

# Chapter 5

## The morphosyntax of locative expressions in Kiwoso

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This paper discusses the morphological and syntactic properties of locative expressions in Kiwoso. It provides an account of the locative forms and their properties in relation to nominal and verbal morphology. The findings show that locative nouns in Kiwoso are formed by means of a locative suffix *-(i)n*. It also shows that the traditional Bantu locative class prefixes (*ku-*, *pa-*, *mu-*) are unproductive in Kiwoso. However, the locative class 17 prefix *ku-* triggers agreement on all nominal and verbal modifiers, indicating that locative meanings are still part of the noun class system in the language. The data show that Kiwoso exhibits two post-final locative enclitics – *=ho* and *=u*. Both particles are used to indicate locative objects, albeit with different interpretations. The post-final *=ho* relates directly to the semantics of the locative noun *kundo*, while *=u* corresponds to the interpretation of the locative noun *ando*. This paper contributes to the understanding of locatives within the Bantu language family in general, and offers new insights about locatives in Kiwoso, an area which has not received extensive treatment in the previous literature.

### 1 Introduction

Locative constructions have received extensive attention in the previous literature on Bantu languages. Descriptive accounts suggest that locative expressions are marked differently both within and between Bantu languages (Marten et al. 2007, Persohn & Devos 2017). In a number of Bantu languages, locative expressions are derived by attaching the class 16, 17 and 18 prefixes to a noun (see Rugemalira 2004, Petzell 2008, Riedel & Marten 2012, Guérois 2016, Van de Velde



2019, among others). However, while some languages such as Kagulu (Petzell 2008), Bemba (Marten 2012) and Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989) have maintained all of the three locative prefixes, others like Kivunjo-Chaga (Moshi 1995) and Sesotho (Demuth & Mmusi 1997) exhibit only two productive prefixes. Moreover, languages such as Haya and Zulu exhibit only one productive locative prefix (Riedel & Marten 2012).

In addition to the prefixation strategy, locative nouns in Bantu languages may also be derived by means of suffixation (cf. Grégoire 1975, Guérois 2016). This strategy is predominantly attested in Eastern and Southern Bantu languages and most of the languages that employ a locative suffix lack locative prefixes. Scholars have also noted that there are Bantu languages that employ both prefixes and suffixes in marking locatives (Marten 2010, 2012). This is the case in Nguni languages of Southern Africa, for example, in which locative noun class 25 (*e-*) and the suffix *-(i)ni* are used jointly to derive locative nouns (van der Spuy 2014). It has also been noted that in languages in zone P30 (spoken in Mozambique), the traditionally recognized locative prefixes (those of classes 16-18) can be used in combination with the locative suffix *-ni* to derive locative expressions (Guérois 2016).

The variation in locative constructions has attracted the attention of a wide range of scholars who are interested in investigating the nature of locative expressions in individual Bantu languages, particularly in relation to the domain of morphosyntax. The present paper contributes to the on-going description and discussion of the morphosyntax of locative nouns in Bantu, using data from the Tanzanian Bantu language Kiwoso. The chapter aims to address issues regarding the morphosyntax of Kiwoso locative expressions, with reference to Guérois et al.'s (2017) parameters. Guérois et al. (2017) propose 142 descriptive parameters aimed at examining morphosyntactic variation in Bantu languages. For the purposes of the present study, I have selected four parameters to address key issues pertaining to Bantu locative constructions: i) the forms of locative expressions in Kiwoso, ii) agreement patterns, iii) locative subject and object marking, and iv) the presence or absence of locative postverbal enclitics.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: §2 provides a brief linguistic profile of Kiwoso, while an overview of the noun class system of the language is presented in §3. Locative nouns, their forms and the associated agreement system are discussed in §4. §5 summarizes and concludes the discussion offered in this chapter.

The Kiwoso data presented in this work are based on the intuition of the author as a native speaker, complemented by acceptability judgements provided by two other native speakers of Kiwoso. The primary data are supplemented

by secondary data obtained from existing written documents, particularly the dissertations by Mallya (2011, 2016) and Mushi (2005). Examples from other languages used in this chapter are taken from various sources and are acknowledged accordingly.

## 2 Linguistic profile of Kiwoso

Kiwoso is an eastern Bantu language spoken predominantly in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania. In the survey carried out by the Languages of Tanzania Project, it was reported that Kiwoso is spoken by approximately 81,000 people who are scattered across different districts of the Kilimanjaro region (LOT 2009). Native speakers of Kiwoso are mainly found in the administrative areas of Moshi Rural, Hai, Siha, and Moshi Town Districts. Maho (2009) classifies Kiwoso as one of the Zone E languages belonging to the Chagga group (E60) and Kiwoso specifically is coded as E621D (Maho 2009).

Kiwoso is one of a large number of under-studied and under-described languages of Tanzania. The only available literature on Kiwoso is a dictionary (Kagaya & Olomi 2009), two unpublished MA dissertations (Mallya 2011, Mushi 2005) and a PhD thesis (Mallya 2016). Although the present paper is not intended to provide a full linguistic description of Kiwoso, some background information on the noun class system is presented before embarking on the more specific discussion of the morphology and the syntax of locatives, the primary focus of this paper.

## 3 The Kiwoso noun class system

Kiwoso displays the typical Bantu noun class system and exhibits 14 noun classes, as illustrated in Table 1. For each noun class presented in the table, the nominal prefix, an example word, the subject and object agreement morphemes, adjective and possessive prefixes, and the three forms of demonstrative are also shown.

Most of the noun classes in classes 1–10 appear in a singular-plural pairing. More specifically, classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11 contain singular nouns, while classes 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 contain their plural counterparts. However, not all classes conform to this pairing system. For example, class 11 nouns form their plural counterparts in class 6, and class 14 nouns lack plural counterparts. The singular-plural pairing system of noun classes found in Kiwoso is illustrated in Figure 1 below. The class 11/6 plural pairing is exemplified by the examples in (1).

Table 1: The Kiwoso noun class system

| Class | Nominal Prefix | Example         | Gloss    | SM          | OM          | Adj Prefix  | Poss Prefix | Dem1         | Dem2         | Dem3          |
|-------|----------------|-----------------|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1     | <i>mu-</i>     | <i>mu-na</i>    | child    | <i>a-</i>   | <i>n-</i>   | <i>n-</i>   | <i>o-</i>   | <i>e-tu</i>  | <i>e-to</i>  | <i>u-lya</i>  |
| 2     | <i>wa-</i>     | <i>wa-na</i>    | children | <i>wa-</i>  | <i>wa-</i>  | <i>wa-</i>  | <i>wa-</i>  | <i>e-wa</i>  | <i>e-wo</i>  | <i>wa-lya</i> |
| 3     | <i>n-</i>      | <i>n-ji</i>     | tree     | <i>u-</i>   | <i>i-</i>   | <i>n-</i>   | <i>o-</i>   | <i>e-tu</i>  | <i>e-to</i>  | <i>u-lya</i>  |
| 4     | <i>mi-</i>     | <i>mi-ji</i>    | trees    | <i>i-</i>   | <i>i-</i>   | <i>mi-</i>  | <i>ta-</i>  | <i>e-ti</i>  | <i>e-to</i>  | <i>tya</i>    |
| 5     | <i>i-</i>      | <i>i-du</i>     | ear      | <i>lyi-</i> | <i>lyi-</i> | <i>lyi-</i> | <i>lya-</i> | <i>e-lyi</i> | <i>e-lyo</i> | <i>lya</i>    |
| 6     | <i>ma-</i>     | <i>ma-du</i>    | ears     | <i>a-</i>   | <i>wa-</i>  | <i>ma-</i>  | <i>a-</i>   | <i>e-wa</i>  | <i>e-wo</i>  | <i>alya</i>   |
| 7     | <i>ki-</i>     | <i>ki-andu</i>  | knife    | <i>ki-</i>  | <i>ki-</i>  | <i>ki-</i>  | <i>ki-</i>  | <i>e-kyi</i> | <i>e-kyo</i> | <i>kya</i>    |
| 8     | <i>shi-</i>    | <i>shi-andu</i> | knives   | <i>shi-</i> | <i>shi-</i> | <i>shi-</i> | <i>shi-</i> | <i>e-shi</i> | <i>e-sho</i> | <i>shya</i>   |
| 9     | <i>N-</i>      | <i>mburu</i>    | goat     | <i>i-</i>   | <i>i-</i>   | <i>ngi-</i> | <i>a-</i>   | <i>e-yi</i>  | <i>e-yo</i>  | <i>iya</i>    |
| 10    | <i>N-</i>      | <i>mburu</i>    | goats    | <i>ti-</i>  | <i>ti-</i>  | <i>ngi-</i> | <i>ta-</i>  | <i>e-ti</i>  | <i>e-to</i>  | <i>tya</i>    |
| 11    | <i>u-</i>      | <i>u-dende</i>  | leg      | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lo-</i>  | <i>e-lu</i>  | <i>e-lo</i>  | <i>lou</i>    |
| 14    | <i>u-</i>      | <i>u-doko</i>   | laziness | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lu-</i>  | <i>lo-</i>  | <i>e-lu</i>  | <i>e-lo</i>  | <i>lou</i>    |
| 16    | <i>a-</i>      | <i>a-ndo</i>    | place    | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ko-</i>  | <i>yaa</i>   | <i>yoo</i>   | <i>alya</i>   |
| 17    | <i>ku</i>      | <i>ku-ndo</i>   | place    | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ku-</i>  | <i>ko-</i>  | <i>kunu</i>  | <i>kulya</i> | <i>kulya</i>  |

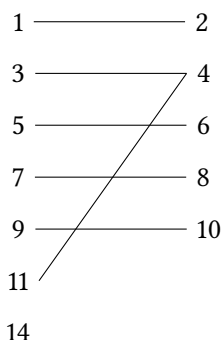


Figure 1: Singular/plural noun class pairings in Kiwoso

- (1) a. Lelo ni-a-le-many-a      u-dende na kyaara  
       Lelo INIT-2SM-PST-cut-FV 11-leg    by 7.axe  
       ‘Lelo cut (his) leg by (means of) an axe’  
       b. Lelo ni-a-le-many-a      ma-dende na kyaara  
       Lelo INIT-2SM-PST-cut-FV 6-leg    by 7.axe  
       ‘Lelo cut (his) legs by (means of) an axe’

In many Bantu languages, the class 15 prefix *ku-* is the prefix for infinitival nouns (Katamba 2003, Van de Velde 2019). However, Kiwoso differs from the majority of Bantu languages in relation to the infinitive marker. In Kiwoso, infinitives are marked with the class 5 prefix *i-* which also triggers class 5 subject and object agreement similarly to other class 5 nouns. The infinitive morpheme in Kiwoso can be illustrated using infinitives such as *ikora* ‘to cook’, *idema* ‘to cultivate’, *isoma* ‘to read’, and *iseka* ‘to laugh’. Interestingly, the Tanzanian Bantu language Rangi also employs some class 5 infinitives. However, in Rangi, the class 5 infinitive no longer appears to be the productive (nor dominant) noun class for the formation of infinitives. Rather, it is used in addition to the more widespread class 15 infinitive marking (Gibson 2012).

Note also that while many Bantu languages form diminutives by assigning nouns to classes 12 and 13, which are amongst the classes reconstructed for diminutives in Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967), diminutives in Kiwoso are expressed by a shift into classes 7/8 and the associated prefixes *ki-/shi-*. For example, *iwee* ‘stone’, *kiwee* ‘small stone’ *shiwee* ‘small stones’ and *uwoko* ‘hand’ *kiwoko* ‘small hand’ *shiwoko* ‘small hands’.

The following section discusses the locative noun classes 16 (*a-*) and 17 (*ku-*) which are of particular relevance in this paper.

## 4 Locative nouns in Kiwoso

### 4.1 Unproductive locative prefixes

In Kiwoso, there are two locative nouns, namely *ando* and *kundo*, both signifying ‘place’. However, the nouns *ando* and *kundo* are pragmatically different in that the former (*ando*) can be interpreted as a place which is definite, specific, known, and near to both the speaker and the hearer, whereas the latter (*kundo*) refers to a place which is indefinite, unspecific, unknown, and far from both the speaker and the hearer.

The two shades of meaning associated with the locative nouns *ando* and *kundo* can be seen in examples (2) and (3), respectively. It is important to note from the outset that the only grammatically active locative classes in the language are class 17 marked by *ku-* and class 16 marked by *a-*. However, in contrast, locative agreement in Kiwoso is regularly marked with class 17 (see also §4.3.1).

- (2) a. a-lya a-ndo ku-cha  
 16-DEM3 16-place 17-nice  
 ‘There is a nice place’ [definite].
- b. lya wa-na wa-le-ch-a a-le-end-a a-ndo ka-woiya-u  
 REL 2-child 2-PST-come-FV 3SG-PST-go-FV 16-place CONSC-keep-there  
 sau  
 silent  
 ‘When the children arrived, s/he went to that place and kept silent’  
 [definite]
- (3) a. ku-lya ku-ndo ku-cha  
 17-DEM3 17-place 17-nice  
 ‘There is a nice place’ [indefinite].
- b. wa-ka wa-le-fik-a ku-ndo ku-lya umbe ti-lekumb-o  
 2-woman 2-PST-arrive-FV place 17-DEM3 10.cow 10-sell-PASS  
 ‘Women reached the place where cows were sold’. [indefinite]

Examples (2) and (3) suggest that, in common with many other Bantu languages, locative prefixes in Kiwoso can function as noun class markers in the sense that they can be attached to nominal stems yielding locative meanings. Note also that the locative noun class reconstructed as class 18 *\*mv-* in Proto-Bantu and found synchronically as a variant of *mu-* in a number of other Bantu languages, does not exist in Kiwoso.

In addition to specific place names such as *Dar es Salaam*, *Arusha*, *Tanga*, and *Kampala*, there are general place names in Kiwoso such as *kinaange* ‘market’, *mmba* ‘house’, *shuule* ‘school’ *kai* ‘attic’ and *bo* ‘home’. These names are inherently locative in nature and have to be unmarked for locative, as ungrammatical construction in (4b) illustrates. However, similarly, to derived locative nouns, inherent locative nouns take class 17 agreement, as exemplified in the locative inversion construction in (4c), based on the sentence in (4a). (See also §4.3.1).

- (4) a. wa-ka    wa-le-koon-a    kinaange  
2-woman 2SM-PST-meet-FV market  
‘The women met at the market (place).’  
b. \* wa-ka    wa-le-koon-a    kinaangen  
2-woman 2SM-PST-meet-FV market  
‘The women met at the market (place).’  
c. kinaange ku-le-koon-a    wa-ka  
market 17-PST-meet-FV 2-woman  
‘The Market is a place where women used to meet.’

Locative constructions such as in (4) are interpreted differently in terms of discourse-pragmatics. In (4a), the locative noun *kinaange* ‘market’ serves as a focus while in (4c) the noun encodes a topic. (See Marten & Gibson 2016, Marten & van der Wal 2014 and Mallya 2020 for further details on locative inversion constructions).

## 4.2 Locative suffixation

The present section provides a brief introduction to the locative suffix *-(i)ni* in Bantu languages, before discussing the morphology of locative nouns in Kiwoso. As shown in the introduction, apart from the commonly established pattern of locative marking which involves the three locative prefixes from classes 16, 17 and 18, some Bantu languages derive locative nouns by means of the locative suffix *-(i)ni* (or variants thereof).

Although the suffix *-(i)ni* is widely attested in eastern and southern Bantu languages, there is currently no consensus on its origins. Different scholars have put forth different proposals on the source of this suffix. For example, Meinhof (1941/42) as cited in Samson & Schadeberg (1994: 128) proposes that the locative suffix is derived from the locative class prefix 18 (*mu-*). Meinhof’s proposal is further supported by Güldemann (1999) who argues that the suffix *-(i)ni* was originally a marker of inessive relations which later developed into a general

locative. However, Samson & Schadeberg (1994) have convincingly demonstrated that the locative suffix is the result of grammaticalization of the word *\*-ini* ‘liver’.

Some Bantu languages use double locative marking, combining both prefixation and suffixation. For example, this pattern is found in the P30 languages spoken in Mozambique (Guérois 2016) and southern Bantu Nguni languages (Fleisch 2005, van der Spuy 2014). The P30 languages use the prefixes of classes 16, 17 and 18 in addition to the locative suffix *-ni*, whereas the Southern Bantu languages use a combination of the class 25 prefix *e-* and the locative suffix *(-i)ni*. In contrast, locative marking in Kiwoso is solely achieved through suffixation, as will be further shown in the following section.

Locative nouns in Kiwoso are derived by attaching a locative suffix *-(i)n* to the noun. This contrasts with Bantu languages in which locative expressions are achieved by means of locative prefixes such as Bemba (Marten 2010, 2012), Kagulu (Petzell 2008), and Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989). Examples of the use of the locative suffix in Kiwoso are shown in Table 2 below. The data presented in this paper indicate that there is an instance of vowel coalescence in Kiwoso, when the locative suffix *-(i)n* is attached to nouns that end with the vowel *-a*. In such instances, the vowel changes into *-e*, as the examples in Table 2 illustrate.

Table 2: Locativised nouns in Kiwoso

| ordinary nouns | gloss      | nouns with <i>-(i)n</i> | gloss                 |
|----------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ndubhi</i>  | ‘calabash’ | <i>ndubhin</i>          | ‘in the calabash’     |
| <i>nlango</i>  | ‘door’     | <i>nlangon</i>          | ‘at the door’         |
| <i>nlima</i>   | ‘mountain’ | <i>nlimen</i>           | ‘on/at/ the mountain’ |
| <i>nungu</i>   | ‘pot’      | <i>nungun</i>           | ‘in the pot’          |
| <i>muda</i>    | ‘water’    | <i>muden</i>            | ‘in the water’        |
| <i>kitara</i>  | ‘bed’      | <i>kitaren</i>          | ‘on bed’              |
| <i>umbe</i>    | ‘cow’      | <i>umben</i>            | ‘at/among cows’       |
| <i>irike</i>   | ‘warmth’   | <i>iriken</i>           | ‘in the warmth’       |

Depending on the context, the locative suffix *-(i)n* in Kiwoso demonstrates all shades of meanings expressed by the traditionally recognized locative prefixes *pa-*, *ku-*, and *mu-*. Suffixation as a means of deriving locative nouns has been attested in other East African Bantu languages such as Kikuyu (Mugane 1997), Kiswahili (Grégoire 1975), Kamba (Kioko 2005), and in southern Bantu languages such as Tswana (Creissels 2011) and Swati (Marten 2010).



Prototypically, in many Bantu languages, class 16 expresses nearness, specific and definite location. Class 17 denotes remoteness, unspecific and indefinite location, while class 18 indicates interiority, inside or location within (see Grégoire 1975, Maho 1999, Fleisch 2005, Marten et al. 2007, Guérois 2016). Although the specific meaning expressed by these prefixes differs across languages, the afore-said are the general meanings associated with the locative classes. Illustrative examples are provided in (5).

- (5) a. wa-ndu wa-le-id-a ruko-n  
2-person 2SM-PST-enter-FV 9.kitchen-LOC  
‘People entered in (i.e., inside) the kitchen.’  
b. wa-ka wa-le-lal-a ki-tare-n  
2-woman 2SM-PST-sleep-FV 7-bed-LOC  
‘Women slept on the bed.’  
c. wa-na wa-le-shaam-a n-lime-n  
2-child 2SM-PST-climb-FV 3-mountain-LOC  
‘Children went to the mountain.’  
d. duke-n ku-le-ch-a wa-ndu  
9.shop-LOC 17-PST-come-FV 2-people  
‘At the shop there came people.’

The locative expressions *ruko-n* ‘in the kitchen’ in (5a) denotes an inside or interior location, *kitare-n* ‘on the bed’ in (5b) and *nlime-n* ‘to the mountain’ in (5c) indicate general and non-specific locations, whereas *duken* ‘at the shop’ in (5d) expresses a specific, definite location. These examples show that the locative suffix *-(i)n* in Kiwoso can be used to express a range of nuances of meaning which are associated the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 cross-Bantu. As mentioned in §4.1, the locative suffix *\*-ini* and related forms has been considered to be the grammaticalized form of the lexeme meaning ‘liver’, and it is thought to have originally been used to denote interior location before it expanded further to denote other locative relations in languages such as Kiwoso. (For further details about the suffix across Bantu languages see Grégoire (1975: 185–204) and Güldemann (1999: 51–52)).

The available evidence suggests that semantically, locative suffixes cannot occur with animate nouns in some languages. For example, in Kiswahili, nouns such as *mtu* ‘person’ and *nguruwe* ‘pig’ and *paka* ‘cat’ cannot be locativised by means of the suffix *-ni* (Rugemalira 2004). This means that the constructions such as *mtu-ni*, *nguruwe-ni*, and *paka-ni* are unacceptable. In contrast, in Kiwoso, the

locative suffix *-(i)n* can be affixed to animate nouns to form locative nouns. The examples in (6) demonstrate this process.

| (6) Ordinary nouns gloss |          | locativised nouns gloss |                            |
|--------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>wandu</i>             | ‘people’ | <i>wandun</i>           | ‘at/in/with/by the people’ |
| <i>mburu</i>             | ‘goat’   | <i>mburun</i>           | ‘by the goat’              |
| <i>umbe</i>              | ‘cow’    | <i>umben</i>            | ‘by the cow’               |
| <i>baka</i>              | ‘cat’    | <i>baken</i>            | ‘by the cat’               |
| <i>kite</i>              | ‘dog’    | <i>kiten</i>            | ‘by the dog’               |

Apart from the nouns exemplified in (6), the locative suffix *-(i)n* in Kiwoso is also used to mark abstract locations. The suffix can be attached to abstract nouns, such as *reema* ‘darkness’, *mmbari* ‘sun’, and *ngoo* ‘heart’ to form locative nouns, as the forms in (7) illustrate.

| (7) Ordinary nouns gloss |            | locativised nouns gloss |                     |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>reema</i>             | ‘darkness’ | <i>reemen</i>           | ‘in the darkness’   |
| <i>mmbari</i>            | ‘sun’      | <i>mmbarin</i>          | ‘in the sun’        |
| <i>ngoo</i>              | ‘heart’    | <i>ngoon</i>            | ‘in/from/the heart’ |

The data presented in (6) and (7) suggest that in Kiwoso, animate and inanimate nouns, as well as abstract entities can express places or locations by simply adding the locative suffix *-(i)n*. Note also that agreement on the dependents of the nouns is marked by the invariant locative class 17 prefix *ku-*. Agreement patterns are explained further in §4.3.1 below.

### 4.3 Locative agreement patterns

#### 4.3.1 Locative marking within NPs

Locative expressions are also realized differently in terms of morphology. In Bantu languages, locative nouns are often associated with different types of agreement markers. Usually, in languages where locative classes 16, 17, and 18 are productive, a series of concordial class prefixes are associated with the derived nouns. In Cuwabo and Makhuwa (Guérois 2016), Bemba (Marten 2012) and Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, Carstens 1997), for example, all three locative prefixes exhibit full agreement with other elements in a construction. This is demonstrated in the examples in (8) from Chichewa (Carstens 1997: 362).

- (8) a. pa-nyumba pa-ku-on-ek-a      ngati pa-ku-psy-a  
       16-9house 16-ASP-see-STAT-FV like 16-ASP-burn-FV  
       ‘The house and surrounding yard look like they are burning.’

- b. ku-nyumba ku-ndi ku-tali  
17-9house 17-DEM 17-far  
'That house and its environs are far away.'
- c. mu-nyumba mu-ku-nunkh-a  
18-9house 18-ASP-stink-FV  
'Inside the house stinks.'

In contrast to languages such as Chichewa, some Bantu languages such as Herero and Lozi (Marten et al. 2007) distinguish three locative noun classes, but only one or two of the classes are reflected in the agreement pattern of these languages. Lozi and Herero for example exhibit a three-way distinction in the class prefix of locative nouns, but subject agreement is exclusively marked by the class 17 prefix. Similarly, in Kinyarwanda, locative agreement on predicates is invariably marked by the class 16 prefix (Zeller & Ngoboka 2018).

This observation suggests that the absence of a three-way locative class prefix distinction on derived nouns does not preclude a three-way locative noun class prefix system on nominal modifiers and verb agreement. Grégoire (1975) has pointed out that locative nouns in languages such as Kiswahili, Shambala, and Bondei are consistently achieved by means of the locative suffix *-(i)ni*, but agreement markers on dependents reflect the three-way class distinction, as the examples in (9) from Kiswahili show (Carstens 1997: 402).

- (9) a. nyumba-ni pa-ngu pa-zuri  
9.house-LOC 16-my 16-good
- b. nyumba-ni kw-angu ku-zuri  
9.house-LOC 17-my 17-good
- c. nyumba-ni mw-angu m-zuri  
9.house-LOC 18-my 18-good  
'at/in my good house'

Indeed, this is the system that is seen in Kiwoso. In common with other languages that express location by means of the suffix *-(i)ni*, and in which locative prefixes are unproductive, Kiwoso exhibits agreement markers on different locative nominal modifiers. However, in Kiwoso, agreement on dependents is marked by the invariant locative class 17 prefix *ku-*. Examples in (10) are illustrative of this pattern.

- (10) a. ruko-n ko-ke ku-cha  
9.kitchen-LOC 17-POSS 17-nice  
'at/in his/her nice kitchen'

- b. \*\* ru-ko-n            ly-a-ke ly-i-cha  
                                 9.kitchen-LOC 9-POSS 9-nice
- c.    ki-tare-n   ko-ke   ku-cha  
                         7-bed-LOC 17-POSS 17-nice  
                         ‘on his/her nice bed’
- d. \*\* ki-tare-n   ki-ake ki-cha  
                         7-bed-LOC 7-POSS 7-nice

The examples in (10) show that it is the locative suffix *n-* which controls agreement on other modifiers, such as possessives and adjectives and not the prefix of the inherent noun. Marten (2012) describes such an agreement system as ‘outer’ agreement. Like many other Bantu languages, the noun *kundo* ‘place’ in Kiwoso reflects a remnant of a locative class 17 prefix. The data presented above further indicate that unlike Zigua and Kamba (Marten 2012) which show agreement with the original noun class of the locative noun, Kiwoso does not license inner agreement, as the unacceptability of the examples in (10b) and (10d) show. In Kiwoso, when the locative class prefix *ku-* triggers agreement on the modifiers, as in (10a) and (10c), the emphasis is on the location (i.e., the modifier provides information about the location).

#### 4.3.2 Locative verbal marking

Locative nouns in Bantu languages such as Kagulu (Petzell 2008), Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989) and Haya (Riedel 2010) exhibit subject agreement on the verb, as examples in (11) and (12) from Chichewa and Kagulu, respectively, demonstrate.

- (11) (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989: 3)  
         m-mi-tengo mw-a-khal-a   a-nyani  
         18-4-tree      18-PERF-sit-FV 2-baboon  
         ‘In the trees are sitting baboons’.
- (12) (Petzell 2008: 75)  
         ku-m-lomo ku-fimb-a   ku-gati  
         17-3-mouth 17-swell-FV 17-inside  
         ‘The mouth has swollen inside’.

Chichewa and Kagulu are examples of Bantu languages which distinguish three locative noun classes, viz. 16-18 (Marten et al. 2007). In Chichewa, locative noun class agreement on the verb is reflected by the presence of subject markers for classes 16, 17, and 18, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. pa-msika-pa      pa-badw-a      nkhonya  
          16-3market-6DEM 16SM-be\_born-FV 10fist  
          ‘At this village the fight is going to break out.’  
       b. ku-mu-dzi    ku-na-bwer-a      a-lendo  
          17-3-village 17SM-PST-come-FV 2-visitor  
          ‘To the village came visitors.’  
       c. m-nkhalango mw-a-khal-a      mi-kango  
          18-9forest      18SM-PRF-remain-FV 4-lion  
          ‘In the forest have remained lions.’

However, not all Bantu languages reflect the full three-way locative noun class distinctions. In Kinyarwanda, Subwa and Sukuma, for example, locative agreement on the verb is restricted to class 16 regardless of the class of the locative noun (cf. Maho 1999). Similarly, in Lozi locative subjects are invariably marked by class 17 *ku-* (Marten et al. 2007).

Subject agreement with locative nouns is not only attested in languages with a locative prefix. The agreement is also exhibited in the languages which mark locative nouns with the locative suffix *-(i)ni*. Example (14) from Kiswahili shows that agreement on the verb is marked by locative classes 16-18, regardless of the fact that the language does not mark locative nouns through locative class prefixes (Carstens 1997: 402).

- (14) nyumba-ni pa-/ku-/m-na      wa-tu    wengi  
          9.house-LOC 16SM-/17SM-/18SM-has 2-people 2.many  
          ‘In/at the house has many people.’

As has been shown in §4.2, Kiwoso derives locative expressions by means of the suffix *-(i)n*. However, subject agreement is consistently with locative class 17 prefix for all locative nouns. Examples in (15) are illustrative of this.

- (15) a. duke-n      ku-le-ch-a      wa-ndu wa-fye  
          9.shop-LOC 17SM-PST-come-FV 2-people 2-many  
          ‘In/at the shop came many people’.  
       b. ku-le-ch-a      wa-ndu wa-fye  
          17-PST-come-FV 2-person 2-many  
          ‘There came many people’.  
       c. mmba    ku-le-id-a      mbefu  
          9.house 17-PST-enter-FV 10.ants  
          ‘In the house entered ants’.

Note that the locative prefix *ku-* in (15) indicates a location or a place. The prefix is a grammatical locative subject marker; thus, constructions with the locative prefix *ku-* cannot be interpreted as impersonal constructions in Kiwoso. This interpretation (locative) holds even when the lexical locative subject is not mentioned, as (15b) exemplifies. Example (15c) shows that inherent locative nouns, i.e., locative nouns without locative morphology, also trigger class 17 subject prefix on the verb (see also Mallya 2016).

In addition to locative subject, locative expressions in a number of Bantu languages trigger locative object agreement. Examples from Kivunjo-Chaga (Moshi 1995: 138) and Haya (Riedel & Marten 2012: 282) in (16) and (17), respectively, demonstrate this.

- (16) wa-fee wa-ku-ichi (kayi)  
2-parent 2-OM17-know (9.attic)  
'The parents know there (the attic place).'
- (17) n-ka-ha-gul-a  
1SM-PST-OM16-buy-FV  
'I bought it (the place).'

Examples in (16) and (17) illustrate locative object marking in two Bantu languages. However, not all Bantu languages can license locative object markers. Studies indicate that languages such as Lozi, Chasu, Yeyi and the languages of the Nguni group do not realize locative object markers (Marten et al. 2007). Languages of zone P30 such as Cuwabo and Makhuwa also lack locative object markers (Guérois 2016), making locative object marking another area of variation amongst Bantu languages.

However, Kiwoso can realise locative objects on the verb. The locative object is marked by the locative class 17 prefix *ku-* only, as illustrated by the examples in (18).

- (18) a. mmba wa-le-me-ku-loly-a  
9.house 2SM-PST-PERF-OM17-see-FV  
'In the house they have seen (it) there.'
- b. wa-ndu wa-le-ku-many-a (Muchi)  
2-people 2SM-PST-OM17-know-FV Moshi  
'People knew (recognized) (it) there (Moshi).'

#### 4.4 Locative verbal enclitics

A locative enclitic, as commonly found in many Bantu languages, is a morpheme that can be attached to the verb to license locative expressions. A large number of Bantu languages exhibit a locative enclitic which establishes the location in which a particular event takes place (see Persohn & Devos 2017 for further discussion and examples of this). Kiwoso exhibits two postverbal locative enclitics, namely *=ho* and *=u*. These markers are considered to be enclitics since they occur after all other suffixes, including the final vowel (see example 19b). These locative enclitics can only be attached to the verb to contribute the locative semantics, as exemplified in (19).

- (19) a. wa-na wa-le-bhik-a ki-tabu i-kari-n  
           2-child 2-PST-put-FV 7-banana 5-car-LOC  
           ‘The children put a book in the car’  
       b. wa-na wa-le-bhik-a=**ho/u** ki-tabu  
           2-child 2-PST-put-FV=LOC 7-book  
           ‘The children put there a book’  
       c. wa-na wa-le-bhik-a ki-tabu  
           2-child 2-PST-put-FV 7-book  
           ‘The children put the book’

The examples in (19) show that a locative enclitic *=ho/u* is an obligatory part of the verb *bhika* ‘put’ when a full locative noun is omitted, as the unacceptability of the sentence in (19c) demonstrates. The obligatory locative enclitic *=ho/u* in example (19b) refers to an object argument.

The data from Kiwoso show that although the two elements (*=ho* and *=u*) function as true locative objects, their interpretation is slightly different from each other. On the one hand, *=ho* is used to indicate a place or a location which is indefinite, non-specific and which is far from both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, *=u* is used when both the speaker and the hearer are certain about the place or the location, and such a location or a place is specific and closer to both the speaker and the hearer. For example, in (20a) the locative noun *nnda* ‘land/field’ is assumed to be far from both the speaker and the hearer. This contrasts with example (20b). The use of the demonstratives *kulya* ‘there’ (afar) and *alya* ‘there’ (near) serve to confirm the difference between the enclitics *=ho* and *=u*. In other words, *kulya* cannot co-occur with *=u* and *alya* cannot co-occur with *=ho*.

- (20) a. wa-ka      wa-le-ur-a      nnda (kulya) wa-ka-dema=ho  
           2-woman 2SM-PST-buy-FV land (DEM3) 2SM-PERF-cultivate=LOC  
           soko  
           beans  
           ‘Women bought land (there) and planted there beans’.
- b. wa-ka      wa-le-ur-a      nnda (alya) wa-ka-dema=u  
           2-woman 2SM-PST-buy-FV land (DEM2) 2SM-PERF-cultivate=LOC  
           soko  
           beans  
           ‘Women bought land (there) and planted there beans’.

In terms of interpretation, the clitic =*ho* mirrors the meaning assigned to the locative noun *kundo* ‘place’, while the semantics of the clitic =*u* matches the one associated with the locative noun *ando* ‘place’, as also shown in (20) (cf. §4.1 for details on the semantic differences of the nouns *ando* and *kundo*).

More examples of the use of the post-final locative enclitics as objects in Kiwoso is exemplified in (21).

- (21) a. duke-n      ku-le-ch-a=**ho**      wa-ndu  
           9.shop-LOC 17-PST-come-FV=LOC 2-people  
           ‘At the shop came (there) people.’
- b. ku-le-ch-a=**ho**      wa-ndu (duke-n)  
           17-PST-come-FV=LOC 2-people (9.shop-LOC)  
           ‘There came (there) people (at the shop).’
- c. wa-ndu      wa-le-many-a=**ho**  
           2SM-people 2SM-PST-know-textscfv=LOC  
           ‘People knew (recognized) (it) there (the place).’
- d. \*\* wa-ndu      wa-le-ku-many-a=**ho**  
           2SM-people 2-PST-17-know-FV=LOC  
           ‘People knew (recognized) there (the place).’

The examples in (21) indicate that locative enclitics in Kiwoso can optionally co-occur with the corresponding lexical object noun *duken* ‘at the shop’ (21b), but not with the locative object agreement prefix *ku-* (21d). This implies that the prefix *ku-* is an object agreement marker and the post-verbal locative enclitics =*ho*/=*u* in Kiwoso are in complementary distribution. However, both enclitics, =*ho* and =*u* can co-occur with the lexical locative subject as well as locative subject agreement marker, as evidenced in (21a) and (21c). In (21a), the enclitic =*ho* is



an anaphoric locative agreement marker, whereas in (21c), it functions as a true locative object.

In the majority of Bantu languages, locative enclitics, when present, correspond to the three locative noun classes, 16, 17 and 18. For example, the three locative enclitics =*vo*, =*wo*, and =*mo* in Cuwabo originate from the three locative noun prefixes *va-*, *o-*, and *mu-*, respectively (see Guérois 2017: 5). Additionally, Gunnink (2017: 3) reports that in Fwe, the verbal locative enclitics =*ho*, =*ko*, and =*mo* correspond to the locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18, respectively. However, unlike Cuwabo and Fwe where enclitics are derived from demonstrative forms of different locative noun classes, it is not easy to ascertain the origin of the two locative enclitics (= *ho* and = *u*) in Kiwoso because the language lacks the locative prefixes and the demonstrative forms of the two available locative noun classes (16 and 17) do not correspond the locative enclitics identified in Kiwoso. As mentioned earlier, locative nouns in Kiwoso are derived through a suffix *-(i)n* and class 17 prefix *ku-* is only productive in agreement (see §4.2).

## 5 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has examined the morphosyntax of locative expressions in Kiwoso. It has shown that locative expressions in Kiwoso are achieved by means of a locative suffix *-(i)n*. The data presented show that although the three traditionally recognized locative noun class prefixes are not productive in Kiwoso, the locative agreement prefix *ku-* is consistently used with all nominal and verbal modifiers. Although the locative noun class prefixes in Kiwoso are unproductive, the language has maintained some features of the locative system common to Bantu languages, as evidenced in both the nominal and verbal morphology. The analysis offered in this chapter indicates that Kiwoso further has two post-verbal locative enclitics which function as locative arguments.

The use of the locative suffix *-(i)n* can be viewed as an innovation to compensate for the lost locative prefixes in the language. The chapter has also looked at the forms of locative expressions in Kiwoso and some of their syntactic properties. It would be interesting to conduct further research on the post-final locative enclitics so as to establish their different forms, origin, and their broader functions other than as locative arguments.

## Abbreviations

|       |                                    |            |                         |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| ADJ   | adjective marker                   | PERF       | perfective              |
| ASP   | aspect                             | POSS       | possessive marker       |
| CONSC | consecutive                        | PRN        | pronoun                 |
| DEM1  | demonstrative of the first series  | PRO        | pronominal              |
| DEM2  | demonstrative of the second series | PST        | past tense              |
| DEM3  | demonstrative to the second series | SM         | subject marker          |
| FV    | final vowel                        | STAT       | stative                 |
| INIT  | Initial element                    | 1, 2, 3... | noun classes 1, 2, 3... |
| LOC   | locative                           | *          | Proto-Bantu             |
| OM    | object marker                      | (**...)    | unacceptable sentence   |

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