

# Why Locative Marking in Kiswahili Bantu is not that Simple\*

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**Amidu, Assibi A. 2007. Why Locative Marking in Kiswahili Bantu is not that Simple.** *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 15(3), 21-42. The study presents traditional views about locative marking in Kiswahili Bantu. Next it illustrates that in Kiswahili Bantu, modifiers of non locative nouns may also function as locative markers. These types of markers may be termed lexical markers. Locativity, therefore, does not always depend on the presence of a locative morpheme marker in nouns. The study looks at the lexical markers *katika* 'in' as well as *penye* 'at, by', *kwenye* 'around' and *mwenye* 'in, within' and goes on to illustrate that lexical and morphemic locative markers may be used to mark NPs for locativity even if they are proper or animate nouns, or both. The importance of our study lies in its distinction between internal class morphology and semantic meaning across class boundaries, a distinction that some researchers mistakenly assume to be necessarily coterminous. A good language teacher should be able to impart the full range of strategies used for locative marking to learners and to distinguish morphological locative class or classes from locative meaning, which is found in all classes in Kiswahili Bantu.

**Key Words:** class marker, locative marker, locative noun, lexical marker

## 1. Introduction

There are several descriptions of the locative in Kiswahili (Amidu, 1980, 1997, 2004a, b, c, d). For example, Schadeberg (1992, pp. 15-16) has this to say:

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\*I am grateful to Sh. Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi of the University of Uppsala in Sweden, who on his recent visit to our department read through the entire draft and offered me many useful comments. Sh. Lodhi is also a native speaker from Zanzibar. All shortcomings are, however, mine only.

There are three locative classes:

- cl. 16        pa-        indicating nearness
- cl. 17        ku-        indicating farness
- cl. 18        mu-        indicating withinness

There are only very few nouns which intrinsically belong to one of these classes. However, nouns except proper names (of people and of places) may be shifted to a locative class; this is done by adding the suffix *ni*. The NP's *pa* , *ku* , and *mu* appear only with dependent nominals.

Observe that Schadeberg (1992) identifies the affixes {*pa*}, {*ku*}, and {*mu*} as the locative class markers. The suffix {*ni*} is said only to derive nouns from other classes into locative classes but it is not itself a locative class marker, at least in his view. See also Vitale (1981, p. 48). Schadeberg oversimplifies locative marking in Kiswahili but we will not discuss all the inadequacies of his description here.

It is true to say that, in Kiswahili and Bantu noun classes, nouns have class markers and are normally able to generate the concord markers of their dependent elements, such as adjectives, demonstratives and so on, overtly or implicitly. We do not agree, however, with Schadeberg or Vitale that the affixes {*pa*}, {*ku*}, and {*mu*} are the locative noun affixes and class markers of the locative class or classes rather than the affix {*ni*}, but this matter will not concern us in our study (Amidu, 1980, 1997, for discussions). We do not also agree that {*pa*}, {*ku*}, {*mu*} and {*ni*} are the only locative markers in Kiswahili grammar.

Three other views about the locative in Kiswahili are as follows:

In Swahili nouns of all classes except names of persons, animals and places, may be given the status of an adverb by the addition of the suffix *NI* (Ashton, 1947, p. 18).

Haddon (1955, p. 25) claims with reference to the locative affix {*ni*} that,

This Suffix can be suffixed to any Noun, except a Place Name or an Animate, to express a place inside or outside or on top of that

Noun, converting the word into an adverbial Noun.

Polomé (1967, p. 131) also writes that,

Besides the locative classes 16, 17, and 18, indicating a definite location {pa} or an indefinite location {ku}, a movement to or from a place {ku} or a location inside a place {mu}, respectively, Swahili has a locative suffix -ni, which can assume all these functions according to the context in which the suffixed noun occurs [...]

We find similar claims in Wilson (1985, p. 28), Maw (1999, pp. 31 34), Vitale (1981, pp. 48 55), and other recent works. From the excerpts above, it would appear that the marker of a locative noun in Kiswahili is actually {ni} and not the affixes {pa}, {ku}, and {mu}. And yet, for reasons that cannot be explained deductively and inductively, almost every Bantuist prefers to assert that the class markers of the locative class and its nouns are the affixes {pa}, {ku}, and {mu} that do not partake in noun marking at all in the synchronic grammar.<sup>1)</sup> Examples of the occurrence of the locative marker {ni} in words are as follows:

- (1) *Kiti-ni.*  
Chair-Cl. 17/26  
'In the chair.'
- (2) *Mnazi-ni.*  
Coconut tree-Cl. 17/26  
'In/on the coconut tree.'

Compare (1) (2) with (3) (4) below.

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1) In this study, we recognize only one locative class which we number as class 17/26 following Amidu (1997, 2001, 2002, 2004a, b, c). The literal glosses will reflect this approach rather than the methods of traditional Kiswahili grammars. We also assume that the concords of the locative class are the allomorphs {pa}, {ku} and {mu}. To distinguish between the allomorphs we number them as 17a/26a {pa}, 17b/26b {ku} and 17c/26c {mu}.

- (3) *Ki-ti*.  
Cl. 7-chair  
'The/a chair.'
- (4) *M-nazi*.  
Cl. 3-coconut tree  
'The/a coconut tree.'

According to the theories above, (1)-(2) are locative nouns and they are formed simply by suffixing the affix {ni} to the nouns in (3)-(4).

The descriptions above are problematic. They all give the impression that locative marking only occurs when one uses the nominal affixes {pa}, {ku}, {mu} and, indirectly, the locative suffix {ni}. And yet, the suffix {ni} is not even regarded as a noun marker. It is rather treated as a classless derivational suffix, something one adds to a noun. Classless derivational markers in Kiswahili do not generate concords. As a result, the implicit classless description of the locative suffix {ni} is problematic from the point of view noun classification (Amidu, 2004a). For example, rules of analogy require that items that have the same functions should be given the same descriptions. It follows that if {pa}, {ku}, {mu} are class markers, then their mirror image morpheme {ni} should normally also be classified as a class marker too and not as a classless derivational marker on analogy with deverbal nominalizers.

Another major weakness of the traditional approach above lies in its claim that locative marking involves a 'shift of certain nouns but not other nouns', namely "nouns except proper names (of people and of places) may be shifted to a locative class" (Schadeberg, 1992, p. 16). The 'except' condition lacks inductive motivation because it misses the derivational processes involved in natural languages called conversion and noun to noun derivation (Amidu, 1997, p. 129, 2004a). Namely, in natural languages, any word may be converted into a lexical word of another system, and consequently, nouns of one class may be converted into nouns of other classes through degrammaticalization (Amidu, 1997, ch. 5). It is not just locative nouns that are derived in this way. It is generally accepted that change of form is often not obligatory in conversion operations, but change of form class, with or without an

overt class marker in Bantu, is often obligatory (Amidu, 1997, 2004a, b).

Leaving aside the matter of derivation, we observe that no other way of marking the locative in Kiswahili is emphasized by the grammarians above. Polomé (1967, p. 132) put his finger on the anomaly when he wrote that

There are some restrictions to the occurrence of the locative nouns in *ni*. Although they occur with possessives and complexes with the connective particle {a}, they are not used with a qualifying adjective, [...]

Polomé (1967) gives the following example to illustrate his point:

(5) *Ni-li-nunu-a n-dizi katika duka dogo li-le.*

ProCl. 1/1 SM PAST-buy-MOD Cl. 10-banana Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 5-shop  
Cl. 5-little Cl. 5-that

‘I bought bananas in that little shop.’

The datum and its translation belong to Polomé (1967), but its literal glossing is my work. Observe that Polomé (1967) does not discuss the issue of alternative locative markers other than {*ni*} in his study. For example, (5) does not tell us whether the restrictions he mentions mean that the NP *duka dogo lile* ‘that little shop’, with an adjective *dogo* and a demonstrative *lile*, occurs on its own, can occur on its own, or must occur with an alternative locative marker. We are not told what the role of *katika* ‘in’ is in the PS and whether it belongs in the locative class or outside it and what implications such a patterning has for noun classification in Kiswahili Bantu.<sup>2)</sup> When we turn to Ashton

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2) In this study, P-nP = nominal predication phrase, traditionally called a PP. Thus *katika duka dogo lile* in (5) is a P-nP. P-n = nominal predicate. *Katika* is a P-n not a Prep. (Amidu 2004a). In other instances, P-n is described as a nominal copula (COP), hence P-n may be a COP. In Kiswahili, nominal predicates are lexical elements that pattern like traditional prepositions except that they can function like predicates that take agreement markers of complement NPs or generate agreement markers in PCs, or do both. *Katika* cannot take an agreement marker of its complements but it can and does generate locative agreement concords in PCs (Amidu, 1980, 2001, 2004c). It is not a preposition in

(1947, pp. 196-197), we find that she records *katika* 'in' in (5) and describes it as a preposition (Amidu, 2004a, for discussions). Ashton (1947, p. 196) writes with reference to *katika* that,

In reference to place it indicates locality in much the same way as -ni, and the two may often alternate. *Nyumbani* or *Katika nyumba*. When the noun is qualified by an adjective, however, only one construction is possible.

What Ashton means is that when an adjective is required in a locative construction, *katika* is used, but the so-called suffix {ni} cannot be used. We find the same claim in Polomé (1967, p. 132) above in (5) and in more recent works like Wilson (1985, p. 28, p. 61). The problem is that the suffix {ni} is a morpheme while *katika* is a lexical item. The elements therefore differ naturally in their patterning and distribution in the grammar. Here too, we are not told in what way *katika* is comparable to {ni} and if it is comparable with {ni}, we are not told why it is not classified as a locative marker in the locative class or classes. If, on the other hand, it is not a locative class word, then it is important to know how, without being a member of any noun class, it is able to generate the locative concords {pa}, {ku} and {mu} of the locative class or classes (Amidu, 2004a, pp. 65-66).

We will argue that there are locative markers other than {ni} or {pa}, {ku}, and {mu} in Kiswahili. For example, if *nyumbani* is a locative noun, as Ashton and Polomé claim, then *katika nyumba* must be a locative phrase since the two are synonyms. *Katika* is, therefore, a locative class marker (Amidu, 2004a). We will stress that a distinction between locative noun versus non locative noun is a lexical semantic paradox that conflicts with class semantics, i.e. locative class versus non locative class. Thus when Vitale (1981, pp. 48-49) assigns all Ns the feature [ $\pm$ locative], he erases the distinction locative class versus

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the Indo European sense and it is not subject to the barriers of Chomskian syntax and other kinds of Indo European based syntax. Examples will be given in § 4. below. PC = predicate constituent in Pn-S and Pn-S = predication sentence.

non locative class in Bantu.

## 2. A Note on Locative Marking in Non locative Classes

Consider (6) below obtained from Sh. Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi of Uppsala University.

(6) *Ni-li-nunu-a n-dizi duka dogo li-le.*

ProCl. 1/1 SM-PAST-buy-MOD Cl. 10-banana Cl. 5-shop Cl. 5-little Cl. 5-that

'I bought bananas in that little shop, lit. I bought bananas that little shop.'

(6) is grammatical. The NP *duka dogo lile* belongs to class 5 JI, and yet it is [+locative] in meaning. It has neither a locative suffix {ni} nor the lexical word *katika* in (5). Consider also (7)–(8) taken from Amidu (1980, pp. 588–589).

(7) *M-toto a-li-fik-a ny-umba i-le.*

Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that  
'A child arrived at that house, lit. a child arrived that house.'

(8) *Ny-umba i-le i-li-fik-a m-toto.*

Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 9 SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 1-child  
'At that house arrived a child, lit. that house arrived a child.'

(7)–(8) come originally from Whiteley (1972, p. 11). They were retested with native speakers, and this led to the inclusion of (9) below. In (7), the subject NP is *mtoto* 'child' of class 1 MU1. It generates the SM {a} of its class in the PC *alifika* 'he/she/it arrived'. The PC has an object NP from class 9 NII in the form of *nyumba ile*. The NP consists of the N *nyumba* 'house' and a non-proximate demonstrative *ile* 'that'. The noun has a class 9 marker {ni} which becomes a palatal nasal *ny-* before a vowel and the demonstrative has a class 9 concord {i}. (7) is an active transitive Pn-S. In (8), the object NP in (7) has become the subject NP in (8) and the subject NP in (7) has become the object NP in (8). Whiteley (1968) calls this pattern an entailment operation. The term 'inversion operation' has since become popular too. Observe

that the subject NP in (8) generates SM {i} of class 9 in the PC *ilifika* 'it has arrived'. The object NP is *mtoto* and so (8) is also an active transitive Pn-S. Thus, in the entailment operation above, an active transitive Pn-S (7) generates another active transitive Pn-S (8). Observe that the function of the NP *nyumba ile* in (7)-(8) is [+locative] denoting in lexical semantics, but the class subject agreement marker {i} in the PC is a non-locative concord in the Bantu class dichotomy: locative class versus non locative class. Within Bantu, therefore, (6)-(8) are non locative class constructions. This shows that lexical semantics is not class semantics. (6)-(8) illustrate that NPs in Kiswahili may be locative in meaning without being shifted to any so called locative class with the help of a suffix {ni} as claimed in § 1. Thus to be locative in Bantu is not a lexical feature operation, as Vitale assumes. It is a class operation that requires locative markers or at least locative agreement in PC, with or without change of the NP's class (Amidu, 1980, pp. 293-298, 1997). If our claim is true, then can the NP *nyumba ile* generate a locative concord {pa} or {ku} or {mu}? Consider (9) below.

(9) *Ny-umba i-le ku-li-fik-a m-toto.*

Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17b/26b SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 1-child  
'At that house arrived a child, lit. that house arrived a child.'

(9) is similar to (8). (9) reveals, however, that the SM {ku} in the PC *kulifika* comes from the locative class 17b/26b (traditionally, locative class 17 {ku}). (9) illustrates that non locative NPs in other classes may also function as locative class nominals if, and only if, they generate locative agreement markers in PCs. We see that NP movement into the locative class {ni} or classes {pa}, {ku}, and {mu} is not obligatory, and yet § 1. makes just such a claim (Amidu (1980, 1997, 2004b).

We have seen that Ashton (1947) and Polomé (1967) assert that to use an adjective with a noun in the locative class is not possible if the noun has the locative marker {ni}. To get round this problem, our Kiswahilists recommended the use of *katika*. As Wilson (1985, p. 61)



writes "When such an adjective or demonstrative needs to be used, then the word 'katika' has to be used in front of the noun in place of the suffix {ni}." These traditional claims are overgeneralizations. The difficulty is that the same linguists assert that the NP *nyumba* 'house' is not a locative noun if it lacks a locative affix {ni} at S-structure. As a result, inserting *katika* before a non-locative noun only produces an alternate locative phrase, but this does not illustrate that *katika* alternates with the affix {ni}. It is therefore not true that, in Kiswahili, one replaces {ni} with *katika* to produce alternate locative strings. Each element functions independently of the other. (6)–(9) also falsify the claim that "the word 'katika' has to be used in front of the noun" that requires a modifier. (10)–(12) validate our claims.

- (10) *M-toto-a-li-fik-a ny-umba n-dogo i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-small Cl. 9-that  
 'A child arrived at that small house, lit. a child arrived that small house.'
- (11) *Ny-umba n-dogo i-le i-li-fik-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-small Cl. 9-that Cl. 9 SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'At that small house arrived a child, lit. that small house arrived a child.'
- (12) *Ny-umba n-dogo i-le ku-li-fik-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-small Cl. 9-that Cl. 17b/26b  
 SM-PAST-arrive-MOD Cl. 1 -child  
 'At that small house arrived a child, lit. that small house arrived a child.'

(10)–(12) are grammatical Pn Ss. The adjective *ndogo* belongs to class 9 NII like its head noun *nyumba* and it has the class concord {n} for adjectives of its class while the demonstrative *ile* that follows it has the allomorphic concord {i}. Note how the class agreements in (7)–(9) are exactly the same as those in (10)–(12). Amidu (1980) argues that for purposes of uniformity of locative marking, data such as (7) and (10) should be assumed to be under locative class government if they derive (9) and (12) but not if they derive (8) and (11). This condition may be too strong (Amidu, 1997, 2001, 2004a, b, c). A strong locative marking hypothesis limits the choices of locative markers and strategies found within the same class. A weaker locative hypothesis says that non locative NPs become morphological class locatives when they

generate locative concords without change of class. This eliminates the strong condition that agreement in PC or with a target gender must change the class of an NP. This allows (7) and (10) to be polysemic NPs in the same class. They are non locative NPs only when they entail (8) and (11) and locative NPs only when they entail (9) and (12).

Observe that (12), like (9), does not support the claims in § 1. to the effect that the use of modifiers, such as adjectives, in phrases with locative senses requires the use of a preceding P-n (or Prep.) *katika* as in (5). Only one condition is imposed in Kiswahili on the kind of localization in (6)–(12). (6)–(12) require that the N head, e.g. *duka* or *nyumba* should, where possible, have an accompanying lexical marker in the form of a modifying element or elements of structure (Amidu, 1980, ch. 6). In the NPs *duka dogo lile*, *nyumba ile*, and *nyumba ndogo ile*, the demonstratives *lile* 'that', *ile* 'that' and the adjective plus demonstrative *dogo lile* or *ndogo ile* serve as the lexical 'locative markers' in the NPs in addition to being modifiers of N *duka* or *nyumba*. Thus, in Kiswahili, a modifier can localize the nouns of a non

locative class and hence makes the output locative denoting NPs but not necessarily locative class NPs. Because of the polysemic use of NPs in Kiswahili, (8) and (11) have an SM {i} in PC while (9) and (12) have an SM {ku} in PC (Amidu, 2004b). Paradoxically, since the pairs (8)–(9) and (11)–(12) are synonymous strings, the SMs {i} and {ku} not only share a common N head, but they end up as also allonominal (allomorphic) concords of class 9 NII (Amidu, 1997, 2004a, b). In a strong locative hypothesis, this kind of blurring of classes would not occur, i.e. only (8) and (11) would belong to class 9 NII.

The illustration above does not imply that every modification of N by a lexical modifier, such as *lile* 'that', *ile* 'that', *dogo* 'small', *ndogo* 'small', etc. automatically gives rise to a locative NP. Wherever modifiers are used as locative markers, the modifiers are often not omissible in the phrase structure of the NP (Amidu, 1980, ch. 6). In spite of this, it is possible for N to function as a locative NP by itself depending on the predicate verb involved in the construction. For example, Johnson (1939, p. 142) records the following about the

predicate verb *ingia* 'enter, go into'.

*Ingia nyumbani* (or *nyumba*, or *katika nyumba*), go into a house.  
Note: this is the term used for a man taking a wife to his home.

Observe that the native speaker has a choice of three patterns:

(13) *Juma aliingia nyumba.*

Cl. 1-Juma Cl 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl 9-house

'Juma entered a house.'

(14) *Juma aliingia nyumbani.*

Cl. 1-Juma Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD house-Cl. 17/26

'Juma entered (into) a house.'

(15) *Juma aliingia katika nyumba.*

Cl. 1-Juma Cl.1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house

'Juma entered (into) a house.'

The subject NP is *Juma* in the data. The object NP in (13) is a noun of class 9 NII rather than a locative noun in the traditional sense in § 1. above. In (13), *nyumba* 'in the house, the house' is locative denoting in Cl. 9 NII. It has no overt locative affix {ni} or a modifying element of its own class (Amidu, 2001, p. 52, on motion with or without location). Generally, however, in many contexts, modifiers are often preferred with N rather than just N as in (13). Thus the native speaker may opt to use (14) in which the object NP *nyumbani* 'in the house' has an overt locative marker of class 17/26 NI3 (or classes 16-18). The same speaker may also use a P nP (or PP) *katika nyumba* 'in the house', as in (15) (Amidu, 1997, 2001, 2004a, see also footnote 2 above). For *nyumba* to qualify as a locative NP, it must generate a locative concord during entailment, as in (9) or (12) and not a non locative concord, as in (8).

### 3. On Locative NPs that Shift to Non locative Class Matrices

The views of traditionalists in § 1. have additional weaknesses. For example, they do not allude to patterns of Kiswahili locativity in which

some locative nouns with suffix {ni} may change their class matrices in favour of other class matrices without dropping the suffix {ni}. NPs that retain locative affix {ni} also retain their locative denoting and non-locative denoting subsenses intact. This pattern has been discussed in Amidu (2004b). Consider (16)–(18):

- (16) *Kaskazi-ni mw-a Tanzania m-na-pat-ikan-a n-dovu w-engi.*  
 North-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/26c-of Cl. 9-Tanzania Cl. 17c/26cSM-PRESENT-get-POTENTIAL STATIVE-MOD Cl. 10/2-elephant Cl. 2-many  
 i. 'In the north of Tanzania can be got/found many elephants.'  
 ii. The north of Tanzania abounds with many elephants.'
- (17) *Kaskazini y-a Tanzania m-na-pat-ikan-a n-dovu w-engi.*  
 Cl. 9-north Cl. 9-of Cl. 9-Tanzania Cl. 17c/26c SM-PRESENT-get-POTENTIAL STATIVE-MOD Cl. 10/2-elephant Cl. 2-many  
 i. 'In the north of Tanzania can be got/found many elephants.'  
 ii. The north of Tanzania abounds with many elephants.'
- (18) *Kaskazini y-a Tanzania i-na-pat-ikan-a n-dovu w-engi.*  
 Cl. 9-north Cl. 9-of Cl. 9-Tanzania Cl. 9 SM-PRESENT-get-POTENTIAL STATIVE-MOD Cl. 10/2-elephant Cl. 2-many  
 i. The north of Tanzania abounds with many elephants.'  
 ii. 'In the north of Tanzania can be got/found many elephants.'

The subject NP *kaskazini mwa Tanzania* in (16) has a head N *kaskazini* of the locative class 17/26 (or classes 16–18) (Amidu, 1980, 1997, 2002, 2004a, b, c, d). The N head *kaskazini* has a locative affix {ni} and it generates a locative concord {mw} in the adnominal predicate or P-n *mwa* 'of'. The lexicid {a} of *mwa* 'of' is called the 'A' of relationship. The complement of the P n *mwa* is *Tanzania*. The strings form a P-nP (or PP). In terms of function, the subject NP is polysemic and may function as a locative denoting phrase or an entity denoting phrase. See (i)–(ii) in (16). In spite of the polysemy of the subject NP, the SM in the PC *mnapatikana* is {m} of the locative class 17/26 NI3 (or classes 16–18) (Amidu, 1980, 1997, 2002, 2004a, b, c, d). In (17), we find that the subject NP is *kaskazini ya Tanzania*. *Kaskazini* is the N head of the NP. It is followed and modified by the P-n *ya* 'of'. *Ya* has concord {i} of class 9 NI1 plus the adnominal

predicate {a} of relationship. The complement of the P-n *ya* is *Tanzania*. Observe that the noun *kaskazini* has degrammaticalized from the locative class 17/26 NI3 in (16) into a non-locative class 9 NII in (17). This explains how it generates and governs the concord {i} of class 9 NII in the P-n *ya* 'of'. Observe further that even when the subject NP shifts or appears to shift to class 9 NII in (17), the SM in the PC *mnapatikana* remains {m} and this is also the concord found in (16). One could also substitute for SM {m}, the allomorphic concord {pa} or {ku}. The presence of the concords {i} and {m} in the subject and PC of (17) suggests that the subject NP in (17) may function as a locative denoting phrase or an entity denoting phrase in the Pn-S as shown by the readings (i) and (ii) in (17).

In (18), the subject NP is still *kaskazini ya Tanzania*, exactly as in (17). Observe that the noun *kaskazini* in (18) shifts completely from the locative class to become a non-locative NP of class 9 NII. The shift is signalled not just by its class 9 NII concord {i} in the P-n *ya* 'of' in NP but also by the SM {i} in the PC *inapatikana*. The subject NP is polysemic, as shown by the readings (i) and (ii) in (18). Finally, observe that the noun *kaskazini* retains its erstwhile locative suffix {ni} while it undergoes conversion from class 17/26 NI3 (or classes 16-18) to class 9 NII.

In summary, three things are significant here. Firstly, the NP *kaskazini ya Tanzania* in (18) and the NP *nyumba ile* in (8) and (11) generate the same concord {i} in their PCs (Amidu, 2004b). They also generate locative concords in the PCs in (9) and (17). Thus, whether the subject NP generates a locative concord {mu} or {pa} or {ku} or a so-called non-locative concord {i}, the polysemy of the NPs and their Pn-Ss is constant and unchanged. Secondly, the concords {i} and {mu} or {pa} or {ku} function like allonominal allomorphic concords of both the locative class NI3 and the alleged non-locative class NII in the class system (Amidu, 1980, 2004b). Thirdly, the data confirm that non-locative nouns may be locative denoting words and locative nouns may also be non-locative denoting words or may change class and become classificatorily non-locative denoting strings in Kiswahili (Amidu, 2004b).

#### 4. A Note on Locative Marking with Locative P-n *Katika*

Consider the examples (19)–(20) and compare them with (21)–(22) below:

- (19) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a katika ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that  
 'The child entered (into) that house.'
- (20) *Katika ny-umba i-le m-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17c/26c  
 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'
- (21) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a nyumba-ni m-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD house-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/26c-that  
 'The child entered (into) that house.'
- (22) *Nyumba-ni m-le m-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 House-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/26c-that Cl. 17c/26c  
 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'

Now compare (21)–(22) with (23)–(25) below.

- (23) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a ny-umba-i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that  
 'The child entered (into) that house.'
- (24) *Ny-umba i-le m-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17c/26c SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'
- (25) *Ny-umba i-le i-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 9 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'

Observe, from (19)–(25), that *katika nyumba ile* is a P-nP, while *nyumbani mle* and *nyumba ile* are NPs. Observe further that despite their structural and class differences, all the subject NPs are synonyms. Note also that the P-nP (or PP) *katika nyumba ile* in (20) generates a locative SM {m} in PC. It can also generate SM {pa} or ku} in the PC,

as shown in (26)–(27) below (Amidu, 2001, pp. 299–304).

- (26) *Katika ny-umba i-le pa-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17a/26a  
 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'
- (27) *Katika ny-umba i-le ku-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17b/26b  
 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'Into that house entered a child.'

The NP *nyumba ile* can also generate the allomorphic concords {pa} and {ku} in the manner of *katika nyumba ile* in (26)–(27). (19)–(27) are all transitive Pn-Ss. The evidence reveals that *katika* is a locative P-n that also has ability to generate subject and object concords in PCs of Pn-Ss. As a result, it belongs to the locative class and should be classified in that class or classes. If it were outside the locative class or classes, it would mysteriously and inexplicably generate agreement concords in PCs, even when it is classless. The data stress that Kiswahili locative marking does not depend solely on the presence of the locative suffix {ni} in a noun (Amidu, 1980).

## 5. A Note on Locative Marking with Locative P-n Lexid *Enye*

The modifying lexid {enye} 'having, with, that has' derives locative P-ns such as *penye* 'at a place having', *kwenye* 'around a place having' and *mwenye* 'in a place having'. They have become synonyms of *katika* in many contexts of usage and so function as self standing locative lexical markers without heads. Consider (28)–(33).

- (28) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a p-enye ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 17a/26a P-n  
 having Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that  
 'The child entered (into) that house, lit. the child entered there having that house.'

- (29) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a kw-enye ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 17b/26b P-n having  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that  
 'The child entered (into) that house, lit. the child entered there  
 having that house.'
- (30) *M-toto a-li-ingi-a mw-enye ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 17c/26c P-n having  
 Cl. 9-house Cl. 9that  
 'The child entered (into) that house, lit. the child entered in  
 there having that house.'
- (31) *P-enye ny-umba i-le pa-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17a/26a P-n having Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17a/26a  
 SM-PAST-enter-MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'In that house entered a child.'
- (32) *Kw-enye ny-umba i-le ku-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17b/26b P-n having Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17b/26b  
 SM-PAST-enter- MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'In that house entered a child.'
- (33) *Mw-enye ny-umba i-le m-li-ingi-a m-toto.*  
 Cl. 17c/26c P-n having Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that Cl. 17c/26c  
 SM-PAST-enter- MOD Cl. 1-child  
 'In that house entered a child.'

In (28)-(33), the P-ns *penye*, *kwenye* and *mwenye* function as locative markers of the so called non locative NP *nyumba ile*. Note that the P-n *mwenye* is not commonly used in conversations if it can easily be confused with *mwenye* 'having, with, that has' of class 1 MU1 (Amidu, 2001, pp. 306-309). The SM {m} in the PC of (33), however, makes the class 1 MU1 interpretation unlikely. If the NP is, however, an object NP of a PC, ambiguity may arise.<sup>3)</sup>

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3) An example of ambiguity can be seen in the examples below.

- i) *Juma a-li-m-tazam-a mw-enye ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-Juma Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 1 OM-look-MOD Cl. 1 P-n having Cl.  
 9-house Cl. 9-that  
 'Juma gazed at the house owner, lit. Juma looked at the one having that house.'
- ii) *Juma a-li-m-tazam a mw-enye ny-umba i-le.*  
 Cl. 1-Juma Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 17c/26c OM-look-MOD Cl. 17c/26c P-n  
 having Cl. 9-house Cl. 9-that



## 6. Proper Names of Place with a P-n as Locative Marker

It is generally true to say that some place names realize the overt locative marker {ni} of class 17/26 NI3 (or classes 16–18) as zero at S-structure, as follows:

(34) Lexid {tanzania} + Cl. 17/26 {ni} --> \*{tanzaniani} --> *tanzania*.

The starred form occurs only in the underlying description and in poetic usage. The S-structure output gives us a locative word *Tanzania*, a proper name of a country. Note that the locative word is indistinguishable from a non-locative word *Tanzania* from class 9 NI1, as in (35).

(35) Lexid {tanzania} + Cl. 9 {ni} --> \*{ntanzania} --> *tanzania*.<sup>4)</sup>

Given (34)–(35), it is not surprising that place names are often lexically polysemic, i.e. entity and locative denoting NPs, in Kiswahili (Amidu, 2004b). Place names are also used as animate denoting proper names (see § 7. below).

Unlike names such as *Tanzania*, there are many other proper names of places in Kiswahili that realize overtly the locative marker {ni}. Examples are *Kizingintini* 'name of a place in Lamu', *Bukini* 'Madagascar', *Moroni* 'capital of the Comoros', etc.

If a non-locative place name that is converted into a lexid cannot realize overtly the locative noun marker {ni}, the grammar may use alternative overt markers instead, e.g. lexical markers *katika*, *penye*,

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'Juma gazed into that house, lit. Juma looked into the place with/having that house.'

(i)–(ii) show that the same construction gives rise to two different syntactic interpretations and hence also to different descriptions. The OMs of the two classes are identical and so do not help to disambiguate meaning. Without an adequate gloss, one cannot clarify the ambiguity easily.

4) Phonetically, [t] becomes an aspirated stop in Kiswahili following its assimilation of the preceding morphophonemic nasal segment (Polomé, 1967, pp. 38–40).

*kwenye, mwenye* as in (36)–(39).

- (36) *Katika Lamu/Tanzania/Afrika/Unguja/Msumbiji.*  
'In Lamu/Tanzania/Africa/Zanzibar/Mozambique.'
- (37) *P-enye Lamu/Tanzania/Afrika/Unguja/Msumbiji.*  
'At/in Lamu/Tanzania/Africa/Zanzibar/Mozambique.'
- (38) *Kw-enye Lamu/Tanzania/Afrika/Unguja/Msumbiji.*  
'Around/in Lamu/Tanzania/Africa/Zanzibar/Mozambique.'
- (39) *Mw-enye Lamu/Tanzania/Afrika/Unguja/Msumbiji.*  
'In Lamu/Tanzania/Africa/Zanzibar/Mozambique.'

Thus, if a speaker wishes to avoid the lexical polysemic function of a place name like *Tanzania*, he or she could select one of the locative P-n markers above and form a P-nP that expresses the same meaning that a locative noun would express. A locative class marker may, therefore, be a morphemic unit or a lexical word and it may be realized overtly, or simply fail to percolate to the surface structure, or may be dispensed with altogether as in (13) and (34) above.

## 7. Constraints on the Locative Marking of Animate Terms

There are animate denoting nouns that have the locative marker {ni}. For example, *Bukini* 'Madagascar' has an overt marker {ni} and it is also the name of a person. Some lexids derived from animate nouns may also have {ni} as in (40).

- (40) Lexid {farasi} + Cl. 17/26 {ni}--> *farasini* 'on/from a/the horse'.

Thus, it may be true that many animate denoting terms do not exhibit overtly the locative marker {ni} in word structure. But it is false to affirm that all animate denoting nouns do not take the marker {ni} in Kiswahili, as asserted in traditional grammars (see § 1. above, Amidu, 2003). In addition, when an animate denoting term is a family (F) denoting term, i.e. [+plural] in traditional descriptions, the grammar allows a speaker to use the P-n *katika* 'in, among' to describe location

relative to the animate entities. These patterns are not stressed by traditional grammarians, even when they give examples of the usage, as in (41)–(42):

- (41) *"Kumbe hata katika watu wakubwa wamo majuha!"*  
 Cl. 0-lo and behold Cl. 0-even Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 2-person  
 Cl. 2-big Cl. 2 SM-(COP-be)-Cl. 17c/26c OM Cl. 6/2-simpleton  
 'Apparently, even among important people, there are idiots, lit.  
 apparently even among big people idiots are there.'
- (42) *Kumbe hata ma juha wa mo katika wa tu wa kubwa!*  
 Cl. 0-lo and behold Cl. 0-even Cl. 6/2 simpleton Cl. 2  
 SM-(COP-be)-Cl. 17c/26c OM Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 2-person Cl. 2-big  
 'Apparently, even idiots are (found) among important people, lit.  
 really idiots are there among big people.'

(41) is taken from Macmillan (1950, p. 39). It is also found in Ashton (1947, p. 210). The word order in (41) is OVS and (42) gives us the neutral word order SVO. In (41)–(42), *katika* heads *watu wakubwa* 'important people' and marks the complement as locativized. Note that locative NPs based on *miongoni* 'in/among the number', as in (43)–(44) below, may also be used to 'locative mark' animate NPs.

- (43) *Kumbe hata miongo ni mw a wa tu wa kubwa wa mo ma juha!*  
 Cl. 0-lo and behold Cl. 0-even number-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/26c-of Cl.  
 2-person Cl. 2-big Cl. 2 SM-(COP-be)-Cl. 17c/26c OM Cl. 6/2-simpleton  
 'Apparently, even among important people, there are idiots, lit.  
 apparently even in the number of big people idiots are there.'
- (44) *Kumbe hata ma juha wa mo miongo ni mw a wa tu wa kubwa!*  
 Cl. 0-lo and behold Cl. 0-even Cl. 6/2-simpleton Cl. 2 SM-(COP-be)-Cl.  
 17c/26c OM number-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/26c-of Cl. 2-person Cl. 2-big  
 'Apparently, even idiots exist among important people, lit.  
 apparently even idiots are there in the number of big people.'

## 8. Conclusion

Locative marking in Kiswahili Bantu is more complex and varied than it is usually presented and described in grammar books and

learned papers. Even so, I do not claim to have exhausted the strategies for locative marking in this study. For example, the noun *upande* 'side, on/to the side' of class 11 U1 and its plural *pande* 'sides or on/to the sides' of class 10 NI2 are examples of Kiswahili Bantu common nouns that do not take the locative marker {ni}. They obligatorily require modifiers of their classes 11/10 to imply locative senses, whether or not locative lexical markers like *katika*, *penye*, *kwenye* and *mwenye* are also selected. This study demonstrates, therefore, that strategies for locative marking in Kiswahili are diverse and multiple. In addition, a failure to exhibit an overt locative marker of the type {ni} in a locative string is not sufficient evidence that a term or phrase cannot be marked for locative. Alternative locative markers and strategies may be used by native speakers.

I conclude by noting two things. Firstly, locative meaning is not restricted to contents in a locative class (or classes) in Bantu but locative class (or classes) is restricted to a morphological classification in Bantu noun class systems. Linguists, such as Vitale (1981), tend to ignore the distinction between class system and lexical semantics. This has led to confusion about what locative is in Bantu. Schadeberg (2003: 82) also discusses the locative in Bantu but does not refer to the Kiswahili patterns. He also claims that locative prefixes "are not directly prefixed to nouns referring to people." In fact, some nouns referring to people do have locative markers, especially proper nouns. Secondly, I suggest that Kiswahili language teachers should describe the mechanisms of locative marking on a broad descriptive canvas that adequately represents the Bantu idiom without at the same time making it too complex for learners to comprehend and learn the subject. I have no doubt that learners will find such an approach invaluable as they acquire greater proficiency.

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