC is used, e.g.

*wu-tirhe/i* (you do it)  
*yi-dlaye/i* (kill it).

- (iv) In the reflexive derivative, the imperative changes the final -a into -e and the final -ani into -eni, e.g.

*tipfune!* (help yourself)  
*tipfuneni!* (help yourselves).

- (v) Monosyllabic verbs form their imperatives by suffixing -na in the 2nd person singular and -nani in the 2nd person plural, e.g.

*ba + na*        *bana!*        (beat!)  
*ba + nani*      *banani!*    (beat!)  
*fa + na*        *fana!*        (die!)  
*fa + nani*      *fanani!*    (die!)  
*dya + na*       *dyana!*      (eat!)  
*dya + nani*     *dyanani!*    (eat!)

(b) Syntactical characteristics

- (i) It is a one-verbstem sentence, e.g. *tirha!*  
 (work!) *tirhani!* *tirhisani!* *tirhelani!*  
*tirhelanani!*

- (ii) It can take an object, e.g.  
*Tirha kwalaho!* (Work there)

(c) Semological characteristics

- (i) It expresses commands and requests, e.g.  
*tipfune!* (Help yourself !)  
*u-nga-endla!* (you might do!)  
*ma-nga-endlani!* (please do ye !)

- (ii) It is a will mood because it expresses the will of the speaker, e.g.

*teka leswi!* (take these!)

- (iii) It always refers to the 2nd person singular and plural only as understood, e.g.

(*wena*) *tirha!* (you work!)

(*n'wina*) *tirhani!*

(d) Phonological characteristics

The toneme pattern is always a falling one with the ultimate syllable on a low tone, e.g.

disyllabic stem : *tísà!* (bring!)

polysyllabic stems : *tísání!* (bring)

*tírhélánání* (work for each other)

3.3.3 The subjunctive

(a) Morphological characteristics

- (i) The subjunctive in the positive is formed as follows :

... conjunctive - SC - R - a, e.g.

... *leswaku/kuri ndzi-tirha.* (... so that I may work).

- (ii) The negative is formed as follows :

... conjunctive - SC - negative nga - R - i, e.g.

... *leswaku/kuri ndzi-nga-tirhi* (... so that I may not work).

(b) Syntactical Characteristics

- (i) It is an action following or depending on, or resulting from, an action mentioned before or understood to precede, e.g.

*U ndzi byela leswaku/kuri ndzi-tírhá.*

(he tells me so that I may work).

*Tinguluve ti-phameleriwa leswaku/kuri tí-nóná.*

(The pigs are fed so that they may be fat).

- (ii) It makes use of conjunctives *leswaku/kuri* (so that) which always appear before the predicate, e.g.

*U-tibela leswaku/kuri tí-kóká swínéné.*

(He whips them so that they may pull well).

*Va-hi-byela leswaku/kuri hí-tírhá.*

(They tell us so that we may work).

*Wa-tirha leswaku/kuri á-tá-hólá.*

(He works so that he may earn).

- (iii) Thus it is a dependent mood, modifying the predicate of the main clause, cf examples above.

(c) Semological characteristics

- (i) It expresses a wish or a cause, e.g.

*U-ya exikolweni leswaku á-tá-dyóndzéká.*

(He goes to school so that he may be learned).

*Wa-bokoloka leswaku á-twíwá.*

(He talks loudly so that he can be heard).

- (ii) It is a complement to a command, e.g.

*Vuyani (leswaku/kuri) hí-vúlávúlá mháká lèyĩ.*

(Come back, (so that) we may discuss this matter).

*Ti-tiseni (leswaku/kuri) hí-tí-páná.*

(Bring them (so that) we may inspan them).

*Tanani (leswaku/kuri) hí-dyá.*

(come (so that) we may eat).



- (iii) It refers to a process which follows from a previous one, i.e. causatively, e.g.

*Va-hi-kombela leswaku/kuri hí-vá-pfúná.*

(They ask us so that we help them).

*Hi-n'wi-tisile leswaku/kuri á-tá-dyóndzá.*

(We brought him so that he might learn).

(d) Phonological characteristics

Generally, the predicate of the subjunctive has a high toneme pattern, e.g.

... *leswaku/kuri hí-vá-pfúná.*

(.. so that we help them).

... *hí-xí-tírhísá.*

(.. we use it).

... *yí-dyéká.*

(.. it may be edible).

3.3.4 The hortative

This is also referred to as the cohortative. There is only one tense form for the hortative in Tsonga - the present tense.

(a) Morphological characteristics

Positive (a) 1st person singular : a-SC-R-e : *a-ndzi-xave.*  
(let me buy)

(b) 1st person plural (more than two persons)  
a-SC-R-eni : *a-hi-xav-e-ni* (let us buy)

Negative (a) 1st person singular : SC-nga-R-i :  
*ndzi-nga-xav-i* (let me not buy)

(b) 1st person plural (more than two persons)  
SC-nga-R-e-ni : *hi-nga-xav-e-ni* (let us not buy).

Whereas all the positive forms of the cohortative prefix the hortative morpheme /a-/ the negatives do not but they insert the negative formative *-nga* between the SC and the verbstem.

(b) Syntactical characteristics

- (i) The hortative can incorporate a substantival subject, e.g.  
*yena a-a-fambe* (may he go)  
*homu a-yi-rime* (may the cow plough)
- (ii) The hortative can take an object or extensions of the predicate, e.g.  
*a-a-fambe sweswi.* (may he go now)  
*a-a-fambe hi-ku-hatlisa.* (may he go fast)
- (iii) The hortative may take both the subject and object simultaneously, e.g.  
*mina a-ndzi-fambe hi ku-hatlisa* (may I go fast)  
*hina a-hi-fambeni sweswi* (may we go now)
- (iv) The hortative can also be used without a substantival subject and object, e.g.  
*a-ndzi-fambe* (let me go)  
*a-hi-fambeni* (let us go)
- (v) It may also incorporate an OC, e.g.  
*a-a-wu-tirhe* (let him do it).  
*a-hi-n'wi-vutise.* (let us ask him).

(c) Semological characteristics

- (i) It expresses a polite command which is more polite than the imperative, e.g.  
*a-mi-hi-pfune* (may you please help us)  
*a-va-vuye* (let them return)

- (ii) The hortative can also be used to express a wish which is intended to be executed by a group of people, e.g.

*a-hi-khongeleni* (let us pray)

*a-hi-yeni* (let us go).

(d) Phonological characteristics

- (i) The hortative carries a high toneme pattern except the ultimate syllable which has a low tone, e.g.

*á-ndzí-xávè* (let me buy)

*á-á-fámbè* (let him go)

*á-hí-khóngélénì* (let us pray).

- (ii) In the negative the SC and the negative indicator *-nga-* have low tones whilst the verbstem has a high low tone. This feature is similar to that of the imperative, e.g.

*hì-ngà-xávì* (let us not buy)

*ù-ngà-tírhì* (let you not work)

*à-ngà-vúlávúli* (let him not speak).

3.3.5 The relative

The criteria used in respect of the indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive and the hortative will also be applied here to ascertain whether the relative shows the same characteristics. Here sentences in the direct and indirect relationship in the present tense affirmative and negative will be used to illustrate our case. Compare the following :

(a) Morphological characteristicsDirectPositive

A + RP + SC - R-aka  
 mufana, *loyi a-vonaka*,  
 wa-ta.

(The boy, who sees, is coming)

Negative

A + RP + SC - nga - R-iki.  
 mufana, *loyi-a-nga-voniki*,  
 wa-ta.

(The boy, who does not see,  
 is coming).

IndirectPositive

A + RP + SC - OC - R-aka  
 mufana, *loyi ndzi-n'wi-vonaka*,  
 wa-ta.

(The boy, whom I see, is coming)

Negative

A + RP + SC - nga - OC - R-iki  
 mufana, *loyi ndzi-nga-n'wi*  
*voniki*, wa-ta.

(The boy, whom I do not  
 see, is coming)

(b) Syntactical characteristics

- (i) Normally the order of the words within a relative clause is as follows : A + RP - SC - OC + R verb, e.g.

wanuna, *loyi a-tirhaka*, hi-loyi.

(The man, who works, is this)

wanuna, *loyi va-n'wi-xanisaka*, hi-loyi.

(The man, whom they worry, is this).

- (ii) The relative is always a dependent clause because it depends on the main clause for existence, e.g.

Wansati, *loyi hi-n'wi-tivaka*, wa-vabya.

(The woman, whom we know, is ill).



- (iii) The position of the relative clause within a sentence can be varied for the sake of emphasis, e.g.

Direct

Positive Va-fambile, vanhu, *lava-va-xavaka*.  
 (They have gone, the people who buy).  
*lava va-xavaka, vanhu, va-fambile*.  
 (who buy, the people, have gone).

Negative Va-fambile, vanhu, *lava-va-nga-xaviki*.  
 (They have gone the people, who do not buy).  
*lava va-nga-xaviki, vanhu, va-fambile*.  
 (who do not buy, the people, have gone).

Indirect

Positive *loyi ndzi-n'wi-tivaka, wanuna, u-lovile*.  
 (whom I know, the man, is dead).  
*u-lovile, wanuna, loyi ndzi-n'wi-tivaka*.  
 (he is dead, the man, whom I know).

Negative *loyi ndzi-nga-n'wi-tiviki, wanuna, u-lovile*.  
 (whom I do not know, the man, is dead).  
*u-lovile, wanuna, loyi ndzi-nga-n'wi-tiviki*.  
 (he is dead, the man, whom I do not know).

(c) Semological characteristics

It expresses a condition relative to the action of the verb and as such it always qualifies the antecedent; cf. the examples above.

(d) Phonological characteristics

The toneme pattern of the relative clause within a sentence is high in both the direct and the indirect relationships.

This toneme pattern is in agreement with the participial form of the predicate, hence the claim by some scholars that the relative clause is in the participial mood.

### Direct

Positive Wanuna, *lói á-tírhàká*, wa-famba.  
(The man, who works, is going).

Negative Wanuna, *lói á-ngá-tírhíkí*, wa-famba.  
(The man, who does not work, is going).

### Indirect

Positive Wanuna, *lói, ndzí-n'wí-vónàká*, u-fumile.  
(The man, whom I see, is rich).

Negative Wanuna, *lói ndzìngà-n'wí-vóníkí*, u-fumile.  
(The man, whom I do not see, is rich).

### 3.3.6 A comparative table of the above moods

	Indica- tive	Impera- tive	Subjunc- tive	Horta- tive	Rela- tive
<u>Morphological Features</u>					
(a) Prefixes (i) SC	+	+	+	+	+
(ii) OC	+	+	+	+	+
(iii) MF	+	+	+	+(a-)	+
(b) Suffixes -aki/-iki	-	-	-	-	+
(c) Terminatives -a/-i	+	+	+	-(-e)	+
<u>Syntactical Features</u>					
(a) Uses adjuncts	+	+	+	+	+
(b) Verbstem sentences	-	+	-	-	-

	Indica- tive	Impera- tive	Subjunc- tive	Horta- tive	Rela- tive
(c) Uses conjunctives	-	-	+	-	-
( leswaku/kuri )					
(d) Employs RP	-	-	-	-	+
(1st Position Dem.)					
<u>Semological Features</u>					
It expresses					
(a) factual statements	+	-	-	-	-
(b) Commands	-	+	+	-	-
(c) Wishes	-	-	+	+	-
(d) Qualificative Relation	-	-	-	-	+
(e) Relation with 2nd person only	-	+	-	-	-
<u>Phonological Features</u>					
Distinctive Toneme Pattern					
(a) SC (i) High	+	+	+	+(Pos)	+
(ii) Low	-	-	-	+(Neg)	-
(b) Verbstem (i) High	+	-	+	-	+
(ii) High low (Low 1st & 2nd Persons)	+	+	-	+	-

Key : + (Yes)

- (No)

From the table one can deduce the following oppositions which exist between the relative and the predicates of the other moods.



(a) Of the five morphological features compared, the relative differs from the indicative and the subjunctive in one feature only, and it differs from the imperative and the hortative in respect of two features.

(b) Syntactically, four characteristic features are compared : the hortative and the indicative differ in one feature only from the relative, whereas the subjunctive and the imperative differ by two features from the relative.

(c) Five semological features are compared and the difference between the relative and the indicative is in one feature only, whereas the imperative and the subjunctive differ by three features from the relative, whilst the hortative differs from the relative by two features.

(d) Phonologically, four features are compared and the difference between the relative and the indicative as well as the subjunctive is nil; whereas the differences between the relative and the hortative and the imperative are three and two, respectively.

From the above it is clear that the relative predicate distinguishes itself by showing features that would warrant this predicate to be termed a mood on its own. The relative predicate assumes a form unique to itself alone and differs sufficiently from all other moods in respect of its morphology, syntax, semology, and phonology. Furthermore, it was found that the relative predicate could not be conjugated in terms of the other moods because it tends to exclude them to the same extent as the basic moods mutually exclude each other. A verb cannot be found in two distinct moods at the same time. In view of all these considerations, there appear to me ample reasons for



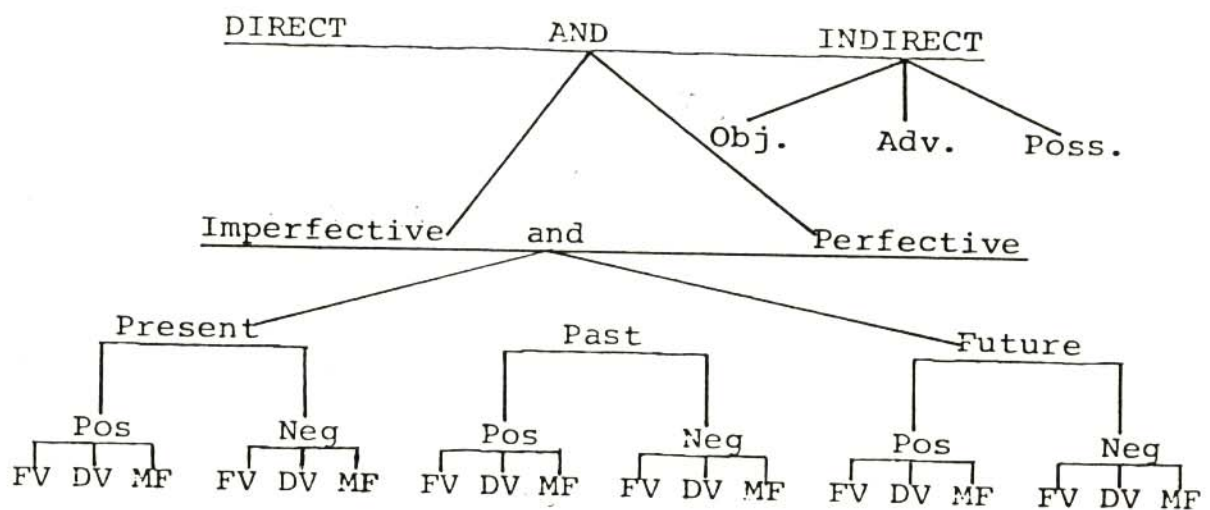
concluding that the relative predicate is a mood by itself which could be rightly termed a relative mood. Therefore, the whole question of the conjugation of the relative in respect of the other moods is no longer going to be our problem in the following chapters. This, however, will not exclude a study of the relative predicate in various modalities.

## CHAPTER IV

## 4.0.0 CONJUGATION OF THE VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSE

In the previous chapter it has been briefly but objectively attempted to indicate that the relative can also be regarded as a basic mood in the same manner as the indicative, imperative etc. are. Hence in this chapter the relative is going to be treated as a proper mood capable of fullscale conjugation into the various tenses and implications in the positive and negative. From the outset it is well to remember that the positive and negative are two separate conjugations with the consequence that the negative is not necessarily a morphological counterpart of the positive. In this chapter too, reference will be made to both the direct and the indirect relationships in the imperfective and the perfective aspects. However, it is regrettable that no satisfactory attention has been given to the question of aspect in Tsonga. The grammar that is in use often regards "aspect" as a phenomenon that is relative to "tense" or "time". The most common mistake made here by several scholars is to consider the perfective and the imperfective forms of the verb as past and present tenses respectively. In actual fact the perfective indicates a completed event or action, resulting in a condition, whereas the imperfective implies that the process referred to by the verb is still in progress at the time specified. The perfective and the imperfective aspects function independently of time. These two aspects can each be easily used in the present, past and future times. The idea of the perfective and the imperfective is well-expressed by Prof. Endemann in the Taalfasette 2, 1966, in an article titled "'n Voorlopige ondersoek na aspekverksynsels in Noord-Sotho". (p. 49 - 59). Basically, our conjugation of the relative will be based on his findings where applicable.

For the sake of clear and logical rendering of the conjugations of the relative, the study will be further sub-divided into sub-headings governed by the relative verbs, deficient verbs and modal formatives. Initially the former aspect was intended to form chapter 4 under the title "Primary Conjugation" whilst the latter two were to form a chapter 5 entitled "Secondary Conjugation". However, after putting these to a test it became apparent that there is such an overlap in the usage of the finite verbs and modal formatives that the division seems completely unjustifiable. Hence our present approach. The scheme to be followed in this chapter is given below :



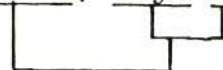
#### 4.1.0 DIRECT RELATIONSHIP

As pointed out in chapter 2 the direct relationship shows that the antecedent is actually the subject of the predicate in the relative clause.

The sentences to be conjugated will incorporate ordinary finite verbs, deficient verbs and modal formatives selected at random from Tsonga.

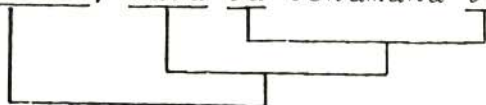
4.1.1 Imperfective(a) Present(i) Positive

Wanuna, lói á-tírháká, u-tlharihile.



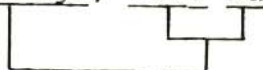
(The man, who works, is intelligent).

Vavanuna, lává vá-tshámáká vá-tírhá, va-fikile.



(The men, who continuously work, have arrived).

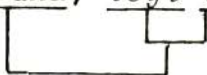
Ximanga, léxi xá-há-nwáká mási, xi-basile.



(The cat, that still drinks milk, is white).

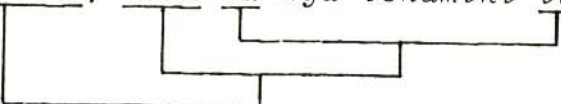
(ii) Negative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-tírhíkí, u-tlharihile.



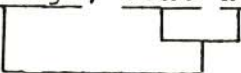
(The man, who does not work, is intelligent).

Vavanuna, lává vá-ngà-tshámíkí vá-tírhá, va-fikile.



(The men, who do not continuously work, have arrived).

Ximanga, léxi xí-ngà-há-nwíkí mási, xi-basile.



(The cat, that does not still drink milk, is white).

Both the positive and negative conjugations in the present point out that the acts of 'working' and 'drinking' are or are not taking place at the time of speaking.



(b) Past(i) Positive

Vavasati, lává á vá-vúlávúlá, va-fambile.

(The women, who were talking, have left).

Vana, lává á vá-pfá vá-cínà, hi lava.

(The children, who were sometimes dancing, are these).

Tihomu, létí à tò-rímà, ti-karhele.

(The cattle, that were just ploughing, are tired).

(ii) Negative

Vavasati, lává á vá-ngà-vúlávúli, va-fambile.

(The women, who were not talking, have left).

Vana, lává á vá-ngà-pfí vá-cínà, hi lava.

(The children, who were not sometimes dancing, are these).

Tihomu, létí á tò-ká tí-ngà-rími, ti-karhele.

(The cattle, that were not just ploughing, are tired).

This tense shows that the activities performed here took place in the past without ever referring to whether they were completed or not.

(c) Future(i) Positive

Mbyana, léyí yí-ngà-tá-hlótà, yi-ni rivilo.

(The dog, which will hunt, is fast).

Tidonki, léti tí-ngà-tá-kóndzà tí-rímã, ti-tele.

(The donkeys, that will ultimately plough, are many).

Puluhu, léri rã-hà-tá-céláká fóró, ri-tshovekile.

(The plough, that will still dig a furrow, is broken).

(ii) Negative

Mbyana, léyi yí-ngà-tákà yí-ngà-hlótí, yi-ni rivilo.

(The dog, that will not hunt, is fast).

Tidonki, léti tí-ngà-tákà tí-ngà-kóndzì tí-rímã, ti-tele.

(The donkeys, that will not ultimately plough, are many).

Puluhu, léri rí-ngà-tákà rí-ngà-hà-céli fóró,  
ri-tshovekile.

(The plough, that will not still dig a furrow, is broken).

The future time refers to something which is or is not supposed or expected to take place in the time to come. The process is not expected to have been completed at that time in the future.

4.1.2 Perfective

(a) Present

(i) Positive

Murhi, lówú wú-wèké, wa-tsemiwa.

(The tree, that has fallen, is chopped).

Khamba, léri ri-tlhèléké ri-yivá, ri-ta-khomiwa.

(The thief, who has stolen again, will be arrested).

Ximanga, léxi xá-hà-dláyéke kóndlò, hi lexi.

(The cat, that has still killed a rat, is this).

(ii) Negative

Murhi, lówú, wú-ngà-wángiki, wa-tsemiwa.

(The tree, that has not fallen, is chopped).

Khamba, léri ri-ngà-tlhèlángiki ri-yivá, ri-ta-khomiwa.

(The thief, that has not stolen again, will be arrested).

Ximanga, léxi xi-ngà-há-dláyángiki kóndlò, hi lexi.

(The cat, that has not still killed a rat, is this).

(b) Past

(i) Positive

Vavanuna, lává á vá-vúlávúrilé, va-fambile.

(The men, who had spoken, have left).

Mbyana, léyi á yí-sárilé yí-vúkùlá, i ya mina.

(The dog, which had meanwhile barked, is mine).

Mukhalabya, lói á á-há-nwilé byàlwá, i kokwana.

(The old-man, who had still drunk beer, is grandfather).

(ii) Negative

Vavanuna, lává á vá-ngà-vúlávúlángi, va-fambile.

(The men, who had not spoken, have left).

Mbyana, léyí á yí-ngà-sálángí yí-vúkúlá, i ya mina.

(The dog, that had not meanwhile barked, is mine).

Makhalabya, lôyí á á-ngà-há-nwángí byàlwá, i kokwana.

(The oldman, who had not still drunk beer, is grandfather).

This refers to something that had been thoroughly completed.

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Mbyana, léyí á yí-tá-và yí-hlòtílé, yini rivilo.

(The dog, that would have hunted, is fast).

Tihuku, létí á tí-tá-và tí-zílé tí-tshíkélá màndzá, i tinyingi.

(The fowls, that would have ultimately laid eggs, are many).

Ximanga, léxí á xí-tó-và xá-há-nwílé másì, xi-sasekile.

(The cat, that would have just still drunk milk, is beautiful).

(ii) Negative

Mbyana, léyí á yí-tá-và yí-ngà hlòtángà, yi-ni rivilo.

(The dog, that would not have hunted, is fast).

Tihuku, létí á tí-tá-và tí-ngá-zàngí tí-tshíkélá màndzá,  
i tinyingi.

(The fowls, that would not have ultimately laid eggs, are many).

Ximanga, léxí á xí-tó-và xí-ngà-há-nwángí másì, xi-sasekile.

(The cat, that would not have just still drunk milk, is beautiful).



This type of future implies that some action will be started and completed in the future.

#### 4.1.3 Further examples of the direct relationship

Besides what has been given above, one can still find a host of adjuncts or extensions of the relative predicate within the relative clause. These extensions may take the form of objects and adverbs. A few examples will be cited below to show what the position is in Tsonga. The examples quoted will vary from one tense to another without systematically dividing them into imperfective and perfective aspects as above. Only the positive conjugation will be employed, e.g.

##### (a) Locative extension

Homu, léyí yí-étlélàkà éxiváléni, ya-vabya.

(The cow, which sleeps in the kraal, is ill).

Wanuna, lóyí á-nghénèké éndlwini, u-lehile.

(The man, who entered into the house, is tall).

Vafana, lává vá-tólóvéleké kú-khídà élwándlé, va-vuyile.

(The boys, who used to swim in the sea, have returned).

Tihuku, létí á tí-ándhá kú-étlélà éxiháhlwini, ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, that frequently slept in a fowlrun, have been sold).

Swinyanyana, léswí swí-ngà-tá-byámélà éndzèni ká swisàkà, swi-tele.

(The birds, which will brood inside the nests, are many).

##### (b) Instrumental extension

Wansati, lóyí á-tálàkà kú-swékà hí nkómbé, i wa mina.

(The woman, who usually cooks with a wooden spoon, is mine).

Nyama, léyí yá-hà-xékiwàkà hí mùkwànà, ya-sihalala.

(The meat, that is still being cut with a knife, is tough).

Vafana, lává á vá-dláyá nyóká hí-máribyé, va-ni nsele.

(The boys, who were killing a snake with stones, are cruel).

Xigevenga, léxí xí-tírhétélèké kù-dláyá vánhù hí xíhlòkà,  
xi-khomiwile.

(The criminal, who used to kill people with a hatchet, has been arrested).

(c) Connective or associative extension

Ximanga, léxí xí-ngà-tá-étlélà ní tímbyáná, i xa Khazamula.

(The cat, which will sleep with the dogs, is Khaamula's).

Vahwana, lává vá-búlàkà ní vákhálábyà, va-sasekile.

(The ladies, who chat with the oldman, are pretty).

Tihuku, létí tí-tshámàkà ní màsèkwá, i ta tatana.

(The fowls, that stay with the ducks, are farther's).

Mbyana, léyí yí-fámbéké ná kókwànà, yi-tsutsuma ngopfu.

(The dog, which went with my granny, runs fast).

(d) Agentive extension

Huku, léyí yí-lúmiwèké hí nyóká, yi-file.

(The fowl, that has been bitten by a snake, is dead).

Byanyi, lébyí byí-ngà-hísíwàkà hí ndzílò, byi-omile.

(The grass, that can be burnt by fire, is dry).

Rintiho, lérí rí-ngà-tá-tsémiwà hí dókódèlà, ri-lo-tshoveka.

(The finger, which will be amputated by a doctor, is just broken).

Tindlu, létí tí-tálàkà kú wísíwà hí móyá, a ti-tiyangi.

(The houses, that are frequently blown off by wind, are not strong).

(e) Comparison extension

Wansati, lói yí á-tírkhàkà tání hí wánúná, hi loyi.

(The woman, who works like a man, is this).

Mbyana, léyí yí-lúmàkà óngé í hlòlwá, yi-vavisekile.

(The dog, that bites like a wolf, is injured).

Maphepha, lámá má-pfàkà má-tshwá kù fánà ní màlí, i manyingi.

(The papers, which sometimes burn like money, are many).

Mova, lówú wá-há-nyángányàkà tání-hí-chúkélà, wu-huma eNatala.

(The sugarcane, which is still as sweet as sugar, comes from Natal).

(f) Possessive extension

Switina, léswí swí-ákèké xíkólò rá híná, swi-tiyile.

(The bricks, that built our school, are strong).

Vanhu, lává vá-tólóvélàkà kù-yívá tímútí tá ván'wánà,  
va-ta-khomíwa.

(The people, who usually steal others' goats, will be arrested).

Timbyana, létí tí-dyàkà màndzá yá-tihúkú, ta-karhata.

(The dogs, that eat the eggs of the fowls, are troublesome).

Vuvabyi, lébyí byí-ngá-tshúkàkà byí-dláyá vánhù vá tikó,  
byí-siveriwile.

(The disease, which can incidentally kill the country's people, has been prevented).



Ximanga, léxí á xá-há-nwílé mási yá hònú, xi-basile.

(The cat, that had still drunk the milk of a cow, is white).

(g) Object extension

From the above examples it is evident that all the extensions, locative, instrumental, possessive, etc, are nothing else but objects of the relative predicates. Nonetheless, substantival objects can also be used to complement the relative predicate as it is the case with the examples that follow :

Mukwana, lówú wú-xékàkà nyámà, wa-kariha.

(The knife, which cuts meat, is sharp).

Tinfenhe, létí á tí-dyá mávèlé, ti-balekele entshaveni.

(The baboons, which were eating mealies, fled to the mountain).

Poto, lérí rí-ngá-swékàkà vúswá, i ra manana.

(The pot, which can cook porridge, is mother's).

Vana, lává vá-rhándzàkà kù-tlángá bóló, i vambirhi ntsena.

(The children, who love to play soccer, are only two).

Hanci, léyí yá-hà-rhándzàkà kù-dyá byányí, yi-nonile.

(The horse, which still loves to eat grass, is fat).

4.1.4 The conjugation of the direct relationship above reveals that :

- (i) The relative suffixes *-aka*; *-eke* (positive) and *-iki*; *-angiki* are always affixed to the finite verbs but when the deficient verbs are employed the suffixes are then attached to the deficient



verbs only, cf. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 (Imperfective and Perfective) (a) (i) and (ii) (Present, positive and negative respectively).

- (ii) The morphology of the finite verbs is uniform in all the tenses but these assume different shades of meaning brought about by the tenses of the deficient verbs.
- (iii) The past and future times in the perfective affix the suffixes *-ile* (positive) and *-angi* (negative) to the finite verb (only when the deficient verb is not used) and to the deficient verb when used. Compare, 4.1.2 (b) (i) and (ii) and (c) (i) and (ii) (Perfective; Past (positive and negative), Future (positive and negative)). In all these instances the *a*-past time indicator is employed, although it has been used in 4.1.1 (b) (Imperfective: Past). The suffixes with the help of the *a*-function as modifiers of the relative predicate to show that what the finite verb refers to has or has not been duly completed.
- (iv) In both the aspects, futurity is indicated by the modal formatives *ta* or *to*, showing that something will or will not take place in the time to come. The future perfective introduces the modal formative */-va-/* which enables the relative predicate to assume its perfective character properly.
- (v) In Tsonga there are more deficient roots than modal formatives. This is so because several finite verbs can be used deficiently.
- (vi) The most popular modal formatives found in Tsonga

are the ones referred to in this chapter, namely /-ha-/ indicating continuity, /-nga-/ indicating potentiality /-o-/ indicating just or only /-ta-/ indicating futurity and /-si-/ indicating a strong negation of 'not yet' or 'never' Whereas /-si-/ has no positive morphological counterpart, the rest have both positive and negative forms.

- (vii) All extensions (a) - (g) can serve as objects of the relative predicate but the various extensions without substantival objects do not have limits to their referents.
- (viii) These extensions do not of necessity refer to the antecedent - they can be omitted without ever affecting the form and the sense of the relative predicate which they merely serve to complement.
- (ix) Like deficient verbs, modal formatives also give added meanings to the finite verbs, that is, they help to modify the verbs.

#### 4.2.0 INDIRECT RELATIONSHIP

In this relationship the antecedent is not the subject of the relative verb but it assumes several oblique relationships as is evident from the examples that follow.

##### 4.2.1 Objectival relationship

In this case it is to be noted that the object of the relative verb is the antecedent.

4.2.1.1 Imperfective(a) Present(i) Positive

Jaha, léri nhwánà á-rí-rhándzàkà, ri-sasekile.

(The gentleman, whom the lady loves, is handsome).

Huku, léyí mùfánà á-hà-yí-dláyàkà, i yakwe.

(The fowl, which the boy still kills, is his).

Rhole, léri ndzí-pfàkà ndzí-rí-chávísá, ra-tsutsuma.

(The calf, which I sometimes frighten, runs).

(ii) Negative

Jaha, léri nhwánà á-ngà-rí-rhándzíkí, ri-sasekile.

(The gentleman, whom the lady does not love, is handsome).

Huku, léyí mùfánà á-ngà-hà-yí-dláyíkí, i yakwe.

(The fowl, which the boy does not still kill, is his).

Rhole, léri ndzí-ngà-pfíkí ndzí-rí-chávísá, ra-tsutsuma.

(The calf, which I do not sometimes frighten, runs).

(b) Past(i) Positive

Kondlo, léri xímàngà á-xí-rí-hlótà, ri-nonile.

(The rat, which the cat was hunting, is fat).

Timbuti, létí mbyánà á-yí-tshámá yí-tí-lúmá, ti-le xivaleni.

(The goats, which the dog was continuously biting, are in the kraal).



Ribye, léri á ndzà-hà-rí-rhwálà, ra-tika.

(The stone, which I was still carrying, is heavy).

(ii) Negative

Kondlo, léri xímàngà á xí-ngà-rí-hlótì, ri-nonile.

(The rat, which the cat was not hunting, is fat).

Timbuti, létí mbyánà á yí-ngà-tshámí yí-tí-lúmà, ti-le  
xivaleni.

(The goats, which the dog was not continuously biting, are in the kraal).

Ribye, léri á ndzí-ngà-há-rí-rhwáli, ra-tika.

(The stone, which I was not still carrying, is heavy).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Jaha, léri nhwánà á ngà-tá-rí-rhándzà, ri-sasekile.

(The gentleman, whom the lady will love, is handsome).

Rhole, léri ndzí-ngà-tá-pfá ndzí-rí-chávisá, ra-tsutsuma.

(The calf, that I will sometimes frighten, runs).

Kondlo, léri xímàngà xá-hà-tá-rí-hlótáká, ri-nonile.

(The rat, which the cat will still hunt, is fat).

(ii) Negative

Jaha, léri nhwánà á-ngà-tá-kà á-ngà-rí-rhándzì, ri-sasekile.

(The gentleman, whom the lady will not love, is handsome).

Rhole, léri ndzí-ngà-tá-kà ndzí-ngà-pfí ndzí-rí-chávisá,  
ra-tsutsuma.

(The calf, that I will not sometimes frighten, runs).



Kondlo, léri xímàngà xí-ngà-tà kà xí-ngà-hà-rí-hlótì,  
 ri-nonile.

(The rat, which the cat will not still hunt, is fat).

#### 4.2.1.2 Perfective

##### (a) Present

##### (i) Positive

Xihloka, léxi hí-xí-lòtéké, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have sharpened, is sharp).

Xihloka, léxi hí-vúyèké hí-xí-lótá, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have ultimately sharpened, is sharp).

Xihloka, léxi há-hà-xí-lótèké, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have still sharpened, is sharp).

##### (ii) Negative

Xihloka, léxi hí-ngà-xí-lòtángìkí, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have not sharpened, is sharp).

Xihloka, léxi hí-ngà-vúyángìkí hí-xí-lótà, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have not ultimately sharpened, is sharp).

Xihloka, léxi hí-ngà-hà-xí-lòtángìkí, xa-kariha.

(The axe, which we have not still sharpened, is sharp).

##### (b) Past

##### (i) Positive

Mbyana, léyi wánúná á á-yi-xàvílé, yi-lahlekile.

(The dog, which a man had bought, is lost).

Mbyana, léyí wánúná á á-hérílé á-yí-xávà, yi-lahlekile

(The dog, which a man had ultimately bought, is lost).

Mbyana, léyí wánúná á á-hà-yí-xàvìlè, yi-lahlekile.

(The dog, which a man had still bought, is lost).

(ii) Negative

Mbyana, léyí wánúná á á-ngà-yí-xàvàngà, yi-lahlekile.

(The dog, which a man had not bought, is lost).

Mbyana, léyí wánúná á á-ngà-hélángì á-yí-xávà, yi lahlekile.

(The dog, which a man had not ultimately bought, is lost).

Mbyana, léyí wánúná á á-ngà-há-yí-xàvàngì, yi-lahlekile.

(The dog, which a man had not still bought, is lost).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Wanuna, lòyí vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-n'wí-khètílé, u-ta-va hosi.

(The man, whom the people would have elected, will be a chief).

Wanuna, lòyí vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-zílé vá-n'wí-khètá, u-ta-va hosi.

(The man, whom the people would have finally elected, will be a chief).

Wanuna, lòyí vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-hà-n'wí-khètílé, u-ta-va hosi.

(The man, whom the people would have still elected, will be a chief).

(ii) Negative

Wanuna, lòyí vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-ngà-n'wí-khètángì, u-ta-va hosi.

(The man, whom people would not have elected, will be a

↑

Wanuna, lói vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-ngà-zángì vá-n'wí-khétá,  
 u-ta-va hosi.

(The man, whom people would not have finally elected,  
 will be a chief).

↑

Wanuna, lói vánhù á vá-tá-và vá-ngà-há-n'wí-khètángì,  
 u-ta-va hosi

(The man, whom the people would not have still elected,  
 will be chief).

What emanates from the examples cited above concerning the  
 objectival relationship is the following :

1. The present imperfective employs the relative suffixes  
 -aka and -iki positive and negative respectively; whilst  
 the suffixes -eke and -angiki appear in the present per-  
 fective in the positive and negative conjugations.
2. The past imperfective is characterized by the use of  
 the a-past tense while the past perfective uses the  
 suffixes -ile for positive and -angi for negative.
3. The future imperfective has nga-ta and ta-ka as the  
 main determinants for positive and negative conjuga-  
 tions while the relative verb or deficient verb ends  
 in -a and -i in the positive and negative respectively.  
 In the future perfective the verbs terminate with  
 -ile (positive) and -angi (negative); again ta-va are  
 symbols for futurity. Here we note that the relative  
 clause may also contain several predicatives.

#### 4.2.2 Adverbial relationship

There is a variety of relationships which can be classified  
 under this category as will be revealed by the examples  
 that follow below :



4.2.2.1 Imperfective(a) Present (Locative)(i) Positive

Murhi, lówú hí-wisàká éhànsí ká wòná, wu-lehile.

(The tree, under which we rest, is tall).

Emutini, láhá hí-tshámàká kòná, i kule.

(At the village, where we stay, is far).

(ii) Negative

Murhi, lówú hí-ngà-wisìkí éhànsí ká wòná, wu-lehile.

(The tree, under which we do not rest, is tall).

Emutini, láhá hí-ngà-tshámìkí kòná, i kule.

(At the village, where we do not stay, is far).

(b) Past (Instrumental)(i) Positive

Ribye, lérí á vá-sílá hí-ròná, ri-ni thyaka.

(The stone, by which they were grinding, is dirty).

Voya, lébyí mínkúmbà á yí-éndlìwà hí byòná, bya-dura.

(The fur, by which blankets were made, is expensive).

Nyangwa, lówú á hí-nghènà há wòná, wu-khumile.

(The gate, through which we were entering, is narrow).

(ii) Negative

Ribye, lérí á vá-ngà-sílí hí ròná, ri-ni thyaka.

(The stone, by which they were not grinding, is dirty).



Voya, lébyí minkúmbà á yí-ngà-éndlíwí hí byóná, bya-dura.

(The fur, by which blankets were not made, is expensive).

Nyangwa, lówú á hí-ngà-nghéní há wóná, wu-khumile.

(The gate, through which we were not entering, is narrow).

(c) Future (Connective)

(i) Positive

Wanuna, lói ndzí-ngà-tá-tírhà ná yéná, wa-loloha.

(The man, with whom I shall work, is lazy).

Xikoxa, léxi ndzí-ngà-tá-fámbà nàxó, xa-karhata.

(The oldlady, with whom I shall go, is troublesome).

Hosi, léyí hí-ngà-tá-tshámá ní málándzà yá yóná, ya-vabya.

(The chief, with whose servants we shall stay, is ill).

(ii) Negative

Wanuna, lói ndzí-ngà-tá-kà ndzí-ngá-tírhí ná yéná, wa-loloha.

(The man, with whom I shall not work, is lazy).

Xikoxa, léxi ndzí-ngà-tá-kà ndzí-ngá-fámbí nàxó, xa-karhata.

(The oldlady, with whom I shall not go, is troublesome).

Hosi, léyí hí-ngà-tá-kà hí-ngá-tshámí ní málándzà yá yóná, ya-vabya.

(The chief, with whose servants we shall not stay, is ill).

4.2.2.2 Perfective

(a) Present (Agentive)

(i) Positive

Mbyana, léyí mufána á-lúmiwèké hí yóná, ya-penga.

(The dog, by which the boy was bitten, is mad).

Vafana, lává hò mú yí-dlávèké hí vóná, va-karhele.

(The boys, by whom the cow was killed, are tired).

Mbyana, léyí mpfúndlà wú-khómíwèké hí yóná, i ya mina.

(The dog, by which the hare was caught, is mine).

Xihloka, léxí mirhí yí-tsémíwèké hí xóná, xa-kariha.

(The axe, with which trees are chopped, is sharp).

(ii) Negative

Mbyana, léyí mufána á-ngá-lúmiwángìkí hí yóná, ya-penga.

(The dog, by which the boy was not bitten, is mad).

Vafana, lává hò mú yí-ngá-dlávángìkí hí vóná, va-karhele.

(The boys, by whom the cow was not killed, are tired).

Mbyana, léyí mpfúndlà wú-ngá-khómíwángìkí hí yóná, i ya mina.

(The dog, by which the hare was not caught, is mine).

Xihloka, léxí mirhí yí-ngá-tsémíwángìkí hí xóná, xa-kariha.

(The axe, with which trees are not chopped, is sharp).

(b) Past (Comparison)(i) Positive

Rhole, lérí mbyáná á yí-tsútsúmilé táni hí róná, i rintsongo.

(The calf, like which the dog had run, is small).

Mufuna, lóyí váná á vá-yímbélérilé kú-fáná nà yèná, hi loyi.

(The boy, like whom the children had sung, is this).

Wanuna, lóyí á vá-tírhilé kú-kótá yèná, wa-ta.

(The man, like whom they had worked, comes).

(ii) Negative

Rhole, lérí mbyáná á yí-ngà-tsùtsùmángá tání hí ròná,  
i rintsongo.

(The calf, like which the dog had not run, is small).

Mufana, lóyí vánà á vá-ngà-yímbélélángá kú-fáná nà yèná,  
hi loyi.

(The boy, like whom the children had not sung, is this).

Wanuna, lóyí á vá-ngà-tírhangá kú-kótá yèná, wa-ta.

(The man, like whom they had not worked, comes).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Murhi, lówú xínyányánà á xí-tá-và xí-ákilé éhénhlà ká wòná,  
wu le kule.

(The tree, on top of which the bird would have built, is far).

Nkombe, lówú vúswá á byí-tá-và byí-swékiwilé hí wòná,  
wu-basile.

(The woodenspoon, by which porridge would have been cooked, is clean).

Hi endzerile xikoxa, léxí mánánà á á-tá-và- á-vúyilé nà xòná.

(We visited the old lady, with whom mother would have returned).

Vavanuna, lává á hí-tá-và hí-tísékétérilé hí vòná, a-va-tshembeki.

(The men, on whom we would have leaned, are unreliable).



(ii) Negative

Murhi, lówú xínyányánà á xí-tá-và xí-ngà-ákángì éhènhlá ká wóna  
 wu-le kule.

(The tree, on top of which the bird would not have built, is far).

Nkombe, lówú vúswà á byí-tá-và byí-ngà-swékiwángì hí wóná,  
 wu-basile.

(The wooden spoon, by which porridge would not have been cooked, is clean).

Hi endzerile xikoxa, léxí mánánà á á-tá-và á-ngà-vúyángì ná xóná.

(We visited the old lady, with whom mother would not have returned).

Vavanuna, lává á-hí-tá-và hí-ngà-tisékétélángì hí wóná,  
 a va-tshembeki.

(The men, on whom we would not have leaned, are unreliable).

In the above examples the various adverbial relationships, namely the locative, instrumental, connective, agentive and comparison, have been used. Here, too, it can be observed that :

1. The relationships are part of the relative clause but do not affect the basic structure of the relative verb except in the agentive relationship where the relative verb becomes passive in form. Nonetheless, they are essential appendages which help in giving the relative predicate complete sense.
2. The instrumental and the agentive relationships employ the formative /-hi-/ whereas /-na-/ is employed in the connective relationship only.



3. Conjunctives or connectives, such as *tani hi*, *ku kota* etc. (like) also feature with absolute pronouns in the comparison relationship.
4. In the locative relationship the locative itself is used together with the locative prefix which precedes an absolute pronoun.

#### 4.2.3 Possessive relationship

Here the antecedent stands in a possessive relation to the subject of the relative clause as will be shown below :

##### 4.2.3.1 Imperfective

###### (a) Present

###### (i) Positive

Vanhu, lává tímbúti tá vóná tí-dyàká, va kwala.

(The people, whose goats eat, are here).

Vatswari, lává váná vá vóná vá-tírhàká, va-tsakile.

(The parents, whose children work, are happy).

###### (ii) Negative

Vanhu, lává tímbúti tá vóná tí-ngà-dyíkí, va kwala.

(The people, whose goats do not eat, are here).

Vatswari, lává váná vá vóná vá-ngà-tírhíkí, va-tsakile.

(The parents, whose children do not work, are happy).

(b) Past(i) Positive

Wanuna, lói vána vákwe á vá-tlángá, u-fikile.

(The man, whose children were playing, has arrived).

Tihosi, létí vánhù vá tóná á vá-rímà, ti-fumile.

(The chiefs, whose people were ploughing, are wealthy).

(ii) Negative

Wanuna, lói vána vákwe á vá-ngà-tlángi, u-fikile.

(The man, whose children were not playing, has arrived).

Tihosi, létí vánhù vá tóná á vá-ngà-rímì, ti-fumile.

(The chiefs, whose people were not working, are wealthy).

(c) Future(i) Positive

Xihlangi, léxí tínó rá xóná rí-ngà-tá-gúriwá, xa-rila.

(The child, whose tooth will be extracted, cries).

Mufana, lói mbyánà yákwé yí-ngà-tá-yívá, u-ta-khomiwa.

(The boy, whose dog will steal, will be arrested).

(ii) Negative

Xihlangi, léxí tínó rá xóná rí-ngà-tá-kà rí-ngà-gúriwì, xa-rila.

(The child, whose tooth will not be extracted, cries).

Mufana, lói mbyánà yákwé yí-ngà-tá-kà yí-ngà-yívì, u-ta-khomiwa.

(The boy, whose dog will not steal, will be arrested).

4.2.3.2 Perfective

(i) Positive

Milamula, léyí móyá wú-wíséké málàmúlà yá yòná, yi-tele.

(The orange trees, whose oranges were blown off by the wind, are many).

Wansati, lóyí jáhà rí-búléké ní n'wáná wákúwé, wa-rhukana.

(The woman, with whose daughter the gentleman chatted, curses).

(ii) Negative

Milamula, léyí móyá wú-ngá-wísángíkí málàmúlà yá yòná, yi-tele.

(The orange trees, whose oranges were not blown off by the wind, are many).

Wansati, lóyí jáhà rí-ngá-búlángíkí ní n'wáná wákúwé, wa-rhukana.

(The woman, with whose daughter the gentleman did not chat, curses).

(b) Past(i) Positive

Mukhalabya, lóyí móvhà wá yèná á wú-ónhákílé, wa-gungula.

(The oldman, whose car had been out of order, complains).

Homu, léyí rhólè rá yòná á rí-láhlékílé, yi-ni gome.

(The cow, whose calf had been lost, is sad).

(ii) Negative

Mukhalabya, lóyí móvhà wá yèná á wú-ngá-ónhákángí, wa-gungula.

(The old man, whose car had not been out of order, complains).

Homu, léyí rhólè rá yónà á rí-ngà-láhlékángi, yi-ni gome.

(The cow, whose calf had not been lost, is sad).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Xilema, léxí khámhá á rí-tá-vá rí-yívilé swámbálò swá xóná, hi lexi.

(The cripple, whose clothes the thief would have stolen, is this).

Xihloka, léxí mbhínyí wá xóná á wú-tá-vá wú-tshòvékilé, i xa yena.

(The axe, whose handle would have broken, is his).

(ii) Negative

Xilema, léxí khámhá á rí-tá-vá rí-ngà-yívángi swámbálò swá xóná, hi lexi.

(The cripple, whose clothes the thief would not have stolen, is this).

Xihloka, léxí mbhínyí wá xóná á wú-tá-vá wú-ngà-tshòvékángi, i xa yena.

(The axe, whose handle would not have broken, is mine).

From the given examples it is evident that

1. The possessive pronoun may be placed either within or at the end of the relative clause cf 4.2.3.2 (a - c) i.e. Perfective; Present, Past and Future.



2. The possession does not affect changes in the structure of the relative predicate. However, it permeates the whole relative clause with a tone of possession.

#### 4.3.0 Conclusion

This chapter can be concluded in the following manner :

4.3.1 The imperfective and the perfective aspects can be found in both the direct and indirect relationships. These two aspects indicate that some process is either in a state of becoming (imperfective) or it is duly completed, (perfective). Still further, the various sub-relationships can be easily conjugated by using the imperfective and the perfective aspects as our framework.

4.3.2 The fallacy that the perfective is indicative of the past tense only, no longer holds water. As shown above the perfective and the imperfective aspects are capable of utilizing the three basic tenses, namely, present, past and future.

4.3.3 The deficient verbs and the modal formatives can also form an integral part of the relative clause and help to modify the relative predicate.

## CHAPTER V

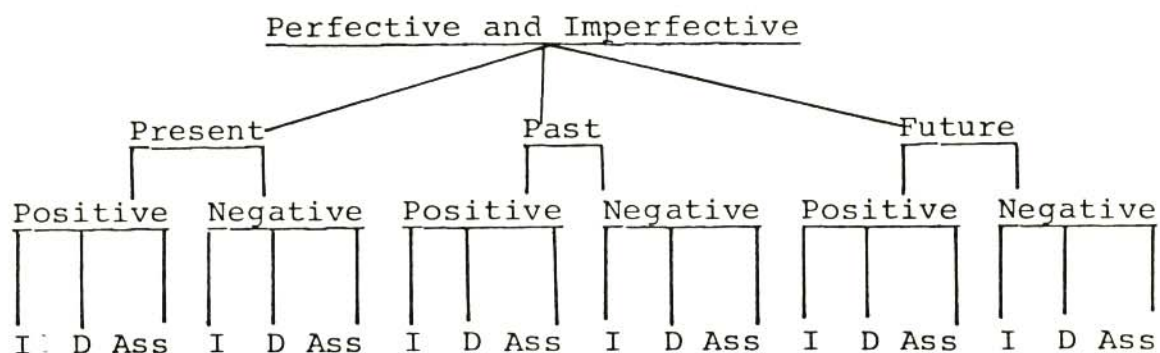
## THE COPULATIVE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION

5.0.0 In our introductory pages we pointed out that this study will be divided into the verbal and the copulative relative constructions. A detailed study of the former has been made and now a similar study of the copulative is to be undertaken here. The main difference between the verbal and the copulative relative constructions lies in the fact that the former is characterized by the incidence of a verbstem whereas the copulative uses a copulative particle as base followed invariably by adjuncts from different kinds of word categories, usually nouns and pronouns. However, these copulative word groups perform the same function as that of verbs. Hence our treatment of these two linguistic aspects under the blanket term of "predicative". From what has been discussed above concerning the verbal predicative, it is clear that a subjectival concord is always affixed to the relative verbstem. The copulative has its own way of forming relative constructions as we shall see below. However, just as it is the case with the verbal relative constructions, there are also two types of relative relationships, namely the direct and the indirect copulative relative constructions. The forms and functions of these two relationships will be systematically outlined below as follows :

The Direct Copulative Relative Construction

5.1.0 In Chapter 2 mention was made of the fact that the direct verbal relationship has an antecedent which is always the subject of the relative predicate. The same is true

of the direct copulative relationship, that is, in this construction the antecedent is the subject of the copulative predicate. Unlike in the direct verbal relative clause where there is only a subject relationship, the direct copulative relationship has a number of sub-relationships. This is partly due to the fact that the predicate in the verbal relative construction, as already indicated, is formed exclusively from a verb stem whereas various word groups inter play in the formation of the copulative predicate. It is impossible to form complete sentences in Tsonga without the aid of any verb. In these instances copulative particles, such as *hi*, *i*, *nga*, *ri*, *va*, etc. are used together with a number of word categories as adjuncts, namely, substantives, qualificatives and adverbs, as will be demonstrated below. However, it is important to remember that the English equivalents for these would make use of auxiliary verbs "to be with" and "to have". According to the method of formation, three types of copulatives can be distinguished in Tsonga, namely, identificative (I) descriptive (D) and associative (Ass) copulatives. From these types, relative constructions can be formed. Thus in our discussion these sub-divisions, together with the imperfective and perfective aspects, will be adhered to wherever applicable as reflected in the summary diagram below.





### 5.1.1 Imperfective

#### (a) Present

#### (i) Positive

#### Identificative copulative word groups

They consist of copulative particles plus adjuncts such as nouns and pronouns. The copulative particle establishes the relation of identification between two substantives, e.g.

Wanuna, lói á-ngá múfúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who is a minister, has arrived).

#### Descriptive copulative word groups

Descriptive copulatives are formed from adjectives and adverbs. They indicate some characteristics feature or state of the subject, that is, they indicate 'how' or 'where' the subject is.

Timbuti, léti tí-ngá-tíntsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that are small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-ngá xíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who are at school, are troublesome).

#### Associative copulative word groups

They are formed with the help of the copulative particle plus a noun or pronoun. The morphemes /-na- or -ni-/ characterize these word groups.



Wanuna, lói á-ngà-ní mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who has a dog, hunts).

(ii) Negative

Identificative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-ríkí mufúndhísí, u-fikile.

(The man, who is not a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti tí-ngà-ríkí tintsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that are not small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-ngà-ríkí éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who are not at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-ríkí-ná mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who does not have a dog, hunts).

(b) Past

(i) Positive

Identificative

Wanuna, lói á á-rí mufúndhísí, u-fikile.

(The man, who was a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, létí á tí-rí-tíntsóngò, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that were small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-rí éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.)

(The children, who were at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á á-rí-ní mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who was having a dog, hunts).

(ii) Negative

Identificative

Wanuna, lói á á-ngà-rí múfúndhísí, u-fikile.

(The man, who was not a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, létí á tí-ngà-rí tíntsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that were not small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-ngà-rí éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who were not at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á á-ngà-rí ná mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who was not having a dog, hunts).

(c) Future(i) PositiveIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-tá-và múfúndhîsí, u-fikile.

(The man, who will be a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti tí-ngà-tá-và tíntsóngò, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that will be small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-ngà-tá-và éxikólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who will be at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-tá-và-ní mbyána, wa-hlota.

(The man, who will have a dog, hunts).

(ii) NegativeIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-tá-kà á-ngà-ví mùfúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who will not be a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti-ti ngà-tá-kà ti-ngà-ví tíntsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that will not be small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-ngà-tá-kà vá-ngà-ví éxikólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who will not be at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-tá-và á-ngà-rí ná mbyána, wa-hlota.

(The man, who will not have a dog, hunts).

5.1.2 Perfective(a) Present(i) PositiveIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á-vèké mùfúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who has been a minister, has arrived).



Descriptive

Timbuti, létí tí-vèké tintsóngò, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that have been small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-vèké éxikólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who have been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á-vèké-ni mbyána, wa-hlota.

(The man, who has had a dog, hunts).

(ii) NegativeIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-vángiki múfúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who has not been a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, létí tí-ngà-vángiki tintsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that have not been small, are lost).

Vana, lává vá-ngà-vángiki éxikólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who have not been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á-ngà-vángiki ná mbyána, wa-hlota.

(The man, who has not had a dog, hunts).

(b) Past(i) PositiveIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á á-ve mufúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who had been a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti á tí-ve tintsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that had been small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-ve éxikólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who had been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á á-ve-ni mbyána, wa-hlota.

(The man, who had had a dog, hunts).

(ii) NegativeIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á á-ngà-vangi mufúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who had not been a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti á tí-ngà-vangi tintsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that had not been small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-ngà-vángí éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who had not been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á á-ngà-vángí ná mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who had not had a dog, hunts).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

Identificative

Wanuna, lói á á-tá-vá á-vé múfúndhisi, u-fikile.

(The man, who would have been a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti á tí-tá-vá tí-vé tíntsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that would have been small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-tá-vá vá-vé éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who would have been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói á á-tá-vá á-vé ní mbyáná, wa-hlota.

(The man, who would have had a dog, hunts).

(ii) NegativeIdentificative

Wanuna, lói á á-tá-vá á-ngà-vángí múfúndhísí, u-fikile.

(The man, who would not have been a minister, has arrived).

Descriptive

Timbuti, léti á tí-tá-vá tí-ngà-vángí tíntsóngó, ti-lahlekile.

(The goats, that would not have been small, are lost).

Vana, lává á vá-tá-vá vá-ngà-vángí éxíkólwéni, va-karhata.

(The children, who would not have been at school, are troublesome).

Associative

Wanuna, lói a á-tá-vá á-ngà-vángí ná-mbyáná, wa-hlota.

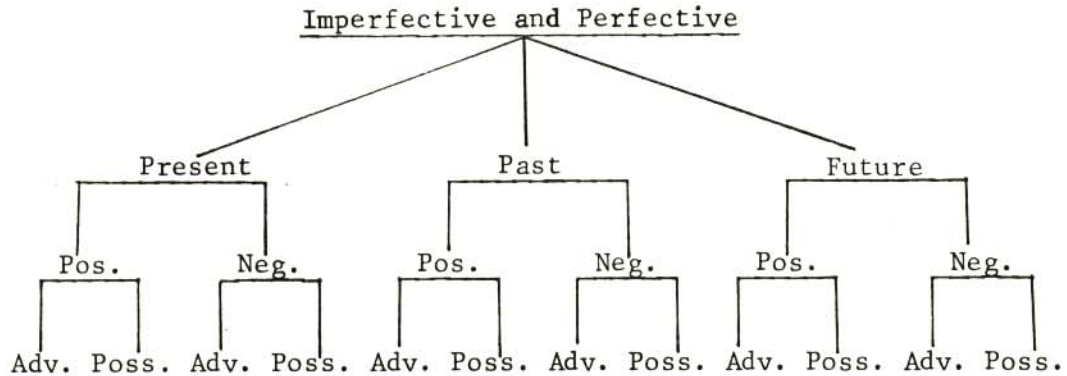
(The man, who would not have had a dog, hunts).

The Indirect Copulative Relative Construction

5.2.0 Here the antecedent is not the subject of the copulative in the relative construction but both interact in an indirect manner. In the copulative word groups of the indirect relationship, there cannot be such a thing as an object relationship. This is due to the fact that the copulative predicate does not take an object, as is the case with ordinary verbs. Again we cannot talk of an agentive relationship because the copulative predicate



does not have a passive. Thus our main divisions of the indirect copulative relative constructions will differ considerably from those of the indirect verbal relationships. Copulative word groups derived from copulative particles followed by adverbs and possessives as adjuncts will form our main divisions within the imperfective and the perfective aspects as shown in the scheme below :



### 5.2.1 Imperfective

#### (a) Present

##### (i) Positive

#### Adverbial

In Tsonga there is a feature of the copulative relationship wherein the antecedent is represented by an absolute pronoun in the adverb, e.g.

Munhu, lói mbyána yí-ngá éndlwini yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog is, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi ndzi-ngá-ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I have, is expensive).

Possessive

Various kinds of relationships of the possessive can be cited in Tsonga, e.g.

Xikolo, léxi vána vá xòná vá-ngá váfáná ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils are boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lóyi ngúlúvè yákù yí-ngá yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig is one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-ngá vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we are, are intelligent).

In these examples the antecedents show relationships with substantives serving as complements in the relative constructions. In the last example the copulative is formed with a noun *vatswari*, then follows a pronominal possessive construction, *va vona* which is in concordial agreement with the antecedent *vona*. The SC *hi* is the subject of the copulative predicate. Cases where the possession is the subject of the copulative predicate whose adjunct is a qualificative pronoun exist in Tsonga, e.g.

Hosi, léyi málándzà yá yóná má-ngá mànyíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers are many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tóná byí-ngá byó básá, ti-xaviwile).

(The fowls, whose feathers are white, have been bought).

Furthermore, cases also exist where adverbial adjuncts occur within the copulative relative construction. These adjuncts help to illuminate the relationship that there is between them and the things possessed by the antecedent.

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé ángá-éxíkōlwēnī, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child is at school, is this).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á-ngá ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tíhòmú tá-vòná tí-ngá-ndzēnī ká xiválá, va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle are inside the kraal, have gone).

(ii) Negative

Adverbial

Munhu, lói mbyáná yí-ngà-ríkí éndlwíní yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog is not, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi ndzi-ngà-ríkí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I do not have, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi váná vá-xòná vá-ngà-ríkí váfáná ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils are not boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákwé yí-ngà-ríkí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig is not one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-ngá-ríkí vátswári vá-vòná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we are not, are intelligent).

Hosi, léxi málándzà yá-yòná má-ngà-ríkí mányingí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers are not many, is ill).



Tihuku, létí vútséngà byá-tóná byí-ngà-ríkí byó básá,  
ti-xaviwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers are not white, have been bought).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-ríkí éxíkólwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child is not at school, is this).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-ríkí ná-mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has no dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tihómú tá-vóná tí-ngà-ríkí éndzéní ká xiválá,  
va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle are not inside the kraal, have gone).

(b) Past

(i) Positive

### Adverbial

Munhu, lói mbyáná á yí-rí éndlwini yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog was, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxí á ndzí-rí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, that I was having, is expensive).

### Possessive

Xikolo, léxí váná vá-xóná á vá-rí vàfáná ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils were boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákù á yí-rí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig was one, are wanted).



Vana, lává á hí-rí vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we were, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyí málándzà yá yóná á má-rí mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers were many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tóná á byí-rí-byó básá,  
ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers were white, have been sold).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á á-rí éxikólwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child was at school, is this).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á á-rí ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child was having a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá-vóná á tí-rí éndzénì ká xíválá,  
va-fambile.

(The man, whose cattle were inside the kraal, have gone).

## (ii) Negative

### Adverbial

Munhu, lóyí mbyáná á yí-ngá-rí éndlwíni yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The man, in whose house the dog was not, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi á ndzi-ngà-rí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, that I was not having, is expensive).

### Possessive

Xikolo, léxi váná vá xóná á vá-ngà-rí váfáná ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils were not boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lóyí ngúlúve yáku á yí-ngà-rí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig was not one, are wanted).

Vana, lává á hi-ngà-rí vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we were not, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyí málándzà yá yóná á má-ngà-rí mányíngí, ya-bya.

(The chief, whose followers were not many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tóná á byí-ngà-rí byó básá,  
ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers were not white, have been sold).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á á-ngà-rí éxíkwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child was not at school, is this).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á á-ngà-rí ná mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child was not having a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tihómú tá vóná á tí-ngà-rí éndzéní ká xiválá,  
va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle were not inside the kraal, have gone).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

#### Adverbial

Munhu, lóyí mbyáná yí-ngà-tá-vá yí-rí éndlwini yákwé,  
wa-ngurangura.

(The man, in whose house the dog will be, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi ndzi-ngà-tá-vá ná xòná, xa-dura.

(The gun, that I shall have, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi vana vá xòná vá-ngà-tá-vá vafána ntséná,  
xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils will be boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lóyi ngúlúvè yákù yi-ngà-tá-vá yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig will be one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-ngà-tá-vá vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we shall be, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyi málándzà yá yóná yá-ngà-tá-vá mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers will be many, is ill).

Tihuku, létí vútséngà byá tóná byí-ngà-tá-vá byó básá,  
ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers will be white, have been sold).

Wansati, lóyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-tá-vá éxikólwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child will be at school, is this).

Wansati, lóyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-tá-vá ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child will be having a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tihómú tá vóná tí-ngà-tá-vá éhndzéní ká xiválá,  
va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle will be inside the kraal, have gone).



(ii) NegativeAdverbial

Munhu, lóyí mbyáná yí-ngà-tá-và yí-ngà-rí éndlwíní yákwé,  
wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog will not be, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxí ndzì ngà-tá-và ndzì-ngà-rí ná xòná, xa-dura.

(The gun, that I shall not have, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxí váná vá xòná vá-ngà-tá-và vá-ngà-rí váfáná  
ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils will not be boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lóyí ngúlúvè yákù yí-ngà-tá-và yí-ngà-rí-yín'wé,  
wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig will not be one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-ngà-tá-và hí-ngà-rí-vátswári vá vòná,  
va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we shall not be, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyí málándzà yá yòná má-ngà-tá-và má-ngà-rí mányíngí,  
ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers will not be many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tòná byí-ngà-tá-và byí-ngà-rí byó  
básá, ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers will not be white, have been sold).



Wansati, lôyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-tá-và á-ngà-rí éxíkólwéni,  
hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child will not be at school, is this).

Wansati, lôyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-tá-và á-ngà-rí ná mbyáná,  
hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child will not have a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tihòmú tá vóná tí-ngà-tá-và tí-ngà-rí éndzéní  
ká xiválá, va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle will not be inside the kraal, have gone).

## 5.2.2 Perfective

### (a) Present

#### (i) Positive

Adverbial  
Munhu, lôyi mbyáná yí-vèké éndlwíni yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog has been, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi ndzi-vèké ná xóná, xā-dūra.

(The gun, which I have had, is expensive).

### Possessive

Xikolo, léxi váná bá xóná vá-vèké váfánà ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils have been boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lôyi ngúlúvè yákù yí-vèké yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig has been one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-vèké vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we have been, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyí málándzà yá yóná yá-vèké mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers have been many, is ill).

Tihuku, létí vútséngà byá tóná byí-vèké byó básá,  
ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers have been white, have been sold).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á-vèké éxikólwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has been at school, is this).

Wansati, lóyí n'wáná wákwé á-vèká ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has had a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá vóná tí-vèké éndzéní ká xiválá,  
va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle have been inside the kraal, have gone).

(ii) Negative

Adverbial

Munhu, lóyí mbyáná yí-ngà-vángìkí éhdlwíni yákwé, wa-nguran-  
gura.

(The person, in whose house the dog has not been, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxí ndzí-ngà-vángìkí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I have not had, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi vána vá xóná vá-ngà-vángìkí váfánà ntséná,  
xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils have not been boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lóyi ngúlúvè yákù yí-ngà-vángìkí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig has not been one, are wanted).

Vana, lává hí-ngà-vángìkí vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we have not been, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyi málandzà yá yóná yá-ngà-vángìkí mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers have not been many, is ill).

Tihuku, létí vútséngà byá tóná byí-ngà-vángìkí byó básá,  
ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers have not been white, have been sold).

Wansati, lóyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-vángìkí éxíkolwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has not been at school, is this).

Wansati, lóyi n'wáná wákwé á-ngà-vángìkí ná mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child has not had a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá-vóná tí-ngà-vángìkí éndzéní ká  
xíválá, va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle have not been inside the kraal, have gone).



(b) PastAdverbial

Munhu, lói mbyáná á yí-vilé éndlwini yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The man, in whose house the dog had been, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi á ndzi-vilé ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I had, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi váná vá xóná á vá-vilé váfánà ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose children had been boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákù á yí-vilé yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig had been one, are wanted).

Vana, lává á hí-vilé bàtswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we had been, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyi málándzà yá yóná á yá-vilé mányingi, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers had been many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tóná á byí-vilé byo basa, ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers had been white, have been sold).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-vilé éxikólwéni, u tlharihile.

(The woman, whose child had been at school, is intelligent).



Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-vilé ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child had a dog, is this).

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá vóná á tí-vilé éndzénì ká xivála,  
va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle had been inside the kraal, have gone).

(ii) Negative

Adverbial

Munhu, lói mbyáná á yí-ngà-vángí éndlwíni yákwé, wa-ngurangura.

(The person, in whose house the dog had not been, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi á ndzi-ngà-vángí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I had not, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi váná-vá xóná á vá-ngà vángí váfánà ntséná,  
xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils had not been boys only, has been closed)

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákwé á yí-ngà-vángí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig had not been one, are wanted).

Vana, lává á hí ngà-vángí vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we had not been, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyi málándzà yá yóná á yá-ngà-vángí mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers had not been many, is ill).

↑

Tihuku, létí vútséngà byá tóná á byí-ngà-vángí byó básá,  
ti-xaviwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers had not been white, have been sold).

↑

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-ngà-vángí érikólwéni,  
u-tlharihile.

(The woman, whose child had not been at school, is intelligent).

↑

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-ngà-vángí ná mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child had not had a dog, is this).

↑

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá vóná á tí-ngà-vángí éhdzéní ká  
xíválá, va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle had not been inside the kraal, have gone).

(c) Future

(i) Positive

#### Adverbial

↑

Munhu, lói mbyáná á yí-tá-và yí-vilé éndlwíni yákwé,  
wa-ngurangura.

(The man, in whose house the dog would have been, grumbles).

Xibamu, léxi á ndzí-tá-và ndzí-vilé ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, that I would have had, is expensive).

#### Possessive

↑

Xikolo, léxi váná vá xóná á vá-tá-và vá-vilé váfáná ntséná,  
xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils would have been boys only, has been closed).

↑

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákù á yí-tá-và yí-vílé yín'wé,  
wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig would have been one, are wanted).

↑

Vana, lává á hí-tá-và hí-vílé vátswári vá vòná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we would have been, are intelligent).

↑

Hosi, léyí málándzà yá yòná á yá-tá-và yá-vílé mányíngí,  
ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers would have been many, is ill).

↑

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tòná á byí-tá-và byí-vílé byó  
básá, ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers would have been white, have been sold).

↑

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-tá-và á-vílé éxíkwéni,  
hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child would have been at school, is this).

↑

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-tá-và á-vílé ní mbyáná,  
hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child would have had a dog, is this).

↑

Vavanuna, lává tíhómú tá vòná á tí-tá-và tí-vílé éndzéní ká-  
xíválá, va-fambile.

(The man, whose cattle would have been inside the kraal, have gone).

(ii) Negative

↑

Munhu, lói mbyáná á yí-tá-và yí-ngá-vángí éndlwini yákwé,  
wa-nguranguna.

(The person, in whose house the dog would not have been, grumbles).



Xibamu, léxi á ndzi-tá-và ndzi-ngà-vángí ná xóná, xa-dura.

(The gun, which I would not have had, is expensive).

Possessive

Xikolo, léxi vána vá xóná á vá-tá-và vá-ngà-vángí váfánà ntséná, xi-pfariwile.

(The school, whose pupils would not have been boys only, has been closed).

Wena, lói ngúlúvè yákù á yí-tá-và yí-ngà-vángí yín'wé, wa-laveka.

(You, whose pig would not have been one, are wanted).

Vana, lává á hí-tá-và hí-ngà-vángí vátswári vá vóná, va-tlharihile.

(The children, whose parents we would not have been, are intelligent).

Hosi, léyi málándzà yá yóná á yá-tá-và yá-ngà-vángí mányíngí, ya-vabya.

(The chief, whose followers would not have been many, is ill).

Tihuku, léti vútséngà byá tóná á byí-tá-và byí-ngà-vángí byó básá, ti-xavisiwile.

(The fowls, whose feathers would not have been white, have been sold).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-tá-và á-ngà-vángí éxikólwéni, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child would not have been at school, is this).

Wansati, lói n'wáná wákwé á á-tá-và á-ngà-vángí ní mbyáná, hi loyi.

(The woman, whose child would not have had a dog, is this).



↑

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Vavanuna, lává tìhòmú tá vòná á tí-tá-và tì-ngà-vángí  
éndzéní ká xíválá, va-fambile.

(The men, whose cattle would not have been in the kraal, have gone).

### Conclusion

5.3.0 The direct and the indirect relative copulative word groups reveal the following interesting points in their formation and conjugation :

5.3.1 Instead of the usual copulative particles *i/hi*, (positive) and *a hi* (negative) various formatives come to the fore in the identificative, descriptive and associative relationships in the direct 5.1.0 as well as the adverbial and the possessive relationships in the indirect cf 5.2.0.

5.3.2 Just as it is the case with the verbal relative construction, the RP, in particular, and the SC, play a vital role in introducing the copulative relative construction in both the direct and the indirect relationships.

5.3.3 As observed in the examples cited, the copulative relative construction may be formed with the aid of several word categories, namely, substantives, qualificatives etc.

5.3.4 The /-va-/ has a potential of being fully conjugated and also enables the relative copulative construction to have more than one predicative cf 5.1.2 (c) (perfective, future) and 5.2.2 (c) (Perfective, future).

5.3.5 In both the direct and the indirect copulative relative constructions, the perfective and the imperfective aspects display similar conjugational patterns.

## CONCLUSION

6.0 A detailed study of the predicative relative clause constructions in Tsonga has been duly accomplished. In concluding this study the following can be further emphasized :

6.0.1 The observation in our introduction (par. 01) that nothing of significance has thusfar been done in the relative clause construction in Tsonga has been verified in Chapter I. The work done by other researchers in this field supported the need for such a study. Thus in this study attention has been given, not only to the verbal relative clause but also to the copulative relative clause which most scholars neglected in their discussion of the relative clause construction. In par. 1.15 the concept RC has been found to be in appropriate on account of its morphology when compared with the real concords such as the SC and the OC which are monomorphemic. Hence in our treatise the term RP gained ground as an integral part of the relative clause.

6.0.2 Two types of relative predicates, namely, the verbal and the copulative, which exist in Tsonga, differ mainly in form. Verbal relatives are characterized by verbal bases which can be conjugated by means of prefixal and suffixal inflexions, cf. Chapter 4. Copulative word-groups, on the other hand, are non-verbal and are derived from copulative particles followed by various parts of speech such as substantives, qualificatives and adverbs as adjuncts, cf. Chapter 5. The verbal and the copulative relative clause constructions are both sub-divided into the direct and the indirect relationships. As indicated



the antecedent is the subject of the relative predicate in the direct relationship whereas in the indirect the antecedent is not, but assumes several oblique relationships, such as the objectival (par. 4.2.1) the adverbial (par. 4.2.2) and the possessive (par. 4.2.3). Each of these relationships cannot do without a relative particle which serves to introduce either the verbal or the copulative relative clause. In all these instances the RP is identical with the antecedent which the relative clause always qualifies.

6.0.3 As in the case of the indirect relationship several extensions also exist in the direct relationship. Paragraph 4.1.3 lists these extensions as (a) locative (b) instrumental (c) connective (d) agentive (e) comparison (f) possessive and (g) object extensions. However, all these extensions have objectival significance and are neither morphologically nor syntactically bound with the antecedent. They can be omitted without affecting the form and the sense of the relative clause which they merely serve to complement. In the indirect relationship, the objectival (par. 4.2.1) the adverbial (par. 4.2.2) and the possessive (par. 4.2.3) form part of the relative clause but do not, as in the direct, affect the basic structure of the relative verb. The only exception is found in the agentive relationship where the relative verb becomes passive in form. It is also important to point out that there is no such a thing as an objectival relationship in the indirect copulative relationship. This is so because the copulative predicate does not, like ordinary verbs, take an object. Still, we cannot talk of an agentive relationship, since the copulative predicate does not have a passive. That is why the divisions of the indirect copulative relative clause differ from those of the indirect

verbal relative clauses cf. diagrams on par. 4.0.0 and 5.2.0.

6.0.4 This study has also indicated that the relative in Tsonga is a mood by itself. A brief exposition to prove this is found in Chapter 3. It has been shown, that, because the relative excludes other moods, this is reason enough to warrant its own existence despite the fact that our predecessors tend to relegate it to the lowest status of a sub-mood, cf. Beuchat (par. 3.2.7). However, our present discovery has no full claim to have resolved the problem of moods, but has enabled us to concentrate on the conjugation of the relative as a mood without recourse to other moods. In par. 3.3.0 it is remarked that the question of moods is so vast that it could not be discussed exhaustively in a study of this nature. Thus a real study of moods can be of significant relevance.

6.0.5 Both the verbal and the copulative relative clauses can be conjugated in terms of the perfective and imperfective aspects, cf. Chapter 4 and 5. It has been clearly expressed that the perfective refers to a completed event or action, resulting, as it were, in a condition, whereas the imperfective refers to a process which is still in progress. The perfective and the imperfective can each embrace the present, past and future times. Thus the fallacious contention that the perfective is synonymous with the past only is outrightly ruled out as unsound.

6.0.6 To avoid arbitrary divisions and unnecessary duplication of sub-headings, relative verbs, deficient verbs and modal formatives have been dealt with simultaneously, where possible.



Deficient verbs and modal formatives form part of the relative clause and help to give the relative verb different shades of meaning. It is essential to observe that in the indirect relationships, in the perfective and imperfective aspects, relative suffixes *-aka*, *-eke* (positive, 4.1.1) and *-iki*, *-angiki* (negative, 4.1.2) are always affixed to the relative verb but when deficient verbs are employed these suffixes are then attached to the deficient verbs. However, it must be pointed out that these suffixes do not feature in all the times. At times suffixes such as *-ile* (positive) and *-angi* (negative) are affixed either to the relative verbs or to the deficient verbs. Compare, for instance, par. 4.1.2 (b) (i) and (ii) and (c) (i) and (ii) Perfective : Past (positive and negative) and Future (positive and negative). In all these cases use is made of the a-past time indicator, although it has also been employed in the Imperfective, past (par. 4.1.1 (b) ).

6.0.7 It has been established, too, that Tsonga has more deficient verbs than modal formatives. This is due to the fact that most finite verbs can function deficiently. The more commonly used modal formatives in Tsonga are the progressive */-ha-/* indicating that a process is still in a state of continuity; */-nga-/* which indicates potentiality; */-o-/* indicating "just" or "only"; */-ta-/* or */-to-/* expressing futurity, that is, showing that something will or will not be accomplished in the time yet to come, and */-si-/* indicating a strong negation of "not yet" or "never". Of all these modal formatives */-si-/* is the only one that has no positive morphological counterpart.

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SUMMARY

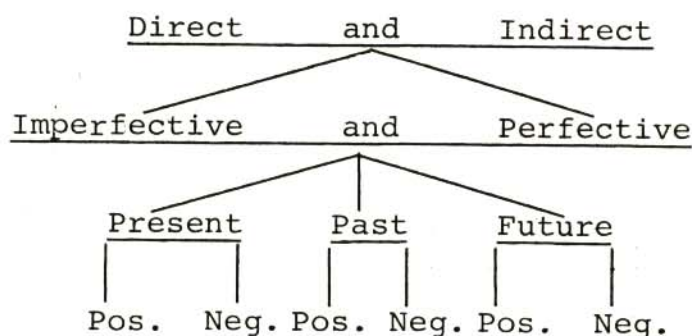
The aim of this dissertation was to examine the predicative relative construction in Tsonga and to describe the form and function of this word type.

In chapter 1 we indicate the work done by various writers in this field. A great deal has been written on the relative construction in the other African languages such as Zulu and Sotho but very little has been done in Tsonga.

Our study of the predicative relative construction has revealed a number of features, the most important being the following:

1. That the predicative relative construction consists of a verbstem or a copulative word group as base. Both the verbal and the copulative relative constructions are qualificative in nature. They can be studied under the direct and the indirect relationships with several sub-divisions such as the objectival, adverbial and possessive. Whereas the antecedent is the subject of the relative predicate in the direct relationship, the antecedent assumes a number of oblique relationships in the indirect form.
2. That the so-called "relative concord" has been found unsuitable to be a genuine concord, morphologically, in the same way as the SC and OC. Thus in our study the RC was replaced by the term "relative particle" as a word that brings the antecedent and the relative verb into concordial agreement. The RP also brings the relative clause in readiness for use as a qualificative of the substantival antecedent. Despite the difference that there is between the direct and the indirect relationships the relative particles thereof are alike.

3. That the relative construction in Tsonga can also be regarded as a basic mood with a status equal to and comparable with moods such as the indicative, imperative and hortative.
4. That because of the fact that the relative construction has been established as a basic mood for Tsonga, capable of a full scale conjugation, there was no need to employ other moods in the conjugation of both the verbal and the copulative relative constructions. Our conjugational hierarchy for the direct and indirect relative construction was represented diagrammatically as follows:



This scheme has deviated from most of the traditional writers. But it has enabled us to demonstrate that the perfective is not necessarily synonymous with the past time, but that the perfective refers to something that has been or will be duly completed now, in the past or in the future. Modal formatives and deficient verbs were also employed as part of the relative clause to help modify the semology of the relative verb. As in the case of the SC and OC hyphens have also been used between the verb stems and modal formatives and /or deficient verbs to meet the official Tsonga orthography half-way.

## OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie verhandeling was om die predikatief relatiefkonstruksie in Tsonga te ondersoek en om die vorm en funksie van hierdie woordtipe te beskryf.

In Hoofstuk I dui ons aan die werk wat deur verskillende skrywers in hierdie gebied gelewer is. Daar is heelwat genoeg geskrywe oor die relatiefkonstruksie in ander Afrika-tale soos in Zulu en Sotho, maar baie min in Tsonga.

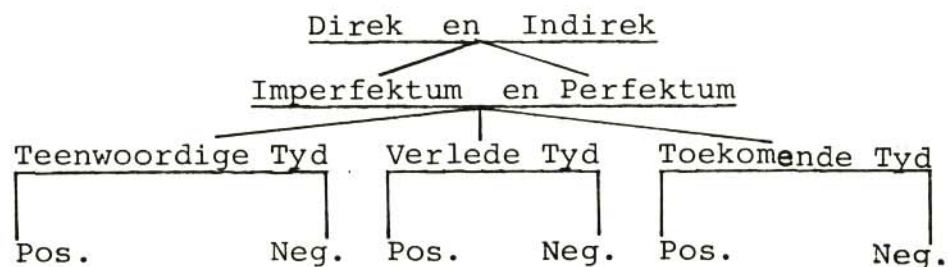
Ons studie oor die predikatief relatiefkonstruksie het baie verskynsels blootgelê, waarvan die volgende die belangrikste is :

1. Die predikatief relatiefkonstruksie bestaan uit 'n woordstam of 'n kopulatiewe woordgroep as basis. Beide die verbale en die kopulatief relatiefkonstruksies is beskrywend van aard. Hulle kan bestudeer word onder die direkte en indirekte verhoudings met verskeie onder-hoofdes soos die objektiewe, adverbiale en besitlike verhoudings. Terwyl die antesedent as onderwerp van die relatief predikatief in die direkte verhouding voorkom, kan die antesedent baie verboë verhoudings in die indirekte vorm aanneem.
2. Morfologies is die sogenaamde "relatiefskakel" nie 'n egte skakel soos die onderwerp- en voorwerpskakel nie. Dus is die relatiefskakel in hierdie studie vervang met die term "relatiefpartikel", wat die antesedent en die relatiefwerkwoord in ooreenstemming bring. Die relatiefpartikel



maak die relatiefbysin ook gereed vir gebruik as 'n kwalifikatief van die substantiewe antesedent. Al is daar 'n verskil tussen die direkte en indirekte verhoudings, is die relatiefskakels daarvan dieselfde.

3. Die relatiefkonstruksie in Tsonga kan ook beskou word as 'n basiese modus met dieselfde status en vergeleke by sulke modusse as indikatief-, imperatief- en vermanende modus.
4. Die feit dat die relatiefkonstruksie as 'n basiese modus in Tsonga vasgestel is, beskik oor 'n volledige samevoeging, was dit nie nodig om die ander modusse in die samevoeging van beide die verbale en kopulatief-relatiefkonstruksies aan te wend nie. Ons konjugasionale hiërargie vir die direkte en die indirekte relatiefkonstruksie was diagrammaties soos volg voorgestel :



Hierdie skema het van die meeste tradisionele skrywers se benaderingswyses afgewyk. Maar dit het ons in staat gestel om aan te wys dat die perfektum nie noodwendig sinoniem met die verlede tyd is nie maar dat die perfektum

na iets verwys wat klaar, nou of in die toekoms sal afgehandel word. Om die betekenisveld van die relatiefwerkwoord te help wysig, is die modale formatiewe en medewerkwoorde aangewend as deel van die relatief bysin. Soos in die geval van onderwerp- en voorwerp-skakel, is koppeltekens tussen die werkwoordstamme en modale formatiewe en/of medewerkwoorde gebruik om die amptelike Tsonga-ortografie tegemoet kom.