Bantu languages are known to exhibit a range of non-verbal predication strategies (Schneider-Zioga, 2018; Gibson, Guérois, & Marten, 2019). In this paper, we document the various non-verbal predication constructions in Kihavu (JD52), and compare our results with wider Bantu, including the well-studied and related Kinande (JD42). Our study extends our crosslinguistic knowledge of predication constructions, and provides a source for further (micro-)typological investigation into theoretical analyses. Following Higgins (1979), we investigate four sub-types of non-verbal predication.

"Pure" Predication. Predication involves a non-referential post-copular element which describes a property of the logical subject. In Kihavu, nominal and adjective predication uses either *-ba or -li*, which differ in whether the property holds indefinitely or temporarily, roughly, the stage/individual distinction.

- (1) Mugisha a-ba gishambo Mugisha 1SM-COP 7NC.thief 'Mugisha is a thief (his whole life).'
- (2) Mugisha a-li gishambo Mugisha 1SM-COP 7NC.thief 'Mugisha is a thief (currently).'

Both copulas are also used for locative predicates.

Specification. Specificational clauses introduce a referential NP and then specify who that individual is. In Kihavu, a "pronominal copula" (ostensibly a relative pronoun, RP) is used for specificational clauses. Agreement tracks the post-copular nominal.

(3) Mugisha ky-o gishambo Mugisha 7SM-RP 7NC.thief 'Mugisha is the thief.' (4) mwalimu wani ye Murhulla 1NC.teacher 1.POSS 1.RP Murhulla 'My teacher is Murhulla.'

Identification. In Identificational clauses, the first NP is identified as the second NP. In Kihavu, this type of sentence employs a null copula.

(5) [Pointing] olira muntu Mugisha 1NC.DEM 1NC.man Mugisha 'That man is Mugisha.'

Equation. Equative clauses equate the first NP with the second. Like Specification, Equatives utilize a form of the relative pronoun.

(6) nyina wa Mugisha ye (na) nyina wa Murhulla 1NC.Mother 1.LNK Mugisha 1.RP also 1NC.mother 1.LNK Murhulla 'Mugisha's Mother is (also) Murhulla's mother.'

Kihavu in perspective. Non-verbal predication remains largely under-studied in Bantu languages. Schneider-Zioga (2018) *et seq* surveys the existing knowledge of how the predicational categories above are realized across Bantu languages, focusing in particular on Kinande, a Bantu language of the DRC related to Kihavu. We find that Kihavu shares many aspects of Kinande's non-verbal predication system. Pure Predication is morphologically differentiated from the other three categories; Specification and Identification use "pronominal copulas," and obligatorily exhibit agreement with the post-predicational DP. We also find differences: First, Kihavu has a clear "temporary/permanent" distinction in pure predications—a difference that extends to possessive predication as well (Finholt, 2021). Second, Identificational clauses are realized with a null copula, rather than a relative pronoun as in Kinande. In sketching a formal analysis, we highlight the similarities and differences between Kihavu and Kinande—and broader Bantu. Our study underscores the rich variety of non-verbal predication in Bantu languages, and pinpoints areas of (micro-)typological variation which ultimately will lead to a clearer formal picture.

[Words: 462]