

Locative Expressions in Xitsonga *

1. 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 people¹.

With the exception of the Cicopi and Gitonga enclaves, Xitsonga covers the southern edge of Mozambique (see map). It is S51 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 Bleek (1860), and Meinhof (1932)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. **Mu-tirhi a- ta-tlanga**
1 worker 1SM FUT-play
"The worker will play"

Abbreviations: **FUT**: future, **HAB**: Habitual, **IMP**: Imperative, **INF**: Infinitive, **LOC**: locative, **M**: marker, **N**: noun, **O**: object, **PASS**: passive, **P**: proper, **PRF**: perfect, **PRG**: progressive, **PRS**: present, **PST**: past, **S**: subject, **SFX**: suffix.

¹ Figure released after the census in 1980.

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

³ Some researchers dispute this argument. See for instance Givón (1970:260), and Dube (1989:6).

- b. Va-tirhi va- ta- tianga
 2 worker 2SM FUT-play
 'The workers will play'
- c. Mu-fana a- nhiantwi-ile hembel
 1 boy 1SM wash- PST 6 shirt
 "[The] boy washed [the] shirt'
- d. Va-fana va-nhiantw-ile ga-hembe
 2 boy 2SM wash-PST 3 shirt
 "[The] boys washed [the] shirts'
- e. Xi-pixi xa-mina xo-miluka xi-tw-a ndlala
 7 cat 7 me 7 at 7SM feel-PRS 9 hunger
 'My fat cat is hungry'
- f. Swi-pixi swa-mina swo-miluka swi-tw-a ndlala
 8 cat 8 me 8 at 8SM fell-PRS 9 hungry
 'My fat cats are hungry'
- g. Xi-kwa xi-nozi-tsem-ile litihlo
 7 knife 8SM OM cut-PST 9 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 8 small animals (1e), (1f), and most instruments (1g); class 14 normally refers to abstract nouns; 15 to verbal infinitives⁶. 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. Lwandle ku- tshev-a va-fana
 5 sea 17SM fish-PRS PRG 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.

⁶ Verbal infinitives in Xitsonga and in other Bantu languages, may trigger agreement when used nominally.

Ku- sasaka ku- pal- iw- a hi ku- tiv- iw- a
 15INF beauty 16SM overcome-PASS-PRS by 15INF-know-PASS-PRS
 'To be known is better than to be beautiful'

⁶ Nkondo (1981) and Baumbach (1987) include the noun class prefix *dyi-* under classes 21 and 5a respectively. Cuenod (1982) also includes this noun class prefix under 21, and only mentions classes 16, 17, and 18 in the table of concords.

- b. Xi-tso'tso xi-nghen-ile tihlo-ini ka-mina
 7 insect 7SM enter-PST 5 eye loc.sfx. 17 me
 (tihlo + ini > tihlweni)
 (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 17SM be clean-PRS
 "[The] back of the house is clean, I see it"

However, some scholars, eg. Persson (1932), Sá Nogueira (1959), Cuenod (1932), 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 Kitsonga:

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

- 13) a. Nandzu wu-tshan-a wa-zhu- ini
 3 debt 3SM stay-PRS 2 people loc.sfx.
 (wa-zhu + ini > vanhwini)
 (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-FRS 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. Manana a- famb-ile ku-rhima- ini
 la mother 1SM go- PST 158 INF-farm loc.sfx.
 (ku-rhima + ini > kurhimeni)
 (15 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), 3 (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-tlarhi- ini (5) a. * Rosa- ini ⁷
 14 expertise loc.sfx. 1PN loc.sfx.
- b. * Bava- ini
 la father loc. sfx.
- (6) a. * Mansi- ini (7) a. * Ma-nanga- ini
 below loc.sfx. 3 desert loc. sfx.
- b. * Henlha- ini b. * Xitolo- ini
 Above loc. sfx. 7 shop loc. sfx.
- c. * Náchaku- ini
 Behind loc.sfx.
- d. * Mahosi- ini
 Back of hut loc.sfx.

In example (4), the abstract noun *wutlarhi* "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

⁷ Rosani exists in Xitsonga as a diminutive of Rosa ('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 (6) and (7), they will become evident as we proceed. Now we will turn to (ii), i.e. locative expressions involving proper nouns or kinship terms.

2.2 *ka (eka)* + proper noun

- (8) a. *Rosa a- ya ka bava*
 1PN 1SM go-PRS PRG 17 1a father
 "Rose is going to father's place"
- b. *Ka-Rosa ku-tsham- a ku-basile*
 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 nouns 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.

2.3 Locative primitives

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

16	<p>handle 'outside' hansi "below, underneath, lower down" henhla "above, up" hele "anywhere" phambeni "in front of" phakathi "between"</p>
17	<p>Kusuni "near, around" Kusuhani "nearby" Kule "far" Kunwana "elsewhere"</p>
18	<p>Ndzeni "inside" Nzhaku "behind" Mahosi "back of the hut, back part, outside at the back"</p>

- (10) a. **Hansi ka neza ku- ni chaka**
 4 underneath 17 5 table 17SM have-PRS 5 dirt
 "Underneath of table has dirt (It's dirty under the table)"
- b. **Va-tirhi va-khumuk- a kusubi ka-dina**
 2 worker 2SM knock off-PRS HAB around 17 midday
 "[The] workers knock off around noon"
- c. **Mpfundla wu-tumbe-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 **kusubi** "near", "around", **kusubani** "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 kusubi ni mati a**
 1 you live-PRS HAB near with 6 water
 "You live near the water (in the water's proximity)"
- b. **Mu-djondzisi a- ta-tirh-a kule ni kaya**
 1 teacher 1SM FUT-work-HAB far with 5 home
 "[The] teacher will work far from home"

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

- (12) a. * ndle (handle "outside")
 b. * suhi (kusubi "near")
 c. * hosi (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. * kundle
 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 (1956), quoted in Ruzicka (1959:604, 617, 618):

⁹ Here **kusubi** can be replaced by **kusubani** "nearby".

¹⁰ **Hosi** means "king" or "chief" and, therefore, is not related to locatives.

- (14) a. Pa-masha pa- ke pa-tsa pa-ka kwiricira: ndino pa-ziv- a
 16 3 village 16EM he 16 new 16 it high 1 I 16 Know-PRS
 "At his new village it is high, I know it"
- b. Ku-masha kwa-ze ku-tsa ku-ne uhuka zhinji: ndino-ku-
 17 3 village 17 he 17 new 17 be PRS 7 animals many 1 I 17 OM
 ziva
 kw-PRS
 "At his new village there are many animals. I know it"
- c. Mu-mba ma-ngu mu-tsa mu-no dzia
 18 9 house 18 me 18 new 18 be PRS warm
 "In my new house it is warm"

Taking into account the examples in (14), the question of whether locative primitives in Xitsonga 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 (6) 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 compass¹⁰. Examples: *Kitolo* ('shop'), *zibehlela* ('hospital'), *mananga* ('desert'), *lwanle* ('sea'), *Putukezi* ('Portugal or Portuguese'), *Wuxa* ('East'), *Dzonga* ('South'), *Nyingitimo* ('West'), *N'walungo* ('North'), *Kaya* ('home'), etc.

- (15) a. Ndzi djondz-a Nghilandhi
 1 I study-PRS England
 "I am studying in England"
- b. Xi-behlela ku-kulu ku-ta-tirha va-dokodela va-nyingi
 7 hospital 17 big 17 FUT-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).

¹⁰ If a city, town, or village is named after a person it will take *ka* or *eka*, as discussed in (2.2)

(16) Xi-behlela xi-kula xi- ni ni-bedu yi-nyingi
 7 hospital 7 big 7 SM have-PRS HAB 4 bed 4 many
 "The big hospital has many beds"

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-forms"

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 16, 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 **ku** 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 pronouns¹¹.

- (17) a. Hi-ya **kona** **ntirwheni**
 We go-PRS HAB 17 there to work
 "We are going there to work"
- b. Ina, hi ya **kona**
 Yes we go-PRS there
 "Yes, we are going there"

While in (17a) **kona** specifies the locative expression **ntirwheni** 'to work' and, therefore, it is a determiner which functions as a specifier, in (17b) it replaces **ntirwheni** 'to work' and, as such, can be taken to be a pro-form, or in Baumbach's (1987:158) words an absolute pronoun. Considering **kona** in (17a) the claim that it should be seen as a specifier seems plausible. With regard to specifiers, Radford (1988:252ff), 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 (17b), although **kona** does not occur, the sentence is still grammatical. As far as (16) 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 **ninkwako** 'whole/all' and **koxe** '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:

¹¹ It should be observed that specifiers do not occur with nouns only; they may occur with adjectives, adverbs, and so on. See Radford (1988:251-3) for detailed discussion and examples.

- (18) a. **Swiyela ndlwini hinkwa-ko**
 IMP sweep inside the house whole 17
 "Sweep the whole inside of the house"
- b. **Swiyela hinkwa-ko**
 IMP sweep whole 17
 "Sweep the whole of it"
- (19) **Swiyela handle ko-xe**
 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 **koxe** "only" in (19). As for **hinkwako** in (18b), it is like a pronoun standing for **ndlwini**.

As mentioned above, the class prefixes 18 pa-, 17 ku- and 18 mu- which feature in most Bantu languages (see sentences (14)) are only fully realized 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 buku**
 18 here 3 table in 17SM have-PRS 9 book
 "Here, on [the] table there is a book"
- b. **lo-mu tikweni ku- ni nyimpi**
 18 inside [here] 5 country in 17SM have 9 war
 "There is war in [the] country"
- (21) a. **La-ho henhla ka-nsinya ku- tshame tin-fenhe**
 18 there above 17 3 tree 17SM sit-PRS PRG 10 baboon
 "There, above [the] tree are sitting baboons (In the tree are sitting baboons)"
- b. **Lo-mo bokisweni u- vek- ile ma-volwe**
 18 inside [there] 5 suitcase in you keep PST 6 blanket
 "There, in [there] suitcase you use to keep [the] blankets"
- (22) a. **Lo- mu-ya ku- basile**
 18 inside[far] 17SM be clean-PRS
 "Inside there is clean"
- b. **Wa- ku- khumbul -a lo-ku-ya hi-ku- woneke**
 you 17OM remember PRS 17 there we 17OM see-PST PRF
 "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 **lo-mu** "inside [there]" in (20), and **laho** "there" and **lo-mo** "inside [there]" in (21) are specifiers that premodify the locative expressions **mezeni** "on [the] table", **tikweni** "in [the] country", **henhla** "above" and **bokisweni** "in [the] suitcase"

respectively¹². By contrast, *lomuya* "inside [far]" and *lokuya* "there" stand for locative expressions. Thus can be seen as pro-forms (pronouns).

As may be evident from (20), (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 *ha/ho*, 17 *ku/ko* and 18 *mu/no*. 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 Kitsonga. As a matter of fact, it dominates the agreement pattern, even when a prefix of another class comes first, as shown by examples (20), (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 Kitsonga 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 take 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 (2c). 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- tshev-a va-fana*
 5 sea 17GM fish-PRS PRG 2 boy
 "[In the] sea are fishing [the] boys ([The] boys are fishing [in the] sea)"
- b. *Ki-tsotso xi- nghan-ile tihlweni ka-mina*
 7 insect 13M enter-PST 5 eye in 17 me
 "[The] insect entered my eye"
- (20) a. *Mpfundla wu-tumbel-ile mahosi*
 3 hare 3CM hide- PST back of hut
 "[The] hare hid at the back of the hut"

¹² This argument comes from Radford (1988:254) who makes a similar argument in relation to the demonstratives *this/that* in English.

In (2a) the inherent locative expression **lwandle** 'sea' is the subject of the sentence and, as such, it selects **ku** for subject-verb agreement. In (2b) the locative expression **tihlweni** '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 (23).

- (23) Xi-tátsé xi- nghan-ile ka-mina¹³
 7 insect 7SM enter-PST 17 me
 "[The] 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
 3 hare 3SM hide-PST
 "[The] hare hid"

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

- (25) a. Mamana a- ku- swiyel-ile ndlwini tolo
 1 a mother 1SM 17OM sweep- PST 9 house in yesterday
 "[My] mother swept it, the inside of the house yesterday"
- b. Jona a- wu -swek- ile mpunga mbiteni
 1FN 1SM 3 OM 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 & Mchombo (1987). As mentioned earlier, both complement and adjunct can be passivized:

- (26) a. Tihlweni ka-mina ku- nghan-iw- ile (hi xitsotso)
 8 eye in 17 me 17SM enter-PASS-PST (by insect)
 "My eye was entered by [an] insect"
- b. Mahosi ku- tumbel-iw- ile (hi mpfundla)
 Back of hut 17SM hide- PASS-PST (by 3 hare)
 "At the back of 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 is 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) selects **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 parasite.

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 cliticisation. Without going into detail, I have tried to show that locative expressions can be cliticised 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 (2c), (14a,b) and (25a) 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 cliticisation. I have also shown that the locative classes 16 *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.

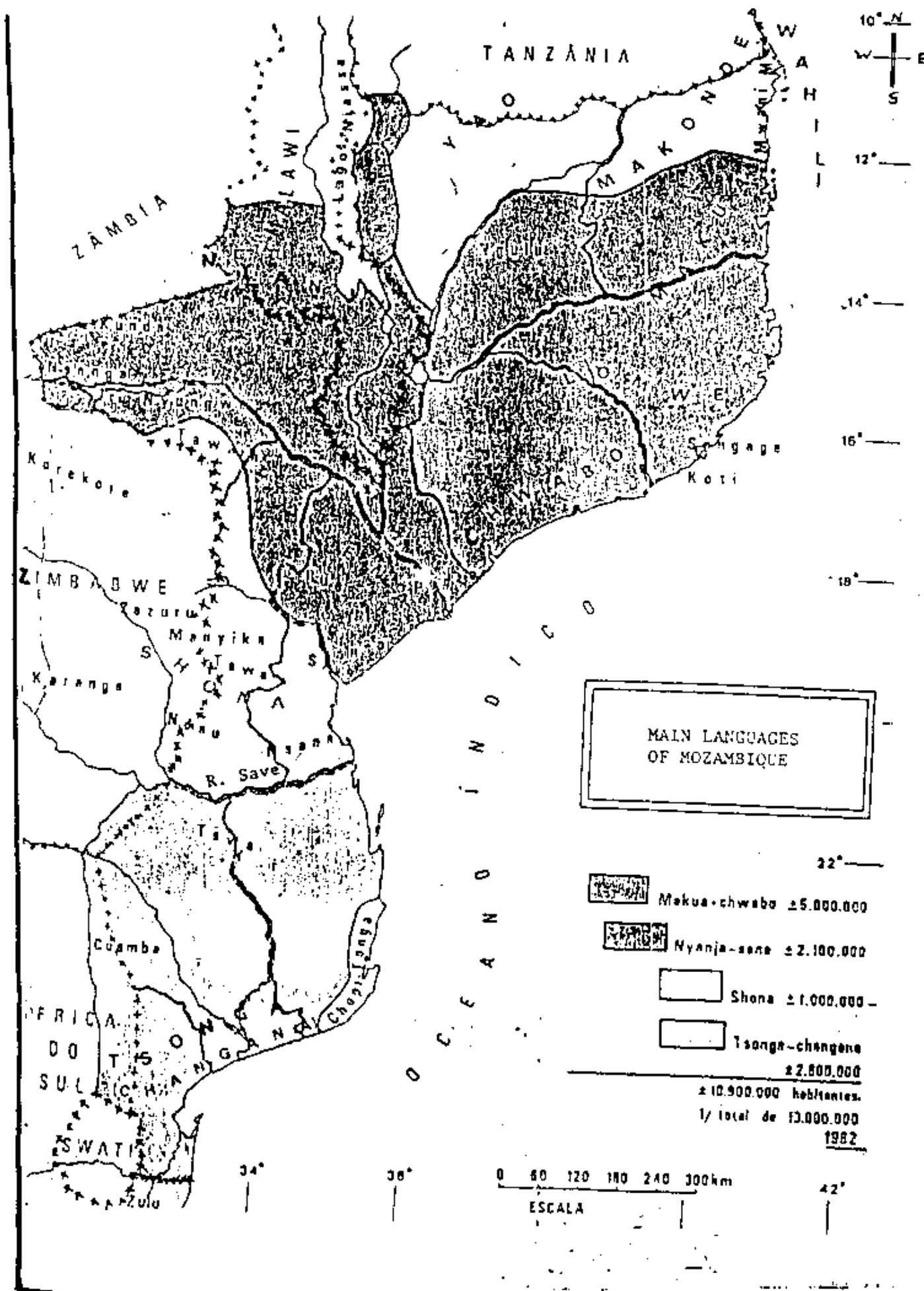
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Source: Eduardo Mondlane University, National Institute for the Development of Education

Appendix: Xitsonga Noun Class Prefixes

Classes		Prefixes		Examples			
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	Singular	Plural		
1	2	nu-	va-	nu- <i>hbu</i>	'person'	va- <i>abu</i>	'persons'
2	2a	o	va-	ba <i>hane</i>	'aunt'	va- <i>hahane</i>	'aunts'
3	4	nu-	ni-	nu- <i>ti</i>	'village'	ni- <i>ti</i>	'villages'
5	6	ti-	wa-	ti- <i>hlo</i>	'eye'	wa- <i>tihlo</i>	'eyes'
7	8	xi-	svi-	xi- <i>khwa</i>	'knife'	svi- <i>khwa</i>	'knives'
9	10	yi[n]	ti[n]	yi- <i>ndlo</i>	'house'	ti- <i>yindlo</i>	'houses'
11	10	li-	ti-	li- <i>rhini</i>	'tongue'	ti- <i>rhini</i>	'tongues'
14			vu-			vu- <i>tivi</i>	'wisdom'
15			ku-			ku- <i>vona</i>	'to see'
16			pa(ha)			pa- <i>ya</i>	'there'
17			ku-			ku- <i>ya</i>	'there' ('further')
18			nu-			nu- <i>ya</i>	'inside' ('there')

Doke (1947)
 Cuenod (1967)
 (Adapted to the Xitsonga
 dialect under discussion)