Locative Expressions in Xitsonga *

Introduction

Generally, the term Xitsonga refers to a group of closely related Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, which includes the Xichangana, Xironga and Xitswa languages of Mozambique spoken by approximately three million people.

With the exception of the Cicopi and Gitonga enclaves, Xitsonga covers the southern edge of Mozambique (see map). It is 351 in Guthrie’s classification (1967:71 III 3, 15). All the languages that comprise Xitsonga are mutually intelligible.

As in other Bantu languages, nouns in Xitsonga can be divided into classes according to their prefixes and meaning. Such prefixes control subject-verb agreement, modifier agreement (adjectives, possessives, relatives, and so on), and quantifier agreement. Such classes are normally referred to by numbers, the system stemming from Bleck (1860), and Meinhof (1902)2. As shown in (1), each class possesses two prefixes, one for singular and one for plural. Members of a given class tend to share a common element in their meaning as well as in form and, as a result, they can be said to be morphologically and semantically related (Guthrie (1948:11), Doke (1954:155), Myachina (1981), Nkondo (1981:8-20), and Baumbach (1987: 94-134))3.

(1) a. Ma-tirhi a- ta-tlanga
   1 worker ISM Fut-play
   "The worker will play"


1 Figure released after the census in 1980.

2 Some researchers such as Givón (1970, 1984), Bresnan & Mchombo (1967), and Corbett & Mtenje (1987) regard noun classes as gender classes.

3 Some researchers dispute this argument. See for instance Givón (1970:260), and Doke (1989:6).
b. Vateri va tyranny
2 worker 3SM FUT-play
The workers will play

c. Mfana a rhiantwiile hesi
1 boy 1SM wash-PST & shirt
[The] boy washed [the] shirt

d. Vfana va-rhiantwiile ngi-pesak
2 boy 2SM wash-PST & shirt
[The] boys washed [the] shirts

e. Xi-piXI xa-mina xo-uluka xi-tw-a ndlala
7 cat 7 me 7 at 3SM feel-PRS & hungry
My fat cat is hungry

f. Swi-piXI swa-mina swo-kuluka swi-tw-a ndlala
8 cat 8 me 8 at 3SM fell-PRS & hungry
My fat cats are hungry

g. Xi-kwa xi-nabiimsile litih
7 knife 3SM CM cut-PST 3 finger
The knife cut my finger

In Xitsonga, for instance, classes 1 and 2 denote human beings (1a-d), and
personified animals and objects; classes 3 and 4 include trees; 5 and 6
liquids and parts of the body; and 7 and 3 small animals, i.e., 12, and most
instruments (1g); class 14 normally refers to abstract nouns; 16 to verbal
infinitives8. There are eighteen such classes (see appendix)6.

As in other Bantu languages, locative expressions in Xitsonga participate
in the agreement system of the language described above, as may be more
clearly seen in (2).

(2) a. Laandle ku tshya-a va-fana
3 sea 1SM fish-PRS 3SM 2 boy
[In the] sea are fishing [the] boys ([The] boys are fishing [in the
sea]."

* Some nouns in class 5 do not seem to have an overt singular prefix.

* Verbal infinitives in Xitsonga and in other Bantu languages may trigger
agreement when used nominally.

Ku- naseka ku pal- in-a hi ku- tiv-in-a
1SM NP beauty 1SM overcome-PASS-PRS by 1SM-NP know-PASS-PRS
"To be known is better than to be beautiful"

6 Nkomo (1981) and Baumbach (1987) include the noun class prefix dyi-
under classes 21 and 2a respectively. Cuicel (1962) also includes this noun
class prefix under 21, and only mentions classes 16, 17, and 18 in the table
of concords.
b. Xi-tsotsa xi- ngen-ile tihlo-ini ka-mina
   7 insect 73M enter-PST 5 eye loc.sfx. 17 me
   (tihlo + ini > tihweni)
   (5 eye loc.sfx in the eye)
   "The insect entered my eye"

c. Ndza- ku-won- a mahosi ku- basile
   I see-OM see-PRS back of hut 173M be clean-PRS
   "[The] back of the house is clean; I see it"

However, some scholars, e.g. Persson (1982), Sá Nogueira (1959), Cuenod (1982), and Baumbach (1937) regard them as adverbials. In this paper, by using morphological and syntactic properties such as subject-verb agreement (2a), passivisation, substitution by pronouns and cliticisation (pronominalisation, or object-verb agreement) (2c), I will argue that locative expressions are better seen as nominals than adverbials.

Before proceeding, it seems worth observing that locative expressions can be taken to refer to those expressions that select ku as an agreement marker in subject-verb agreement, object, and modifier concords. Semantically, they may include the spatial and temporal relationship of two entities, as well as the location where an action occurs.

This paper is organised as follows: the introduction is followed by a discussion of the structure of locative expressions. The third section considers their syntax; finally, section four summarises the discussion.

2. The structure of locative expressions

Taking into account their structure, the following types of locative expressions may be identified in Xitsonga:

(i) Noun + {ini}
(ii) Ka (eka)
(iii) Locative primitives
(iv) Inherent locatives
(v) Locative pronouns ("pro-forms")

As will be seen below, locative constructions such as in (i) may be taken to represent a general rule used to derive locative expressions, whereas the ones in (ii), (iii), and (iv) can be regarded as instances of special locative constructions for specific classes of nouns where the general rule does not apply. This is the phenomenon of Blocking: (Aronoff (1976); or the Elsewhere condition (Kiparsky (1973); (1982)). As for the ones under (v), they can be seen as specifiers, modifiers, or, in Baumbach's (1937) terms, pronouns which can occur with any other type of locative expression. Now, let us look at them closely one by one.

2.1. Noun + {ini}

With the exception of proper nouns, kinship terms in classes 1 and 2, locative primitives, and inherent locatives, ini can be used with any noun, including nouns of class 14, i.e. abstract nouns, if semantically applicable.
2. a. Narancu ubu-tahana va-nhu- ini
3 debt 3M stay-PRS 2 people loc. sfx.
'va-nhu + ini > vanhwinini'
(2 people loc. sfx. to the people;
"Debt stays with people (To be in debt is human")

b. Hi-y- a ntirho-ini
We go-PRS 3 work loc. sfx.
('ntirho + ini > ntirhweni')
(3 work loc. sfx. to work)
"We are going to work"

c. Hassani a- tswal-iw-ile wusiwana- ini
1 PN 1SM be born-PASS-PST 14 poverty loc. sfx.
('wu-siwana + ini > wusiwaneni')
(14 poverty loc.sfx. in poverty)
"Hassani was born in poverty"

d. Mazana a- famb-ile ku-rhima- ini
1a mother 1SM go-PST 158 INS-farm loc. sfx.
('ku-rhima + ini > kurhimeni')
(158 farm loc. sfx. place of farming=farm)
"[My] mother has gone farming"

As can be seen in (2), the use of the suffix ini is fairly productive in Xitsonga and, consequently, can be used with nouns which belong to various classes, such as 1 (2a), 2 (2b), 14 (2c), and 15 (2d). However, as mentioned earlier, there are some exceptions to this general rule which may be more clearly shown in the following examples:

4. a. * Wu-tlharhi- ini
16 expertise loc. sfx. 1PN loc. sfx.
(5) a.* Rosa- ini

b. * Bata- ini
1a father loc. sfx.

5. a. * Hanzi- ini
1 below loc. sfx. 3 desert loc. sfx.

b. * Henhla- ini
Above loc. sfx. 7 shop loc. sfx.

c. * Machaku- ini
Behind loc. sfx.

d. * Mahosai- ini
Pack of hut loc. sfx.

In example (4), the abstract noun wutlharhi 'expertise' cannot take the locative suffix ini because it is semantically inappropriate, in the sense that it is hard to envisage the conditions the world would have to meet in.

* Rosani exists in Xitsonga as a diminutive of Rose ('little Rosa'). But this is unrelated to locative expressions.
order for an action to take place in 'expertise'. In other words, in the real world no entity can be located in 'expertise'. As for the reasons behind the rejection of ini in (8) and (9), they will become evident as we proceed. Now we will turn to (11), i.e. locative expressions involving proper nouns or kinship terms.

3.2 Ka (eka) + proper noun

(8) a. **Rosa a- ya**  
    1PN 1SM go-PRS PRO 17 la father  
    'Rose is going to father's place'

b. **Ka-Rosa ku-tsham- a**  
    17 1PN 17SM stay-PRS HAB 15 INF be clean  
    'Place of Rose stays clean (Rose's place is always clean)'

(9) a. **Eka Rosa**  
    17 1 PN  
    'To Rose' or 'Dear Rose'

As shown in (8) and (9), locative expressions that involve proper names or kinship terms can only be derived by means of ka or eka. The former seems to denote a location which belongs to (or is associated with) a person whereas the latter is typically used to begin letters and in greetings. With regard to the examples in (4), I want to suggest that the use of ka (eka) with proper nouns or kinship terms blocks ini and, as a result, Rosa-ini and Bava-ini are alien to Xitsonga. Once again, Aronoff's (1976) Blocking comes into play. Now let us return to examples (8). However, in order to do that, first we have to consider locative primitives.

3.3 Locative primitives

Locative primitives, as will be seen below, stand for morphologically unanalyzable forms which only occur in locative contexts. Some researchers relate them to the locative classes, i.e. 16 pa-, 17 ku-, and 18 mu- found in most Bantu languages (cf. Ziervogel (1971)). The following are the most common:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nandle 'outside'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halse 'below, underneath, lower down'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemha 'above, up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helo 'anywhere'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phambeni 'in front of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phakathi 'between'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kusumi 'near, around'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusuhani 'nearby'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kule 'far'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunwana 'elsewhere'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobseni 'inside'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhaku 'behind'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahosi 'back of the hut, back part, outside at the back'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(10) a. Hawai ka-netsa bu-nil o-baka
   "underneath 17 5 table 17SM have-PRS 5 dirt"
   "Underneath of table has dirt (It's dirty under the table)"

   b. Vai-tirh va-ku-kuma- a kusuhi ka-dina
      2 worker 2SM knock-off-PRS HAB around 17 midday
      "[The] workers knock off around noon"

   c. Mfuemila va-tunbi-ile mahosi
      3 hare 3SM hide-PST back of hut
      "[The] hare hid at the back of the hut"

   As can be seen in (10), like other locative expressions, the locative primitives select ku for subject and modifier agreement. In connection with kusuhi "near", "around", kusuhani "nearby" and kule "far", it should be mentioned that they can also be used with ni "with" in contexts such as the one illustrated in (11).

(11) a. Mi hany-a kusuhi ni mati
     you live-PRS HAB near with 5 water
     "You live near the water (in the water's proximity)"

   b. Mu-djenzi a-ta-tirh-a kule ni kays
      1 teacher 1SM FUT-work-HAB far with 5 home
      "[The] teacher will work far from home"

   As mentioned earlier, locative primitives are morphologically unanalyzable and, accordingly, can hardly be associated with classes 16, 17, and 18 found in other Bantu languages.

(12) a. * niile (handle "outside")
   b. * suhi (kusuhi "near")
   c. * hoopsi (mahosi "back of hut") ⑨

   These examples also suggest that locative primitives cannot be used without ("fossilised") classifiers, nor can such classifiers be commuted, as can be more clearly seen in (13).

(13) a. * kandle
   b. * hasuhi
   c. * kuhosi

   By contrast, locative expressions involving classes 16, 17, and 18 in other Bantu languages are morphologically analysable and their classifiers (noun class prefixes) can be commuted, as may be seen in the following examples in Chishona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe, from Fortune (1955), quoted in Ruzicka (1859:604, 617, 618):

⑨ Here kusuhi can be replaced by kusuhani "nearby".

⑩ Hosoi means "king" or "chief" and, therefore, is not related to locatives.
a. Pama-nsha pa- he pa-tsa pa-ka xwirixi: ndimo pa-ziv toka-16 3 village 18M he 18 new 18 it high. 1 1 17 Know-FRS
   "At his new village it is high, I know it."

b. Ku-maka ku-ke ku-tsa ku-akwaka zhinji: ndimo-ku-173 village 17 he 17 new 17 be FRS 7 animals many 1 17 CM
   ziva
   Know-FRS
   "At his new village there are many animals. I know it."

c. Mu-soa ma-ngu mu-tsa mu-nc dzia
   18 9 house 18 me 18 new 18 be FRS warm
   "In my new house it is warm."

Taking into account the examples in (14), the question of whether locative primitives in Kikongo can or cannot be related to locative classes 16, 17, and 18 found in most Bantu languages is a matter to be decided on the basis of empirical evidence. The only locative expressions which display those three classes are the demonstratives, as will be seen below.

After looking at locative primitives, we can return to the examples in (15) and account for the impossibility of having such locative expressions occurring with ini. The fact that what are termed locative primitives here can denote location on their own makes the use of ini unnecessary and, therefore, its suffixation gives rise to meaningless expressions. Having dealt with locative primitives, let us proceed to inherent locatives.

2.4. Inherent locatives

Here, "inherent locatives" refers to nouns that, without changing their morphology, can be used in a locative context. Such nouns include names of places, countries, cities, towns, villages and points of the compass 19. Examples: Xito - lile ("shop"), zibe mbelela ("hospital"), mananga ("desert"), luandile ("sea"), Putumzi ("Portugal or Portuguese"), Wuxa ("East"), Rozoga ("South"), Nyungtimo ("West"), N'walungo ("North"), Kaya ("home"), etc.

(15) a. Sdzí sjondza Mngilawandhi
   1 1 study-FRS England
   "I am studying in England."

b. Kh-belelela ku-kululu ku-ta-tirha wa-dokodela va-yingi
   7 hospital 17 big 17 EVT-work 2 doctor 2 many
   "In the big hospital there will work many doctors. (There will be many
   doctors working in the big hospital.)"

As can be seen in (15b), as in the locative expressions discussed so far, inherent locatives select ku for subject-verb-agreement and modifiers. However, when they are not used in the context under discussion, they select their class prefixes for binding the verb and the modifiers to the NP-subject, or head. For instance, compare (15c) to (16).

[19] If a city, town, or village is named after a person it will take ka or eka, as discussed in (2.2)
All that has been said so far about locative expressions in Xitsonga goes
to support the claim that they are better seen as nouns than as adverbials.
Further evidence which lends weight to such an argument is the fact that, like
nouns in general, locative expressions can be replaced by pronouns or take
determiners that function as specifiers, as will be seen in (2.6).

2.5 Locative pronouns or “pro-forma”

The term pronoun is used by Baumbach (1987:158, 268) to describe some
expressions which may be used to replace locative expressions. He
distinguishes the following types: absolute, demonstrative and quantitative.
Although he presents all of them under locative classes 15, 17, and 18,
Baumbach (1987:268) makes a further distinction for demonstratives, advocating
that they are adverbials, when used deictically. Here, I would like to argue
that, depending on whether they replace locative expressions or specify them,
they may be regarded as pronouns or determiners functioning as specifiers
respectively. It should be observed that in both instances, they select ko
for agreement, as shown in (17). As far as Baumbach’s classification is
concerned, it seems to be valid when locative expressions are considered to
be pronouns.7

(17) a. Hiya kona ntirweni
    We go-PRS HAB 17 there to work
    ‘We are going there to work’

b. Ina, hiya kona
    Yes we go-PRS there
    ‘Yes, we are going there’

While in (17a) kona specifies the locative expression ntirweni ‘to work’
and, therefore, it is a determiner which functions as a specifier, in (17b)
it replaces ntirweni ‘to work’ and, as such, can be taken to be a pro-forma
in Baumbach’s (1987:158) words an absolute pronoun. Considering kona in
(17a) the claim that it should been as a specifier seems plausible. With
regard to specifiers, Radford (1998:252ff), for instance, maintains that
specifiers are normally optional and, consequently, their omission does not
render the sentence ungrammatical. This appears to be the case in hand. As
a matter of fact, in (17a), although kona does not occur, the sentence is still
grammatical. As far as (17b) is concerned, it should be noticed that it can
be uttered in response to a question. For instance: “Are you going to work?”

Apart from kona, there are other expressions in Xitsonga such as hinkwako
while all” and kome “only/alone” that are either used to replace locations
or co-occur with them. According to Baumbach (1987:172), they carry inclusive
and exclusive meanings respectively:

---

7 It should be observed that specifiers do not occur with nouns only: they may occur with adjectives, adverbs, and so on. See Radford (1998:151-3) for detailed discussion and examples.
a. Swivelka mndlwini hinkwa-ko
   IMP sweep inside the house whole 17
   "Sweep the whole inside of the house"

b. Swivelka hinkwa-ko
   IMP sweep whole 17
   "Sweep the whole of it"

(19) Swivelka nandle ko-xo
   IMP sweep outside 17 only
   "Sweep outside only"

As kona does in (17a), hinkwako "whole/all" in (18a), seems to be a
determiner, specifying the location to be swept, i.e. the whole inside of the
house and, as a result, behaves like a specifier whose presence is optional
in the sentence. The same is true of kona "only" in (19). As for hinkwako
in (18b), it is like a pronoun standing for mndlwini.

As mentioned above, the class prefixes 16 pa-, 17 ku- and 18 mu- which
feature in most Bantu languages (see sentences (14)) are only fully realised
by demonstratives in Xitsonga, as indicated below. It should be noticed,
though, that in these words they function as suffixes rather than prefixes.
Ku which has been regarded as the sole agreement marker with all locative
expressions is seen to belong to class 17 of demonstratives.

(20) a. la-ha mezeni ku- ni tuku
   16 here 3 table in 17SM have-PRES 3's book
   Here, on [the] table there is a book.

b. lo-mu
   tleneni ku- ni nyimi
   18 inside [here] 5 country in 17SM have 3 war
   "There is war in [the] country"

(21) a. La-ho benhla ka-nzinya ku- tshame
   tin-fene
   15 there above 17 3 tree 17SM sit-PRES 3SG 13 baboon
   "There, above [the] tree are sitting baboons (In the tree are sitting
   baboons)"

b. Lo-no
   bokweni u- yeke- ile ma-vole
   18 inside [there] 5 suitcase in you keep PST 5 blanket
   "There, in [there] suitcase you use to keep [the] blankets"

(22) a. Lo- mu-ya
   ku- basile
   18 inside [far] 17SM be clean-PRES
   "Inside there is clean"

b. Wa- mu- khumbul-a lo-ku-ya hi-ku- woneke
   you 17CM remember PRES 17 there we 17CM see-PST 3RF
   "Do you remember that place we saw"

Using the criterion laid down above to distinguish determiners (specifiers)
from pronouns, I would like to maintain that laha "here" and lomo "inside"
[there]" in (20), and laho "there" and lomo "inside [there]" in (21) are
specifiers that premodify the locative expressions mezeni "on [the] table",
tleneni "in [the] country", benhla "above" and bokweni "in [the] suitcase".
respectively. By contrast, lomuya "inside [far]" and lokuya "there" stand for locative expressions. Thus can be seen as pre-forms (pronouns).

As may be evident from (21), (21) and (22), demonstratives fall into three types according to whether they refer to a relatively close or a far location (Baumback (1987:134-5)). Such a division is comparable to the distinction between the first, second and third persons, and intersects with the class distinction. In other words, demonstratives can be classified horizontally and vertically. While the former classification is comparable to grammatical distinction 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, the latter corresponds to the semantic division into classes 16 ba/ko, 17 ku/ko and 18 mu/mo. Hence, the examples in (20) refer to a location which is relatively nearer to the speaker than to the listener; whereas those in (21) denote a location which is relatively nearer to the listener than to the speaker; and the examples in (22) stand for a location which is relatively far from both the listener and the speaker. All the examples in (20-22) lend further evidence to the claim that ku of class 17 is the sole locative agreement marker in Kitaonga. As a matter of fact, it dominates the agreement pattern, even when a prefix of another class comes first, as shown by examples (22), (21) and (21a).

Thus far, I have tried to provide an independent motivation for the main argument of this paper: as in other Bantu languages, locative expressions in Kitaonga behave like nouns and, as such, they are part and parcel of the noun system of the language. In addition, they can be replaced by pronouns or noun specifiers. Now, I want to focus on the syntax of locative expressions.

3. Syntax of locative expressions

In this section I would like to deal with the syntactic functions performed by locative expressions. Specifically, I would like to argue that locative expressions, like other nouns, can function as subject (2a), object (complement) (2b), or adjunct (10a). For the purpose of our discussion, the distinction between a complement and an adjunct will be based on the fact that the former is obligatory, whereas the latter is optional. On the other hand, either one can be passivised, pronominalised (cliticised), or relativised. Now each of these functions will now be considered.

(2) a. Lwandle ku- teny-a va-fana
5 sea 17KM fish-PFS PRO 2 toy
"[in the] sea are fishing [the] toys ([The] toys are fishing [in the] sea.)"

b. Kitaonga ku- ngen-ile tihlweni ka-mina
7 insect 1CM enter-PST 5 eye in 17 me
"[The] insect entered my eye"

12. a. Mgundla ku-tumbele-ile maboni
3 hare 1CM hide= PST back of hut
"[The] hare hid at the back of the hut"

12 This argument comes from Radford (1986:254) who makes a similar argument in relation to the demonstratives this, that in English.
In (23) the inherent locative expression *lwandle 'isa* is the subject of the sentence and, as such, it selects *ku* for subject-verb agreement. In (25b) the locative expression *tikhweni in [the] eye* functions as a complement object. In fact, it cannot be dropped, otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical, or changes its meaning, as indicated in (26).

(23) Xi-itsac xi- mwenile ka-mina
7 insect 7SM enter-PST 17 me
[Then] insect entered me

By contrast, as indicated in (24), the omission of the adjunct *mahosi 'back of hut* in (10) neither renders the sentence ungrammatical nor gives rise to a different reading.

(24) Mpfundla wu-tumbel-ile
6 hare 6SM hide-PST
[Then] hare hid

The other distinction between a complement and an adjunct is that only the former can trigger agreement:

(25) a. Namana a- ku- swivel-ile ndlwini told
1 a mother 1SM 17CM sweep- PST 9 house in yesterday
"My mother swept it, the inside of the house yesterday"

b. Jona a- wu- suke- ile mpunga mbiteni
1PN 12M 3 CM cook- PST 3 rice 9 pot in
"Jona cooked it, the rice in [the] pot"

The locative expression *ndlwini 'in [the] house* and the noun *mpunga* fill the object function and, consequently, can govern object concord. However, as can be concluded from some of the examples given above, e.g. (13a), object agreement is optional. Also, when the object marker (OM) is present the lexical NP object is optional. I will not discuss this issue here. For a detailed discussion, see Bresnan & Mehonic (1987). As mentioned earlier, both complement and adjunct can be passivized:

(26) a. Tikhweni ka-mina ku- mwenile (hi xitatsco)
5 eye in 17 me 17CM enter-PASS-PST (by insect)
"My eye was entered by [an] insect"

b. Mahosi ku- tumbel-ile (hi mpfundla)
Back of hut 17SM hide-PASS-PST (by 6 hare)
"At the back of the hut was hidden by hare [The back of the hut was where the hare hid]."

It is hard to find a sound English translation. In Xitsonga these sentences are normally used to place the emphasis on the location. For instance in (26a), what looks relevant to the speaker is the place where the hare has hidden rather than what it has done. It should be noticed that, once in the subject position, the locative expression in (26), select *ku* for subject-verb agreement, and modifier agreement in (26b).

---

13 This sentence is acceptable in a different meaning. For example, "[The] insect entered me (my body)". Here, insect would mean parasita.
In this section, we have seen that locative expressions syntactically behave like nouns; that is, they can be subject, object or adjunct. We have also seen that they can trigger passivisation, a property which typically identifies nouns. Another issue that we have considered is criticisation. Without going into detail, I have tried to show that locative expressions can be criticised because they are nouns. This is another piece of information which lends further support to the claim that the expressions under discussion are really nouns. For instance, compare (2o), (21a,b) and (22a) to (25b). Now that the main issue of our discussion seems to have been fairly dealt with, I can proceed to the final section of this paper.

4. Conclusion

In this discussion I have attempted to present a unified treatment of locative expressions Xitsonga in which have been taken to be adverbials, providing evidence to prove that, although they present different structures, they belong to the same class, i.e. the class of locatives. As such, they share the class prefix ku used in the subject-verb agreement and modifier agreement. By doing so, they participate in the noun class system of the language. Syntactically, as nouns in general do, locative expressions can be subject, object or adjunct. In addition, they can trigger passivisation and criticisation. I have also shown that the locative classes 18 pa, 17 ku and 18 ku which exist in most Bantu languages, in Xitsonga are only found in demonstratives, and this also confirms that the locative class prefix ku used as the sole agreement marker belong to class 17. The suggestion that locative expressions can either function as pronouns or as specifiers may be disputed, but it is meant to capture the fact that they can occur with other nouns or replace them.

* This paper is based on my M.A dissertation submitted to SOAS, University of London in September 1989. I would like to address my gratitude to Dr. D.C.Bennett, Mr. W.M. Mann, and Dr. S.P. Myers for invaluable assistance during the course of writing the dissertation. Earlier version of this paper was presented at the "VI Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística", Porto, Faculty of Arts, 1-2 October 1990. The audience at the meeting made valuable suggestions that have found their place in this version. The responsibility for the content of this paper is only mine alone.

References


Harris, L. (1965) "Locative agreement in Swahili." Swahili 33:70-72.


## Appendix: Nuu-Cha-Nulth Class Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>mu-aba &quot;person&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>q-</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>ba-hasa &quot;knot&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>no-ti &quot;village&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>ti-hia &quot;eyes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>zi-</td>
<td>swi-</td>
<td>zi-kwa &quot;knife&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yi[n]</td>
<td>ti[m]</td>
<td>yi-nlo &quot;house&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>li-rimi &quot;tongue&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
<td>mu-tivi &quot;wisdom&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ku-rina &quot;to see&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ps(ka)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lo-bi-yu &quot;there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lo-ka-yu &quot;there&quot; (&quot;further&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lo-ko-yu &quot;inside&quot;(&quot;there&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table above lists the classes and their corresponding prefixes for singular and plural forms in the Nuu-Cha-Nulth language. The entries under 'Examples' provide illustrative words for each class and prefix combination.*

---

*Books (1947)*
*Coenod (1967)*
*(Adapted to the Nuu-Cha-Nulth dialect under discussion)*

228