

LOCATIVE PHRASES AND ALTERNATIVE CONCORD IN TSHILUBA

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1. Introduction

Locative phrases have been a subject of controversy since the beginning of grammatical analysis of Bantu languages.<sup>1</sup> Traditional grammars have attributed to them functions ranging from that of subject and direct object to that of adverb. Recently, Trithart [1975], Dalgish [1976a, 1976b], and Dalgish and Scheintuch [1976] have discussed locative noun phrases in various Bantu languages with respect to the grammatical relations these phrases bear to verbs. This paper continues the investigation of Bantu locatives in Tshiluba (a Zone L language spoken primarily in south central Zaïre) within that cluster of hypotheses known as relational grammar. In particular, the paper focuses on two types of constructions, each of which contains a locative morpheme (either pa 'on', ku 'at', or mu 'in') followed by both a noun and a modifier which may be either an adjective or a demonstrative. Example (1) below illustrates these constructions.<sup>2</sup> Note in (1) that the locative pa 'at' is followed by a noun mesa 'table', which in turn is followed by the adjective -nene 'big', with the concordial morpheme pa- prefixed to it. In (1b), on the other hand, the adjectival concord marker is ma- in agreement with the noun itself. The concord for locative phrases containing demonstra-

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<sup>2</sup>Due to the limitation of space, the number of examples is extremely limited. The handout at the conference contained more examples, which are available on request from the author. Data in an earlier version [Stucky 1976] are less complete.

tives is contrasted in (1c) and (1d):<sup>3</sup>

- |        |  |    |  |
|--------|--|----|--|
| (1) a. | pa m-esa p <sub>3</sub> -nene<br>on table LC-big<br>'the big space on the table' | b. | pa m-esa ma-nene<br>on table NC-big<br>'on the big table'                    |
| c.     | pa m-esa a-pa<br>on table this-LC<br>'on this table (and not off<br>it)'         | d. | pa m-esa a-a<br>on table this-NC<br>'on this table (and not on<br>that one)' |

Phrases bearing locative concord are referred to as LC phrases while those exhibiting nominal concord are called NC phrases. This phenomenon, henceforth alternative concord, not unique to Tshiluba, has been noted in Chi-Bemba by Givón [1972] and in OluTsootso by Dalgish (personal communication).

In addition to these alternative concordial processes, the data in this analysis show that LC and NC phrases demonstrate different syntactic behavior. Furthermore, a syntactic as well as a semantic distinction must be made between those locative phrases with adjectives and those with demonstratives. Finally, the acceptability of LC phrases depends crucially on the type of verb in the sentence.

It will be helpful to keep in mind certain facts of Tshiluba grammar. First, noun class prefixes govern concord of two types: primary, that taken by adjectives and participles, and secondary, taken by demonstratives and all other forms requiring agreement. The distinction is evident in the concordial markers in (1b) and (1d) above. Thus, one morphological distinction relevant to the analysis of locative phrases exhibiting alternative concord can be noted at the outset. Adjectives take primary concord while demonstratives take secondary concord. Second, the locative morphemes include neither the notion of deixis, handled by the demonstratives nor that of motion to and from, which is included in the verb. Finally, unlike other noun class prefixes, the locative morphemes may appear

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<sup>3</sup>Symbols are as follows: noun class numbers are not marked, but a hyphen separates a noun prefix from the stem. Ag=agreement, OP=object prefix, LP=locative pronoun, Pass=passive, Refl=reflexive marker, LC=locative concord, NC=noun concord. Standard orthography has been employed here with one exception. Long vowels that are not derived by rule are written as sequences of two short vowels. Tone is not marked. (See footnote 4 for tone rules.)

before full nouns.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Syntactic Properties of LC and NC Locative Phrases

Besides the agreement contrast noted in the previous section, LC and NC phrases behave differently with respect to certain syntactic processes. A semantic distinction also emerges. One restriction on alternative concord is, however, noted first. Example (2) below shows that alternative concord does not extend to the predicate but is entirely restricted to the locative phrase. Verbal agreement is always with the locative.

- (2) a. pa m-esa pa-di pa-nene                      b. \*pa m-esa ma-di pa-nene  
      on table Ag-be Ag-big                        on table Ag-be Ag-big  
      'on a/the big table'
- c. \*pa m-esa pa-di ma-nene                    d. \*pa m-esa ma-di ma-nene  
          on table Ag-be Ag-big                    on table Ag-be Ag-big

Syntactic processes illustrating the difference between LC and NC phrases include the non-relation changing rules of left and right dislocation. The data in (3) and (4) below show that the LC phrase is more tightly knit than the NC phrase. Example (3a) shows that either a LC or a NC phrase may be left-dislocated by leaving a pronoun behind, suffixed to the verb. Alternatively, in (3b), the NP *tshisalu etshi* 'this market' can be left-dislocated from within a NC phrase, but not, significantly, from within a LC phrase. Example (4) shows that right-dislocation proceeds analogously.

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<sup>4</sup>There is little phonological or tonological evidence in Tshiluba for considering the locative morpheme together with its noun to be a single word. No noun begins with a vowel (since there are no vowel prefixes) and thus vowels do not coalesce. Locatives standing alone have high tone. Affixed to a stem they assimilate in tone. This does not provide any evidence either, since all noun prefixes in Tshiluba have high tone and the locatives in these phrases exhibit high tone. There is some syntactic evidence for considering them to be a single unit. No other word, such as a demonstrative, may intervene between the locative and the noun. Normally, the demonstrative may either precede or follow the noun. Still, traditional orthography has treated these as two separate words. The spelling in this paper conforms to that convention.

- (3) a. mu tshi-salu {e-mu } mu-kaji u-di w-enda- mu  
           in market {this-LC} woman Ag-be Ag-walk to- LP  
                       {this-NC}  
           'in this market, the woman is walking (to) (in) here'
- b. tshi-salu {\*e-mu } mu-kaji u-di w-enda- mu  
           market {\*this-LC} woman Ag-be Ag-walk to-LP  
                   {this-NC}  
           'this market, the woman is walking (to) (in) here'
- (4) a. mu-kaji u-di w-enda- mu, mu tshi-salu {e-mu }  
           woman Ag-be Ag-walk to-LP, in market {this-LC}  
   {this-NC}  
           'the woman is walking (to) (in) here, in this market'
- b. mu-kaji u-di w-enda- mu tshi-salu {\*e-mu }  
           woman Ag-be Ag-walk to-LP market {\*this-LC}  
   {this-NC}  
           'the woman is walking (to) (in) here, this market'

Unlike the dislocation rules, relativization is sensitive to grammatical relations. This process also reflects the structural distinction between LC and NC phrases. In (5) and (6) below, both LC and NC phrases are relativized. As in the case of the dislocation rules, the LC phrase must remain a syntactic unit, but the NC phrase may be relativized out of.

- (5) mu tshi-longelu {e-mu } mu-di-bo ba- bala mi-kanda  
                       {e-tshi } they-read  
           in school {this-LC} Rel-be-they books  
                       {this-NC}  
           'inside/in this school in which they are reading books...'
- (6) mu tshi-longelu {\*e-mu } tshi-di-bo ba- tok- esha  
                       {e-tshi }  
           in school {\*this-LC} Rel-be-they they-clean-Caus.  
                       {this-NC}  
           'in this school which they are cleaning'

Thus, at least three processes, right and left dislocation and relativization indicate that the LC phrase is a syntactic unit while the NC phrase may be treated either as a single unit or as two, the locative and the noun plus its modifier.

### 3. Alternative Concord and Grammatical Relations

3.1 Subject of. Whether or not LC and NC phrases can be subjects is a problem that requires a longer investigation than is possible here. Constructions where locatives appearing in initial position govern verbal agreement are the LOC-BE-ADJ and LOC-BE-NP constructions shown in examples

(7) and (8) below. Here there is a clear difference between the locative adjective and the locative demonstrative phrases. That both LC and NC phrases are acceptable in LOC-BE-ADJ constructions is illustrated in (7). Thus, it is possible to predicate a quality of either LC or NC adjective phrases. In (8) however, an LC-adjective phrase is unacceptable in LOC-BE-NP constructions. In contrast, both LC and NC demonstrative phrases are acceptable in both BE constructions, as is evidenced in the (a) and (b) sentences of (7) and (8). The LC-adjective (8c) is interpreted as a locative noun. This is reflected in the English gloss 'the clean space on', rather than 'the space on the clean table'.

- (7) a. pa m-esa a-pa pa-di pa-bole b. pa m-esa a-a pa-di pa-bole  
 on table this-LC Ag-be Ag-wet on table this-NC Ag-be Ag-wet  
 'on this table (and not off it) 'on this table (and not that  
 is wet' one) is wet'
- c. pa m-esa pa-tooke pa-di pa-bole d. pa m-esa ma-tooke pa-di pa-bole  
 on table LC-clean Ag-be Ag-wet on table NC-clean AG-be Ag-wet  
 'the clean space on the table is 'on the clean table is wet'  
 wet'
- (8) a. pa m-esa a-pa pa-di mi-kanda b. pa m-esa a-a pa-di mikanda  
 on table this-LC Ag-be books on table this-NC Ag-be books  
 'on this table (and not off it) 'on this table (and not that  
 are books' one) are books'
- c. \*pa m-esa pa-tooke pa-di mi-kanda d. pa m-esa ma-tooke pa-di mi-kanda  
 on table LC-clean Ag-be books on table NC-clean Ag-be books  
 \*'the clean space on the table is 'on the clean table are books'  
 books'

The items in (7) and (8) also demonstrate that the locative morpheme always governs verbal agreement on the verb. According to one early version of relational grammar [Postal and Perlmutter 1974] one of its tenets is that only terms (i.e. subjects) can trigger verbal agreement. The fact that these LC and NC phrases govern agreement may constitute an argument in favor of termhood. However, there are at least two other explanations for this pattern of agreement. First, it may be that agreement in Tshiluba is not with a term but with a noun that is not necessarily a subject. Secondly, it could be the case that the simple noun is the term but the agreement is with the larger phrase of which the noun is a part. Thus, verbal agreement is not sufficient to determine termhood, suggesting that more evidence is needed.

Another test of termhood is reflexivization. If locatives are subjects, they should trigger reflexivization. In the following example, both LC and NC phrases trigger reflexivization.

- (9) a. mu tshi-bunda e-mu mu-di- shimbula  
 in garden this-LC Ag-Refl-collapse  
 'inside this garden (and not outside) fell in itself'
- b. mu tshi-bunda e-tshi mu-di- shimbula  
 in garden this-NC Ag-Refl-collapse  
 'in this garden (and not another one) fell in itself'

Thus, if it is true that only terms can govern agreement and trigger reflexivization, then the locatives are subjects in (6-9). Whether they got there by an advancement rule (one which moves an NP up the hierarchy of grammatical relations) or a movement rule (one which does not change grammatical relations) or by being there underlyingly is an open question.

3.2 Object of. The relation considered next is that of object. As in the preceding section on the subject relation, the behavior of locative phrases containing adjectives is different from those containing demonstratives.

Consider first locative phrases with adjectives illustrated by just examples (a) and (b) in (10)-(13). We see in (10) that a LC-adjective phrase--but not a NC-adjective phrase--together with an object, is unacceptable. In the same type of construction, though, LC- and NC-adjective phrases in (11) are both acceptable.

- (10) a. mu-kaji u-di u-teka mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu \*mu-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-put books in school LC-big  
 \*'the woman is putting the books the big space in the school'
- b. mu-kaji u-di u-teka mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu tshi-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-put books in school NC-big  
 'the woman is putting the books in the big school'
- c-d. mu-kaji u-di u-teka mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu e-<sup>{mu}</sup><sub>{tshi}</sub>  
 woman Ag-be Ag-put books in school this-{LC/NC}  
 'the woman is putting books in this school'
- (11) a. mu-kaji u-di u-bala mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu mu-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-read books in school LC-big  
 'the woman is reading books in the big space in the school'
- b. mu-kaji u-di u-bala mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu tshi-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-read books in school NC-big  
 'the woman is reading the books in the big school'
- c-d. mu-kaji u-di u-bala mi-kanda mu tshi-longelu e-<sup>{mu}</sup><sub>{tshi}</sub>  
 woman Ag-be Ag-read books in school this-{LC/NC}

Again, in (12), both LC- and NC-adjective phrases may follow the verb. However, in (13), only a NC-adjective is acceptable.

- (12) a. mu-kaji u-di w-enda mu tshi-longelu mu-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-walk to in school LC-big  
 'the woman is walking to the big space in the school'
- b. mu-kaji u-di w-enda mu tshi-longelu tshi-nene  
 woman Ag-be Ag-walk to in school NC-big  
 'the woman is walking into the big school'
- c-d. mu-kaji u-di w-enda mu tshi-longelu e-<sup>{mu}</sup><sub>{tshi}</sub>  
 woman Ag-be Ag-walk to in school this-{LC/NC}  
 'the woman is walking into this school'
- (13) a. ma-futa ma-di ma-aya mu tshi-lowu \*mu-nene  
 oil Ag-be Ag-get rancid in calabash LC-big  
 \*'oil is getting rancid the big space in the calabash'
- b. ma-futa ma-di ma-aya mu tshi-lowu tshi-nene  
 oil Ag-be Ag-get rancid in calabash NC-big  
 'oil is getting rancid in the big calabash'
- c-d. ma-futa ma-di ma-aya mu tshi-lowa e-<sup>{mu}</sup><sub>{tshi}</sub>  
 oil Ag-be Ag-get rancid in calabash this-{LC/NC}  
 'the oil is getting rancid in this calabash'

Upon closer examination one finds that the verbs in (10-13) fall into different classes with respect to the types of NPs required or permitted to accompany them. Verbs such as -teka 'put', in (10), rarely surface without objects. Verbs such as -bala 'read', in (11), often surface without objects. Verb requiring direct objects are here labeled strongly transitive verbs. Verbs permitting, but not requiring, direct objects are labeled weakly transitive. A verb like -enda 'walk to' in (12) belongs to another class of verbs, motion intransitives, which are distinguished from strictly intransitive verbs such as -aya 'get rancid' in (13). Motion intransitives actually require locatives while strictly intransitive verbs, although allowing them, do not require them. It appears that the LC phrase does not satisfy the requirements of a strongly transitive verb, as in (10). In (11), both LC- and NC-adjective phrases are acceptable with weakly transitive verbs. In (12), likewise, both LC- and NC-adjective phrases can satisfy a motion intransitive. But only NC-adjective phrases can satisfy a strictly intransitive verb as in (13).

Locative phrases containing demonstratives rather than adjectives exhibit none of the idiosyncrasies of the adjective phrases. As examples (c-d) in (10-13) show, regardless of whether the demonstrative locative phrase is an LC or an NC phrase, it is always acceptable. Thus, it cannot be claimed that the type of verb determines the acceptability of LC phrases alone. Rather the type of verb and the type of locative phrase must be taken into account.

Returning to the question of locative adjective phrases, the proposition that the LC- and NC-adjective phrases differ in their capacity to

satisfy the requirements of the verb can be tested as follows. First, with a strongly transitive verb having no object, an LC phrase should be acceptable, but an NC phrase should not. That this is indeed the case is illustrated by the examples in (14):

- (14) a. mu-kaji u-nanga ku n-zubu ku-nene  
 woman Ag-like at house LC-big  
 'the woman likes the atmosphere at the big house'
- b. mu-kaji u-nanga ku n-zubu \*mu-nene  
 woman Ag-like at house NC-big  
 \*'the woman likes at the big house'

With a verb such as -bala 'read', a weakly transitive verb, we might expect a LC-adjective phrase to have two readings: one a patient (where the LC-adjective phrase satisfies the requirements of transitivity) and the second a locative reading (where object deletion has applied). In fact, two readings are obtainable for such a verb, as is shown in (15):

- (15) a. mu-ntu u-di u-songa mu bu-afu mu-nene  
 man Ag-be Ag-carve in boat LC-big  
 'the man is carving out the inside of the boat--making it bigger'  
 OR 'the man is carving (something else) in the big boat'
- b. mu-ntu u-di u-songa mu bu-afu mu-nene  
 man Ag-be Ag-carve in boat NC-big  
 'the man is carving (something else) in the big boat'

The NC phrase in (15b) cannot be used in the situation where buafu 'boat' is the patient or the receiver of the action. LC-adjective phrases consequently have two qualities of direct objecthood: they follow transitive verbs while NC-adjective phrases do not, and they are interpretable as patients.

Next, consider the two cases where a verb actually requires a certain kind of NP. As noted above, a LC phrase in (10a), following a strongly transitive verb and its attendant object, was unacceptable. This behavior may be attributed to the fact that the LC-adjective phrase behaves like an object. Since the verb requires only one object, the LC-adjective phrase is then superfluous. Motion intransitives, like strongly transitive verbs, require a NP, a locative in this case. A NP not marked morphologically as a locative will not suffice, as example (16) illustrates:

- (16) \*mu-kaji u-di w-enda n-zubu  
 woman Ag-be Ag-walk to house

A LC-adjective phrase, as noted above, could satisfy motion intransitives. Although the addition of a second LC-adjective phrase is not acceptable, the presence of a second NC-adjective phrase is. As in the case of strongly transitive verbs, the LC-adjective phrase is unacceptable. Compare examples (17a) and (17b):

- (17) a.) mu-kaji u-di w-enda mu tshi-longelu mu-flike ku  
 b.) woman Ag-be Ag-walk to in school LC-dark at  
 mu-soko { \*ku-  
 mu- lenga }  
 village { \*LC-  
 NC- beautiful }  
 'the woman is walking to the dark space in the school in the  
 beautiful village'

Thus, the acceptability of LC-adjective phrases, but not LC-demonstrative phrases, is seen to be directly related to the type of verb, whether strongly or weakly transitive, a motion intransitive or a strictly intransitive verb. The LC-adjective phrase behaves more like a direct object while still being marked as a locative by the locative prefix and its objecthood is paralleled by its nounlike reading.

3.3 Pronominalization. There are two cases (11a and 11b) where a LC-adjective phrase exhibited some properties normally associated with direct objecthood that are not yet accounted for. LC-adjective phrases in (15a and 15b), following transitive verbs, were interpretable as patients. It seems prudent, then, to investigate some syntactic processes that might reflect their status. The first is pronominalization. Here an interesting correlation appears between the position of the locative pronoun and the appearance of LC phrases in such sentences as shown in (18a) and (19a) below. Normally two positions are available for object pronouns, preceding the verb stem and following it. If only a direct object is present, the pronoun appears in prefix position. Note that in (18a)--corresponding to (15a)--and in (19)--corresponding to (14)--the locative pronoun shows up in prefix position as a direct object would. The non-object reading of the LC phrase--corresponding to (15a)--and the NC phrase pronoun appear in suffix position as illustrated in (18b). The examples are given in terms of dislocation so that the pronoun can be checked most accurately.

- (18) a. mu bu-atu mu-nene mu-ntu u-di u-mu-songa  
 in boat LC-big man Ag-be Ag-LP-carve  
 'the big space in the boat, the man is carving it'  
 b. mu bu-atu { <sup>mu-</sup>  
 bu- nene } mu-ntu u-di u-songa-mu  
 in boat { <sup>LC-</sup>  
 NC- big } man Ag-be Ag-carve-LP  
 'in the big boat, the man is carving it'
- (19) a.) ku n-zubu ku-nene mu-kaji { u-ku-nanga }  
 b.) at house LC-big woman { \*u-nānga-ku }  
 { Ag-LP-like }  
 { \*Ag-like-LP }  
 'at this big house, the woman likes it there'

The LC-adjective and NC-adjective pronouns with -bala 'read', a weakly transitive verb, evince a clear preference for suffix position even when no other object is present, as the following examples illustrate:



verbs. These do not passivize. Compare (24-28) below:

- (24) ku n-zubu e-ku ku-nang-ibue kudi mu-kaji  
at house this-LC Ag-like-Pass by woman  
'the atmosphere at this house is liked by the woman'
- (25) mu bu-atu mu-nene mu-song-ibue kudi mu-ntu  
in boat LC-big Ag-carve-Pass by man  
'the space inside of the boat was carved bigger by the man'
- (26) mu tshi-longelu {<sup>mu-</sup>tshi-nene} mu-bad -ibue kudi mu-kaji  
in school {<sup>LC-</sup>big} Ag-read-Pass by woman  
'in the big school was read by the woman'
- (27) mu tshi-salu {<sup>mu-</sup>tshi-nene} mu-end -ibue kudi mu-kaji  
in school {<sup>LC-</sup>big} Ag-walk to-Pass by woman  
'in the market was walked to by the woman'
- (28) \*mu tshi-lowa tshi-nene mu-ay -ibue kudi ma-futa  
in calabash NC-big Ag-got rancid-Pass by oil  
'\*in the calabash was gotten rancid by the oil'

The last restriction on passivization indicates that it is not sufficient to speak of which items may passivize. Instead, in the case of strictly intransitive verbs it is necessary to consider whether or not the locative was required by the verb in the first place.

#### 4. Summary

The data in this paper have shown that the category locative is not a discrete one in Tshiluba. The morphological distinction evidenced through alternative concord is reflected in three syntactic processes: pronominalization, passivization and relativization. Semantically, LC phrases focus the locative while NC phrases focus the noun. Furthermore, LC and NC phrases are distinguished along another parameter, modification, where the modifier is either an adjective or a demonstrative.

With respect to grammatical relations, it was argued on the basis of verbal agreement and reflexivization that locatives could occur as underlying subjects, terms. It was also noted that these locatives have several properties of objecthood; they may pronominalize and passivize. However, the ability to passivize, it was shown, did not depend on the locative itself, but rather, on the type of verb. Furthermore, LC and NC phrases appear to be on a continuum. The LC-adjective phrase is more like a direct object, since only it may satisfy the requirements of a strongly transitive verb.

Finally, locatives in Tshiluba must be distinguished from other objects, since both may appear simultaneously and have separate positions for pronouns. Motion intransitives require locatives in the same way

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