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Zande Attributes and Pronoun Copying¹

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1. Introduction

In many languages of the Chadic and Benue-Congo families we find two types of agreement marking of the subject on the verb, which have often been described as areal features. The first type, named 'intransitive copy pronouns' (ICP) by Newman (1971), is well described in various languages and has become a well known feature in African linguistics (cf. Frajzyngier 1977, Schuh & Gimba 2001). The second type is called 'copy pronoun construction', used to describe specific pronominal behaviour found in many Benue-congo languages of the Benue-Congo - Chadic contact area. In certain constructions there is a pronoun in postverbal position which copies the features number, gender, person and subject marking. This second pronoun is called 'copy pronoun'.

The ICP differs from copy pronouns insofar as the second pronoun occurs only with intransitive verbs and it agrees with the subject only in number, gender and person, but it is marked as non subject. It has rather the form of an object pronoun.

Zande, a language spoken in an area outside the Nigerian linguistic area and unrelated or distantly related to the languages of the above mentioned groups has constructions where adjectives and participial forms of intransitive verbs in a specific type of copula clause take an object pronoun suffix which agrees with the subject in person, number and gender. The structure consists of the subject, the copula *ni*, a genuine adjective or the

¹ The present paper is a by-product of data collected during fieldwork in March and April 2007 and in August 2008 in Arua/NW Uganda which were sponsored by the German Research Foundation to whom I want to express my deeply felt gratitude. Research on Zande was carried out in the frame of the research project on language contact in riverine systems, guided by Anne Storch. Expressions of location were collected with the help of a picture series developed by Melissa Bowermann, while expressions for motion were collected using the picture book "Frog, where are you?" However, since the topic of this present contribution was developed only during the subsequent analysis of the data, some details must be considered preliminary. Syntactic structures missing in my own data could, however, be found in stories documented by Evans-Pritchard (1931, 1956, 1974) and Gore (1926). I am grateful to Tania Kuteva and Felix Ameka for reading an earlier version of this paper and giving valuable pieces of advice. All weaknesses are, however, mine.

participial verb form to which a pronoun is suffixed, which is co-referential with the subject. The latter pronoun occurs in the position of an object or a possessor in inalienable possession. Because of their morpho-syntactic behaviour and functions these dependent pronouns resemble the ICPs of West African languages, and consequently, they shall be investigated within the frame of this volume. The aim of this contribution is to outline the structure of the pronoun copying constructions as shown in examples (1) and (2)

1. *nzunzu-ngua ni² rugurugu-he rogo siani*
fruit-tree straighten.up.RED-INAN.2 inside plate
The fruit (from a tree) is in an upright position on the plate.

2. *ga ango ni kikii-ru wa kina gimi-ru*
your (sg) dog is big-AN.s.2 like just my-AN.s.2
Your dog is a big one, just like mine.

In order to explain the functions of different particles involved in these constructions and their emergence it is necessary to discuss some grammatical features in some detail (section 2). The first is the system of personal pronouns of Zande, in particular the gender and number neutral anaphor *ni*, which has developed by grammaticalization into the copula *ni*. Here, the functions of the latter are compared to that of other copulae. The second feature to be explored is the morphological and syntactic behaviour of adjectives and participial forms of verbs in their function as predicative adjectives. Section 3 discusses the choice of the copula, in particular of the copula-verb *du* 'be at a place' in comparison with the copula *nga* 'be s.o./s.th., be of a quality' in combination with the locative anaphor *ni*. Adjectives and participials in attributive and in predicative functions are the topic of section 4. Here the grammaticalization of *ni* becoming a copula is investigated. The copied pro nouns are discussed in section 5 and conclusions are drawn in section 6.

1.1. Language context.

Zande is an Ubangian language spoken by about a million speakers mainly in the triangle formed by the Sudan, the Central African Republic (CAR) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). From the late 18th to the early 20th century the Zande governed a large empire where their language served as a lingua franca (Heine 1968:108f). As a consequence of the civil wars in Southern Sudan and in the north-east of the DRC as well as of globalization many Zande left their home territories to settle in the urban centres of their countries, in particular Khartoum and

² Since *ni* has a number of significantly different functions was chosen, not to gloss it.

Juba in Sudan, and Kisangani and Kinshasa in DR Congo. Others left their countries altogether for Uganda, Egypt or oversea³.

Today, Zande has lost its vehicular function which has been taken over first by the official languages French in CAR and DRC and English in Sudan and secondly by the areal vehiculars Sango in CAR, Lingala and Swahili in DR Congo, and Arabic in Sudan. As a vernacular, Zande is, however, expanding and still in the process of incorporating small linguistic groups of the Ubangian or Central Sudanic family in Southern Sudan and DRC.

The language is fairly well described, in particular with regard to its phonology, tonology, morphology and the lexicon. Next to dictionaries by Lagae & Vanden Plas (1922 & 1925), Gore & Gore (1931) and Rukusuru (n.d.) there are a number of general grammatical descriptions (Colombaroli 1895, Lagae 1921, Gore 1926, Tucker 1959, Boyd 1980, Kumbatulu 1982). Specialized studies have been carried out by Claudi (1985) on the development of the gender system, and by Boyd (1995) on the morphological and tonological marking of tense and aspect. The semantics of "being" are investigated by Boyd (1998) and expressions of location by Pasch (2007).

1.2. General information

Zande has the syllable structure [CV]C(w)V and both lexical and grammatical tone. The usual word order is SVO. However, the copula verb *du* causes an inversion in subordinate clauses (Boyd 1998:40). The noun has the central position in the noun-phrase: the definite marker, adjective and plural marker precede the noun, while the demonstrative marker (which always occurs together with the definite marker, but this latter may occur without the former one) and numeral follow. Syntactic roles and voice is only marked on pronouns of the 3rd person. The best-known feature of Zande is its four-gender system which is again only marked on the pronouns (Claudi 1985). The genders are Masculine, Feminine (both basically restricted to grown-up persons), Animate (other than Human, but including children)⁴, and Inanimate.

³ Little information on Zande in the East of the Central African Republic is available.

⁴ The ANIMATE gender is usually referred to as 'animal' or – in German publications – 'Tier'. Since this gender is not restricted to animals, but comprises numerous other nouns (Lagae 1920: 152), Gore 1926:21f, Claudi 1985:114-119) 'animal' does not appear an ideal denomination, all the less since dead animals do not belong there. In this paper the gender is called ANIMATE. Its restriction to non-Human animate beings is understood, and also that children grammatically belong to this gender as the following example shows.

<i>gude</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>äsiäsi-ru</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ngua</i>	The child (sex not specified)
child		hanging-AN	at	tree	is hanging on the tree.

The language is isolating with agglutinative features. Grammatical relations are defined by the order of constituents, while other relations are indicated by prepositions. Zande has a rich system of tense and aspect marking prefixes. Most verbs distinguish two stems, a perfective and an imperfective one. The three major devices of word formation are compounding with regard to nouns, reduplication of verbs in order to build adjectives and verbal nouns, and extension of verbs by means of suffixes.

2. Personal pronouns

Zande distinguishes two series of personal pronouns for the singular and plural of the 1st and 2nd person of Animate gender, and number neutrally on the pronouns of Inanimate gender, but not on the 3rd person of the masculine and feminine genders (cf. Table 1). Lagae (1921:91f) and Tucker (1959:126) call them subject pronouns ('pronoms personnels sujets') and object pronoun ('pronoms personnels régime') respectively, and so does Gore (1926:28).⁵ This classification is, however, misleading, because the choice of pronouns from the two series follows more complicated rules. It appears more appropriate to call the pronouns of the first series independent or absolute personal pronouns and those of the second series dependent personal pronouns or to refer to the respective series to which the given pronouns belong.

		independent pronouns		dependent pronouns	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1		<i>mi</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>-rani</i>
2		<i>mo</i>	<i>oni</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>-roni</i>
3 m	+HUM	<i>ko</i>	<i>yo, i</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-yo</i>
3 f		<i>ri</i>		<i>-ri</i>	
3 AN	-HUM	<i>(h)u</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>-ru</i>	<i>-ra</i>
3 INAN		<i>si/ti</i>		<i>-he</i>	
3 NEUTRAL		<i>ni</i>		<i>-ni</i>	
(only used anaphorically)					

⁵ Boyd (1998:167f) distinguishes pronoun classes on a tonological basis, but his classes agree with those in Table I. Since the tonal behaviour of personal pronouns is not relevant for the problems discussed in this paper it has not been taken into consideration.

⁶ The Zande data not drawn from published sources were elicited during a field-research in Arua/Uganda in March/April 2007)

Of special interest here is the gender-neutral pronoun *ni* which is the etymological source of the copula *ni* that plays an important role in the construction of the ICP-like constructions.

In their function as subjects the absolute pronouns occupy the first position in the verb phrase (examples 3-5). Furthermore, absolute pronouns follow also the comitative preposition *na* '(together) with' (example 6) and to the marker of alienable possession *ga* 'of' (examples 7-8). In order to clearly distinguish them from the dependent pronouns, they are consistently written in this paper as separate words, while the latter are written as suffixes. In this way the syntactic functions of the 3rd person pronouns of HUMAN gender, which have the same forms in the two series, become more evident.⁷

3. *ri nga Zande*
3f COP Zande
She is a Zande. (Tucker 1959:127)
4. *mi gumba pa-zande*
1s.1 parle language⁸-Zande
I speak Zande. (Tucker 1959:126)
5. *si ni zamba remu*
3sINAN.1 is red cloth
It is a red cloth. (Gore 1926:31)
6. *ko na-ida na mi*
3m II-love COMIT 1s.1
he loves me (Tucker 1959:131)
7. *gi⁹ mi nya*
my 1s.1 animal
my animal
(Tucker 1959:129)
8. ... *ga mo ki du re*
POSS 2s.1 CONS be here
[my pot is ...] your's is here
(Gore 1926:158)

The most salient function of the dependent pronouns, in contrast, is that of direct objects (example 9). But they are also used as possessive

⁷ In this paper I follow the rules of the standard Zande orthography (Gore 1926:1-5). But this is not always easy, as the question of word boundaries is not treated. Moreover, in different texts pronouns of both series are treated inconsistently as separate words or suffixes

⁸ *Pa* (special form of *pai* 'matter') 'matter, argument, debate, language' (Lagare & Vanden Plas 1925:130).

⁹ The possessive marker *ga* is assimilated to the 1st singular pronouns, *gi-mi* 'my' and it may further be shortened to become *gi*. In combination with the 2nd singular pronoun, *ga-mo* 'your' it may be abbreviated to become *ga*. With all other persons it behaves regular (Tucker 1959:129).

pronouns in inalienable possessive constructions (example 12), and they are used after prepositions other than *na*.

9. *ko na-kpi nyamu ka bi-rani*
 3m II-die desire INF see-1p
 he wants to see us (Tucker 1959:130)

10. *mo ru yo-re pati-ko*
 2s stand DIST-DEM side-3m
 go and stand there at his side (Tucker 1959:131)

11. *mo fu-e fe-re*
 2s.1 give-INAN.2 for-1s.1
 Give it to me.

12. *kura-re/-ro/-rani/-roni*
 neighbour-1s/2s/1p/2p.2
 My/your (sg.)/our/your (pl.) neighbour

2.1. Logophoricity

Logophoric pronouns are pronouns which have no independent reference but which refer to the person whose words, thoughts, or emotions are being represented (Hagège 1974, Clements 1975, Huang 2000, Hyman & Comrie 1981). According to Boyeldieu (2004:3) logophoricity of a language is either 'strict', with specific morphological or syntactic forms, or it is 'mixed', with pronominal forms which are also used in other contexts. Logophoricity in Zande is of the second type: i.e. the pronouns of Animate gender are used in the function of logophoric pronouns with regard to persons and any type of talking and thinking creature in tales. As in many other central African languages of the Ubangi, Adamawa, and Central Sudanic groups, logophoricity in Zande can be expressed in a number of syntactic positions (subject, object, possessive) and it is number sensitive. In order to clearly indicate where in this paper pronouns of Animate gender are used to indicate logophoricity they are glossed LOG.

13.a *Ture ki-ya fu-ko ... na-i¹⁰ a-ya fu-ru,*
 T. CONS-say for-3sm mother-LOG.1 III-say for-AN.2

¹⁰ *Ba* 'father', *na* 'mother' and possibly a few other nouns take pronouns of the 1st series in possessive constructions, *ma-mi* 'my father', *ba-mo* 'your father', *ba-i* 'its (the animal's) father, his/her father (in reported speech.' Gore (1926:29) explains the change of the *u* in *ba-u* to *i* by euphony.

u a-bi boro kpu-ni¹¹ sende yo, ...
 AN.1 III-see person home-ANAPH ground DIST
 Then Ture told him that ... his mother had told him [i.e. Ture] should
 he [Ture] see a man whose home was underground ... (Gore 1926:132)

13.b *Dari ki-ya u gu du gizaza yo.*
 frog CONS-say LOG.SG1 immobile be bottle DIST
 And the frog said that it was in the bottle without moving.

13.c *Ya yo wē ami a-ndu nga sa sunge te*
 say 3p.1 thus LOG.PL.1 III-go NEG towards work NEG
 They say thus, they will not go to work. (Gore 1926:29)

2.2. The anaphor *ni*

The anaphor *ni* is usually defined as a personal pronoun, It occurs in Table (1) above and it is the only pronoun which is not sensitive to number and gender. Its analysis causes some problems (cf. Claudi 1985: 108, footnote 34) and it has been ascribed a number of different functions, not all of which can be confirmed. The following investigation takes into account syntactic behaviour that has been neglected in earlier studies.

First, *ni* is not always clearly distinguished from the homophonous preposition *ni*¹² 'with, by means of' (Gore 1962:74). Second, it is described as an "occasional" Inanimate object pronoun by Gore (1926:31), but he did not indicate under which conditions it is used and why it occurs only

¹¹ As a relational noun *kpu-se* 'home', like the denotations of body parts, requires a possessor. In this example the possessive suffix *-ko* has been replaced by the gender neutral anaphor *-ni* which is co-referential with *boro*.

¹² The preposition *nī*, which has a mid-tone, (Boyd p.c.), is often characterized as a variant of *na*. It appears, however, that *na* and *ni* are not really variants, but that they are used in complementary distribution, *ni* marking instrumental and manner, *na* marking comitative (cf. Gore 31)

I *Mo ye na ime fe-re* II *mo tumo na a-gita bawe*
 2s.1 come COMIT water for-1s.2 2s.1 compensate COMIT PL-hoe ten
 apporte-moi de l'eau (Tucker 1959:123) tu dois me dédommager avec dix houes

III *Gbudue ki kiti ga-ko woro a-e a-kita ni ba sa,*
 Gb. CONS beat POSS-his sound PL-thing III-beat MANNER time one

a-wiri-ko ki kuru a-kura dunduko na a-vuru-ko du
 PL-son-3sm CONS come III-come all and PL-subject-3sm all
 Gbudue then beat his sound-things (i.e. drums) **at once** [*ni ba sa*],
 and all his sons came out and all his subjects (Gore 1926:119).

IV *Mo de-e ni mangua* V *Ko na-ndu ni oto*
 2s.1 cut-INAN.2 INSTR axe 3sm II-go MANNER speed
 Cut it with an axe. He is going with speed (Gore 1926:31)

occasionally. Third, *ni*¹³ is generally called an 'indefinite pronoun' (Gore 1926:28, Tucker 1959:126, Claudi 1985:95). Under this latter denomination Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925:125) describe it as a sex-neutral pronoun referring exclusively to a Human antecedent. It is interesting that speakers of Zande quite readily give the same explanation when asked why in a given context *ni* is used instead of *ko* 'he' or *ri* 'she'. According to Boyd (1995:167) this antecedent is often *boro* 'person, someone'. In agreement with Gore (1926:28) both Claudi (1985:96) and Boyd (1995:167) assume that *ni* is used only in the singular.

On the basis of (Gore 1926) and Tucker (1959) Claudi (1985:96) states that *ni* is used only when the sex of the referent is not known or when it is irrelevant. The assumption that *ni* has a function of reducing redundancy raises the question why the gender sensitive pronouns *ko* and *ri* are found in many contexts where the sex of the reference noun is indeed quite clear.

The syntactic conditions for the occurrence and the non-occurrence of *ni* have apparently not been properly investigated all the time, in particular the fact that *ni* never occurs in sentence-initial position whereas all other personal pronouns in subject function do. Gore (1926:31) and Tucker (1959:126) indicate without further explanation that *ni* is not used as a subject, and in fact it cannot be the subject of an independent clause. The conditions for its occurrence in subject function subordinate clauses are not quite clear. In isolated sentences elicited by the present author it never occurs. In the stories reproduced by Gore (1926:118-133) there are only very few instances as well as in the stories published by Evans-Pritchard (1931, 1956, 1974) its frequency differs considerably. In 'Deceit' the anaphor *ni* in subject position is found only in very few instances, in 'The Mberidi ...' its frequency is a bit higher, while in 'Cannibalism' its occurrence abounds. The subject function of *ni* is, however, a means of structuring sequences in tales and does not play a role in the scope of this paper.

2.2.1. The anaphor *ni* after the prepositions *na* and *sa*, *ti*

The examples in the following sections demonstrate that *ni* occurs in fact with reference to antecedents in the singular and plural and of different genders. This is why it is categorized as NEUTRAL in Table 1. In the examples of this paper, however, it is glossed ANAPH.

The function of *ni* as a pronoun of inanimate gender is clearly given in prepositional phrases. It is documented in combination with the prepositions *na* '(together) with' (14, 16), *sa* 'for, towards' (15) and *ti*, 'on' (16). It

¹³ It is *ni* – with unmarked mid tone in the spelling of Tucker (1959:127 and *nī* – with ATR-vowel and marked mid-tone – in the spelling of Boyd (1995:167)

is likely that there are some more, even though Boyd (1995:168) mentions only *na* and *ti*. The antecedent is a nominal in the preceding discourse. It must be noted that *ni* does not have the alleged function of an object (Gore 1926:31), which is rather fulfilled by the equally number-neutral Inanimate pronoun *-e* (17).

14. *mo ye na ni*
 2s.1 come COMIT ANAPH.1
 come with it (Gore 1926:31)

15. *mo ndu sa-ni*
 2s go towards-ANAPH.2
 go for it (Gore 1926:31)

16. *mi na-ke pai ti-ni*
 1s.1 II-write matter on-ANAPH.2
 I am writing on it (Gore 1926:31)

17. *i ki ndu na ni*
 they.1 CONS go with ANAPH.1

ki moi-e ku mvua yo
 CONS put-INAN.2 DIST grass DIST
 And they went with them (rats) and put them into the grass.
 (Gore 1926:121), (*ni* and *-e* are co-referential)

The apparent exception to the restriction of *ni* to the Inanimate gender in example (17) proves to be none. Here *ni* in fact refers anaphorically to rats, but the respective rats are dead. As a consequence they are grammatically treated as inanimate objects. The anaphor *ni* may also refer to entire issues of the preceding discourse, e.g. in the expression *si ... ti-ni* [INAN.1 ... on ANAPH.2] 'that's why (on it) ...'.

2.2.2. The anaphor *ni* marking background

Gore (1926:105) assumes that the anaphor *ni* also serves as a local pronoun whereby *ni* often has the meaning of 'at'. Boyd (p.c.) calls *ni* a 'relative locative'. Its use is, however, not restricted to expressions of location. It appears more likely that *ni* serves to mark a construction which gives background information on the preceding nominal or adverb, i.e. information about the antecedent which is necessary to comprehend the given utterance.

It occurs mostly with adverbs or interrogatives as antecedents in clause-initial position, and its own position is at the end of the clause, i.e. the unmarked position of the respective adverbs. Only one example is known where the antecedent is a nominal (26).

With its clause-final position *ni* is reminiscent of the terminal particles *lá* and *ǫ́é* in Ewe, which also mark background information. Constructions in Ewe marked by these particles whose typical function is to "carry information that a speaker wants an addressee to assume in order for him/her to process the rest of the discourse more easily" (Ameka 1990-91:152). But while *lá* can be followed by any speech act, the predication that follows *ǫ́é* must be a question (Ameka 1990: 161). In Zande, the terminal particle *ni* can be followed by propositions as well as by questions. Furthermore, it never occurs without its antecedent.

As far as we know, the background information marked by *ni* consists of clausal specifications of local or temporal settings, but not of contrastive relations as is the case with regard to the terminal particle *lá* in Ewe (cf. Ameka 1990/91:158). The local and temporal settings are expressed by nominal or pronominal adverbs or by interrogatives. Among these are (*kina*) *ō* 'exactly when', *wari* 'where?', *kina sa* (what hour) 'when?' and probably some more. There are also many examples where the antecedent *ni* is the adverb *yo* 'there' (22, 24) or – less frequent – *no* 'here' (25). *No* specifies the proximal position of a location with regard to the speaker and *yo* the distal position (Pasch 2007:169). It is noteworthy that *ō ... ni* 'even when' has developed into a fixed expression.

The simplest constructions containing background information consist of the clause initial antecedent and the clause-final anaphor *ni* which embed the background information (18). The regular position of local and temporal adverbs and interrogatives is clause final (19, 21). They are focalized by moving them to clause-initial position.

18. *Uru ko a-mangi-e ni.*
 sun/day he.1 III-do-INAN.2 ANAPH.1
 It was at daytime that he did it. (Gore 1926:95)

cf. 19. *mo mangi-e yuru*¹⁴
 2s.1 do.PF-INAN.2 night
 Do it at night. (Gore 1926:94)

20. *Wari du ba-mo ni?*
 where be father-2s.1 ANAPH.1
 Where (at which specific place) is your father?

cf. 21. *Ba-mo wari?*
 father-2s.1 where
 Your father, where are you?
 (information about the father is asked for)

¹⁴ *Uru* 'day' and *yuru* 'night' belong to a small number of nouns which may be used adverbially without modification (Gore 1926:94).

In the above mentioned stories documented by Evans-Pritchard (1931, 1956, 1974) and Gore (1926), background information is frequently given about sentence-final adverbs of place and time in form of attributive clauses (22, 23, 24). Note that *ni* follows directly the first non-subject central participant of the verb in the attributive clause. As a consequence peripheral participants, e.g. the beneficiaries in example (24), stand outside the marked background information.

22. *A-ndu ku yo du gbia ni*
 III-go DIR DIST be king ANAPH.1
 Let us go to where the chief is. (Gore 1926:95)

23. *Ono Wandu a-du ni kuru nvuru*
 but W. III-be ANAPH.1 old elder.brother

...ki ima vunga Renzi a
 exactly already beget.PF R. also

- kina o i a-vungu Gbudue ni*
 exactly when 3p.1 III-beget.IPF G. ANAPH.1
 But there was Wandu, an old elder brother, ... and he had begotten Renzi also when they begat Gbudue ... (Gore 1926:118)

24. *Mi na-ndu ku yo*
 1s.1 II-go DIR DIST

i a-fu ngwa ni fu a-boro
 3p.1 III-give medicine ANAPH for PL-people
 I go to where they give medical treatment to people.

Focalized adverbs precede the matrix-clause – together with the embedded attributive clause giving background information (25). Note that a second, clause-final adverb may be likewise specified by background information.

25. *ĩ ko a-mangi-e ni*
 when 3m.1 III-do-INAN.2 ANAPH

ko ki-ye ku no du mi ni
 3s.1 CONS-come DIR PROX be 1s.1 ANAPH
 At the time when he had done it, he then came here to the place at which I am. (Gore 1926:105)

The verbal constituent of the attributive clauses conveying background information may consist of full verbs of all types plus their complements or of *du* 'exist, be present/somewhere' without any predicate, complement

or adjunct. The copula *nga* 'be of a quality', which requires a predicate, is not documented in this construction (cf. section 3). With *du* as the verbal element the subject-verb order is inverted (21, 24), as is typical of subordinate clauses with *du*.

At least when the meaning of *du* is extended by the preposition *wa* 'like' *du* may be dropped as shown in example (26). Note that in this example two pieces of background information about the subject are given in two consecutive attributive clauses.

26. *boro wa goyō ni*
 person like stork ANAPH

ndu na a-yere ni ri-ra ?
 go COMMIT PL-locust ANAPH eat-AN.2

Proverb: "A person, is s/he like a stork which as it travels with the locusts eats them?"

(Meaning: Does a person ill-treat his fellow-travellers?
 Gore 1926:144)

3. The copula verb *du* 'to be' in combination with *ni*

The status of *du* is not quite clear. Gore (1926:74) defines it as a "conjugated non-copula", Tucker (1959:153) as a real verb ("un vrai verbe «être»") and Boyd (1995:45) as a verb and "présentatif". *Du* describes situations but not actions. Unlike the equative copula *nga*, *du* is not used in simple equation or definition clauses of the type **X du Y* 'x is y'. It rather takes the complement *be* 'hand' or the preposition *wa* 'like' to form expression like *X du be Y* (*X be hand Y*) 'X is in the hand of Y, X belongs to Y, Y has X' as in examples (27) and (28), or similitude (*X du wa Y* 'X is like X') as in example (29). In subordinate clauses when preceded by an adverb *du* is subject to inversion (19, 21, 22, 25) (Boyd 1998:40). Since *du* has more verb-like features than the copula *nga*, allowing both marking for tense and aspect (Boyd 1995:45) and semantic extension it is classified here as a copula verb.

27. *Kpakpari du be-ko*
 hat be hand-3sm
 He has a hat. (Gore 1926:74)

28. *si a-du be-re mbata*
 INAN.1 III-be hand-1s.2 formerly
 I had it first (lit.: it was in my hand) (Gore 1926:74)

29. *Mbata a-zande a-du wa kina a-nya mvuo.*
 formerly PL-Zande III-be like just PL-animal bush
 In the past Azande were just like wild animals. (Evans-Pritchard 1956:73)

Gore (1926:74) claims that when *du* is used as a copula it is followed by the preposition *ni*. It is, however, not clear which function and meaning the preposition *ni* should have in the given examples, and Gore (1926:23) himself states that in this context it is "untranslatable in English, and is best expressed by a dash." As with the copula *nga*, the predicate is always a nominal, i.e. a noun, pronoun or a substantivized adjective or verb. Bare adjectives cannot stand in this position.

30. *ko du ni kumba*
 3sm be ANAPH man
 He is a man. (It is he, a man.) (Gore 1926:74)

cf. 31. *mi nga gude*
 1s-1 COP boy
 I am a boy. (Gore 1926:23)

32. *a-wiri-ko du ue ni a-kumba*
 PL-child-3sm be two ANAPH PL-men
 His children are two – men. (Gore 1926:23)

cf. 33. *mbarā nga bakere nya*
 elephant COP big animal
 An elephant is a big beast.
 (Gore 1926:73)

According to Tucker (1959:149) the particle *ni* in constructions like (30) and (32), but also in (23) is a kind of a copula (*copulatif*), but Gore (1926:105) considers this a preposition. Claudi (1985:108, footnote 34) considers the interpretation of *ni* as a copula more convincing. Boyd, finally (1998:57f) calls *ni* a 'relateur' with the meaning 'as, like' (en tant que, comme), which introduces a predicate (un attribut). Following Boyd to a some extent I claim that *ni* is an anaphor of the preceding nominal that introduces in fact a predicate. This predicate is, however, a depictive secondary predicate, which syntactically is "simultaneously predicate and adjunct" whose function is to provide focal information (Himmelmann & Schultze-Bernd 2005b:1, 18). Gore (1926:36) observes that predicates following *ni* are more emphatic (30, 32) than the lexically identical information in a non-depictive construction expressed by an attributive adjective (31, 33). In harmony with this interpretation Boyd (1998:61f) regards the information of the first predicate – given in a simple equation construction – as known or rather trivial.

The depictive secondary predicates in examples (30) and (32), but also in (23) are oriented to the subject of the main clause about which they convey focal information, information that "highlights the situation of the

main clause"(cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Bernd 2005b:19, Güldemann 2005:350).

Schultze-Bernd & Himmelmann (2004:77f) list seven criteria which must be met by depictive secondary predicates. Most of them are met by the depictive predicates of Zande without problems, but a few need some modification.

- The first criterion says secondary depictive predicates express a state that holds during the time of reference of the event encoded by the main predicate. Examples (30) and (32) do not fulfil this criterion insofar as the two examples do not contain verbs which describe an event. Both consist of a presentational clause to which is added a noun as second predicate which is identified with the subject and ascribed a specific quality. This implies that the two predicates share identical time stability, a criterion which should be match that of the postulated common time frame of the two predications.
- The second criterion which concerns the control of the depictive predicate by one of the participants of the main predicate is also fulfilled in the two examples, since the subject of the main clause is the understood subject of the secondary predicate.
- The third criterion, that the depictive predicate must be at least partly independent of the main predicate, is also fulfilled. The two neither constitute one single complex or periphrastic predicate, but clearly convey distinct predications.
- The fourth criterion that the depictive is not an argument of the main clause is also fulfilled. Without *ni* and the depictive predicate the main-clause is still grammatically correct.
- The fifth criterion says that the depictive must not be a low-level constituent of the controller. Nouns can only be modified by attributive adjectives which precede the nouns (cf. section 4.1), but the above mentioned subject-oriented depictive predicates are bare nouns which are not part of the NP of the controller but stand at the end of the clause. In example (33), e.g., the object-oriented depictive predicate only semantically ascribes the house to be built the attribute "big", morphologically it constitutes a substantivized adjective, and its syntactic position does not allow it to modify the object of the main clause.
- Given that the depictives predicate of Zande are nominals the sixth criterion that depictives must be non-finite is fulfilled.
- Since they also are part of the same prosodic unit as the main clause and the seventh criterion is fulfilled as well.

There is no data available showing that secondary predicates oriented to objects may also consist only of bare nominals, but they may consist of nominalised adjectives (33) or of verbless locative constructions (11).

Depictive secondary predicaties may be resultative (34), i.e. they describe the state of the object that results from the state of affairs encoded by the main predicate (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Bernd 2005b:4). The locative construction in example (13a), *kpu-ni sende yo* 'who lives underground, lit.: whose home is under the ground', is not an event-oriented adverbial, but refers to the object participant's specific way of living, i.e. in an underground homestead. The time-stability of this predicate comes close to that of the participant, *boro*, itself.

34. *Mo dua bambu ni bakere-e*
 2s.1 build house ANAPH big-INAN.2
 Build a house, a big one. (Gore 1926:36)

- cf. 35. *Mo dua bakere bambu*
 2s.1 build big house
 Build a big house.

Example (34), as well as (32) above, demonstrate quite clearly that *ni* does have in itself the function of a subject. In example (13a) it has the function of a possessive anaphoric pronoun. Here it cannot be a copula, since first *kpu* 'home' is the subject and '*sende yo*' the locative complement of the attribute clause, and second *kpu* as a relational noun requires a possessor. The possessor is encoded as *ni* the antecedent of which is *boro*.

When *du* occurs without *ni*, no secondary predication may follow. In these cases *du* functions as an copula of presentative identification (36, 37) or of evaluative qualification (38) in a declarative statement. It is noteworthy that here *du* is clause-final, even the negation particle *nga*, that usually follows the verb, precedes *du* here, and no second negation particle comes at the end of the clause.¹⁵

36. *Mi a-imi mbaga gba, bara na-du.*
 1s.1 III-kill waterbuck yesterday male II-be
 I killed a waterbuck yesterday, it was a male. (Gore 1926:23)

37. *Da du yo re?* cf. *Mi du.*
 who be DIST there 1s.1 be
 Who is there? (Gore 1926: 116) It is I.

¹⁵ In negation *nga* is placed immediately after the verb, with the exception of the equative copula *nga*, and particles *te* or *ya* at the end of the clause, *te* in the indicative mood and *ya* in the subjunctive mood, dependent clauses and some types of negative questions (Gore 1926:75-81).

38. *Hihime bana ngba nga du*
 killing dog good NEG be
 Killing a dog is not good (Tucker 1959:164)

Tucker (1959:147) observes that in combination with a nominal predicate the copula in the eastern dialect of Zande is *nga*, while in the western dialects it is *ni*. In the inverted construction, however, all Zande dialects have the copula *nga* (*kumba nga mi* [man COP 1s] 'I am a man,' lit. 'a man am I.'). In combination with a pronominal predicate the copula *ni* is used in all Zande western dialects, while in Sudan *nga* also occurs. (Tucker 1959:149f). This distribution of *nga* and *ni* might indicate that the anaphor *ni* has been grammaticalized to become a copula that in the western dialects and that its use as a copula has spread into the eastern dialects.

4. Adjectives

Zande has two types of adjectives: genuine adjectives¹⁶ and deverbal ones. The former constitutes a closed class containing only a handful of items; *wene* 'good', *dungu* 'many', *bakere* 'big', *toni* 'small' and *kura* 'other' (Gore 1926:36). The latter is an open class which contains reduplicated or partially reduplicated forms of perfective verb stems. While adjectives in their bare forms can function as attributes, they cannot when used to serve as predicates (cf. Gore 1926:39, Tucker 1959:139f, 149f, Claudi 1985:105ff).

4.1. Attributive adjectives

In attributive function, adjectives precede the head-nouns without any agreement marking (39, 40). This applies to genuine and deverbal adjectives. Plural is usually marked only on the noun (Tucker 1959:140).

39. *Wo a-gbe ti-ru auru ti ugu ngua*
 snake III-creep RFLX-AN on.top at dry tree
 The snake crept over the top of the dry [i.e. dead] tree [lying on the ground].

40. *Kekē pai du ku kumba be mangu waraga yo*
 written thing be DIR male hand container paper DIST
 The address is on the right side of the envelope.

When attributive adjectives are substantivized they are suffixed a pronoun which agrees with its antecedent in gender, number and person

¹⁶ Gore (1926:35f) calls this group 'non-verbal adjectives' and Tucker (1959:159), following Gore, 'adjectives non-verbals'.

(Tucker 1959:149). Superficially this construction looks like the modification of a pronoun by an adjective (a big he [man], a big it [dog]). This is the reason why they have motivated erroneous translations like "a big he".

41. *Mo ta bakere-ko*
 2s.1 beat big-3m.2
 Beat the big one (i.e. a big man). (Colombaroli 1895:408)
42. *Mo ta bakere-ru*
 2s.1 beat big-AN.2
 Beat the big one (i.e. animal) (Colombaroli 1895:408)

4.2. Predicative adjectives

In their absolute form genuine adjectives are not used predicatively. Often adjective verbs take over this function. They do so in case of comparison (43, 44, 38) and when introduced by *du* (45). In the latter case the proposition is a presentative one and one of qualification at a time. Example (37) indicates that when the adjective verb is negated this is done only by the post-verb negator *nga*. It is important to note that the copula verb follows the negator like an auxiliary.

43. *A-bangbe ngba ono pasia ngba gbe*
 PL-sweet.potato good but meat good very
 Sweet potatoes are good, but meat is very good (Gore 1926:40)
44. *ga gu kumba bambu re ngba ti ga mo*
 POSS DEF man house DEM good on POSS 2s.1
 That man's house is better than your one. (Gore 1926:40)
37. *Hihime bana ngba nga du*
 killing dog good NEG be
 Killing a dog is not good (Tucker 1959:164)
45. *Gude du gbegbere*
 boy be bad
 The boy is bad (Gore 1926:39)

With regard to non-verbal adjectives Tucker states (1959:149) that they cannot stay alone. In fact, before they can become predicates introduced by the copula *nga* they must be substantivized (46) and the same is true with respect to adjectives introduced by *ni* following the copula verb *du* (47). This applies, however, likewise to deverbal adjectives. They get a pronoun suffix of the second series which is co-referential with the subject and agrees in gender, number and person.

46. *Ga roko nga bakere-e susi gi mi*
 POSS [2s.1] cloth COP big-INAN.2 surpass.PF POSS 1s.1
 Your cloth is bigger than mine (Gore 1926:40)

47. *Gude du ni gbeberẽ-ko*
 boy be big-3m.2
 The boy is bad (lit.: the boy is a bad one) (Gore 1926:39)

The substantivized adjective introduced by *ni* in example (47) looks like depictive secondary predicates which convey focal information (cf. section 2.2.2.). According to Gore (1926:29) it is emphasized in comparison with the bare adjective in example (45), a clear indication that it constitutes in fact a depictive secondary predicate.

There a number of examples of substantivized adjectives in clauses with the copula verb *du* without *ni*. They are descriptions of pictures of a picture series (e.g. 48) by Bowerman (ms) and of modified pictures¹⁷ (e.g. 48) of this series. No part of the respective clauses is emphasized.

48. *kekẽ pai du ku kumba be mangu waraga yo*
 written thing be LOC male hand container paper LOC
 The stamp is on the right side of the envelope.

49. *sa bakere a-ango ue du kura-a ku gare-be yo*
 tail big PL-dogs two be other-INAN.2 DIR left-arm DIST
 The tails of the two big dogs are (to be seen) on the left side.

Tucker (1959:127, 132) gives examples which indicate that in constructions with substantivized adjectives as predicates *du* is dropped and *ni* maintained so that *ni* follows its antecedent directly (50, 51).

<p>50. <i>mo ni toni-ro</i> 2s small-2s You are small. (Tucker 1959:132)</p>	<p>51. <i>mi ni bakiri-re</i> 1s big-1s I am big. (Tucker 1959:127)</p>
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It may be assumed that in this juxtaposition of the particle *ni* and its antecedent the anaphoric function of the *ni* is nullified. At the same time the particle *ni* is likely to have become reanalyzed as a copula, partly synonymous with *du*, of which it occupies the syntactic position. This assumption implies that the sequence of presentational clause and depictive secondary predicate has developed into a simple copula clause of which the originally secondary predicate now constitutes the first predicate. The hypothesis that such a development has taken place is

¹⁷ The picture in example (48) shows dogs of different size standing on and between two chairs, so that the informants could describe the positions of the dogs with regard to each other. The informants also took the chance to describe the positions of the dogs' bodyparts. The pictures were used during fieldwork in Arua/Uganda.

supported by Tucker's (1959:147) observation that the copula *ni* of the eastern Zande dialects corresponds to the copula *nga* in the western dialects. These construction finally appears not to mark emphasis. Gore (1926:31) at least does not make any remark in this regard when presenting an example of the same structure.¹⁸

5. Pronoun copying- constructions

Expressions as in examples (1) and (2) are given spontaneously when descriptions of spatial constellations of objects are requested. Examples like (52-57) have led to the assumption that they represent passive constructions. In by far the majority of cases the respective situations have been created by someone other than the subject. These criteria make the interpretation as passive constructions reasonable. Gore (1926:74f), however, correctly insists on that they are not.

52. *manga ni surasura-ha na kurungbu*
 mango cover.RED-I3s.INAN.2 by bowl
 The mango is covered by the bowl.

53. *kubaya gizaza ni haliahalia-ha ri tarabeza*
 cup bottle turn.RED-3s.INAN.2 on table
 The glass is turned upside-down on the table.

54. *kumba ni äsiäsi-ko ti ngua*
 man hanging-3s. 2 at tree
 The man is hanging on the tree.

55. *giri turumba ime a-du ni kaikai-he*
 rope pipe water III-be around-3s.INAN.2

pati rukurumo ngua na ri-he auru-he
 beside stump tree and head-3s.INAN.2 over-3s.INAN.2
 The waterpipe is piled up beside the tree stump and the head [is lying] over it.

56. *si a-du ni mangimangi-e*
 cup bottle turn.RED-3s.INAN.2
 It was done (lit.: it was a done/accomplished thing). (Gore 1929:74)

¹⁸ He gives this example when discussing pronouns of Inanimate gender (neuter pronouns)

VI *si ni zamba remu*
 3s.INAN.1 red cloth
 It is a red cloth.

cf.

57. *si ni mangimangi-e*
3s-INAN.1 do.RED.IPF-3s.INAN.2
It is done. (Gore 1929:75)

All of the above mentioned examples describe situations in which the subject is an undergoer of the action or process described by the verb, morphologically unequivocally marked by the pronominal suffix of the participial.

Examples (58) allows for an interpretation that the subject (i.e. the Veri tribe) is the agent who is responsible for the divisions of the group. This interpretation weakens the certainty that the proposition is in the passive voice.

58. ... *ono ngbatunga ki du ni kparaka-kparaka-a*
but division CONS be divers-INAN.2
... but the Veri also have sub-divisions (litt.: there are different subdivisions). (Evans-Pritchard 1931:34)

No agent, irrespective of whether linguistically encoded or not, is supposed to have caused or made the linguistically heterogeneous situation described in example (59). This fact makes it unlikely that the construction is in the passive voice.

59. *Pa-yo ki du ni kparakakparaka-a*
language-3p.2 CONS be divided.RED-INAN

59. *na ga-yo limo dunduko*
with POSS-3s.2 name all
The languages of these two divisions are altogether different.
(Evans-Pritchard 1931:34)

In example (60), finally, it is definitely the subject itself which is the agent of the situation described, although this is not expressed verbally. And in example (61) it is also clear that the subject, i.e. Jackson, who brought himself into the situation. The inducement (Helma [or Helma's behaviour]) cannot be the underlying agent, since it is clearly encoded as an adjunct. In these two examples, as in all examples of this section, the subjects are also the undergoers of the predicate.

60. *Ture ni äsiäsi-ru ri bambo yo.*
spider hang-AN on house DEM
The spider is hanging from the roof.

61. *Jackson ni hēhēre-ko tipa Helma.*
 J. hot.RED-he about H.
 Jackson is angry with Helma.

Examples of this type, where the subject-undergoer is at the same time the agent or creator of the given situation are very rare, and there is only one single example where that situation consists of a person's mood. Situations where subjects exert activities or bring and keep themselves in certain positions or situations rather than passively undergoing a situation are described with finite verbs.

At first sight it strikes that the participial forms are all built of transitive or ambitransitive verbs. The construction allows, however, also for substantivized adjective verbs which are intransitive (50, 51) so that all types of verbs can be used.

The Zande constructions in this section are intransitive insofar as no action is exerted upon an object and the subject and undergoer is the only participant. For morphosyntactic reasons they cannot be transitive since they are copula clauses consisting of the subject, the copula *ni* and a substantivized participial or adjective. It may be concluded that they meet the criteria of intransitive copy pronouns that have been found to hold for West African languages.

6. Conclusions

In this paper it is demonstrated that Zande has constructions which meet the criteria of intransitive copy pronouns although they are not found with finite verbs but only with participial forms of verbs. They consist of a copula-clause with substantivized adjectives or participials as predicates to which an object pronoun is suffixed which refers to the subject. The development of these constructions was investigated on the basis of the behaviour of adjectives and the copula *ni*. This anaphor *ni* has undergone several grammaticalization processes: it has become a focus marker for items about which background information is given. It has furthermore grammaticalized to become a marker of secondary predicates. The main clauses of subject-oriented secondary predicates consist of the subject (= the antecedent of *ni*), the copula-verb *du* and again a nominal predicate. The copula-verb *du* may, however, in presentational clauses also constitute the predicate itself. When in such sentences the copula verb *du* is dropped, this leads to constructions where *ni* is juxtaposed to its antecedent. Under this condition the anaphoric function is nullified and the reanalysis of *ni* as a copula is a likely process. It can now be used in copula clauses of the construction: subject + *ni* + nominal predicate.

The nominal predicates usually consist of substantivized adjectives and more frequently of substantivized verbs. Substantivation of a verb is

marked by reduplication of the perfective stem plus a pronominal suffix, which in this case is coreferential with the subject of the clause and agrees in gender, number and person.

Abbreviations:

AN	Animate gender (= +Animate, -Human)
ANAPH	anaphor
DO	direct object
INAN	inanimate gender
IPF	imperfective verbstem
LOG	logophoric pronoun (formal identical with pronoun of Animate gender)
PF	perfective verbstem
RED	reduplication
1s/p, 2s/p	1 st and 2 nd , of the singular/plural
3sm	3 rd person singular masculine
3sf	3 rd person singular feminine
II	TA-morpheme defined by Boyd as ‘-accompli/-défini/passé’
III	TA-morpheme defined by Boyd as ‘-accompli/+défini/-passé’
IIN	TA-morpheme defined by Boyd as ‘-défini/non passé’
X	TA-morpheme defined by Boyd as "+acc/+pas/+imm"
1/2	1 st /2 nd series of pronoun

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