

THE LOCATIVE PREFIX IN KISA

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ABSTRACT: *The hallmark of nominal morphology in Bantu languages is based on the rich noun class system in which nouns in these languages are classified. Noun roots, in Bantu languages, are placed into noun classes according to the prefixes they take and their meanings. In Proto-Bantu and most present day Bantu languages prefixes with a locative meaning have been analysed as noun class prefixes, and noun roots occurring with them placed into locative noun classes. Prefixes with a locative meaning in Kisa, a Bantu language spoken in Western Kenya, have also been previously analysed as noun class prefixes leading to locative noun classes in this language. Synchronically, however, prefixes with a locative meaning in Kisa should be analysed in a different way. Using a descriptive design and basing on data generated by the author as a native speaker of Kisa, this paper provides evidence from head class marking and agreement marking and shows that prefixes with a locative meaning in Kisa attach to noun stems belonging to a specific noun class. This gives rise to locative constructions that function as locative heads. In this way, prefixes with a locative meaning in Kisa are better analysed as locative prefixes and not as noun class prefixes. This implies that, synchronically, Kisa does not have locative noun classes.*

KEYWORDS: Bantu, Kisa, morphology, noun class, prefix, locative.

INTRODUCTION

Locative prefixes in Bantu languages have been analysed as noun class prefixes resulting in locative noun classes (Demunth, 2000; Guthrie, 1967; Katamba, 2006; McPherson, 2008; Meeussen, 1967; Mutonyi, 2000; Mwita, 2008; Wasike, 2007; Welmers, 1973). Locative prefixes in Kisa, a Bantu language spoken in Western Kenya, have also been analysed as noun class prefixes resulting in locative noun classes (Sample, 1976). This paper relooks at locative prefixes in Kisa and argues that, synchronically, locative prefixes in Kisa should not be analysed as noun class prefixes but locative prefixes that generate locative constructions when they attach to noun stems. The paper begins by providing a brief description of the language under study followed by an outline of its segmental inventory and orthography. Basic nominal morphology of the language is then discussed followed by locative marking in the language. After that, locative agreement in the language is discussed followed by a conclusion to the paper.

The Language

Kisa¹ is a dialect of Luhya² language spoken in the Khwisero District, Western Province of Kenya. It has approximately 89,000 speakers (1999 population census³). Luhya belongs to the Bantoid genus of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo language family

¹ There are alternative names, Olushisa, Shisa, and Olukisa.

² There are alternative names, Luyia and Oluluhya.

³ The 2009 census figures do not report population figures by ethnic group, so more current figures are not available.

(Haspelmath, Dryer, & Comrie, 2008). There are at least 19 dialects of Luhya in Kenya (Marlo, 2007). The *Ethnologue* classification in Figure 1 identifies 20 dialects, while the map in Figure 2 shows 18.

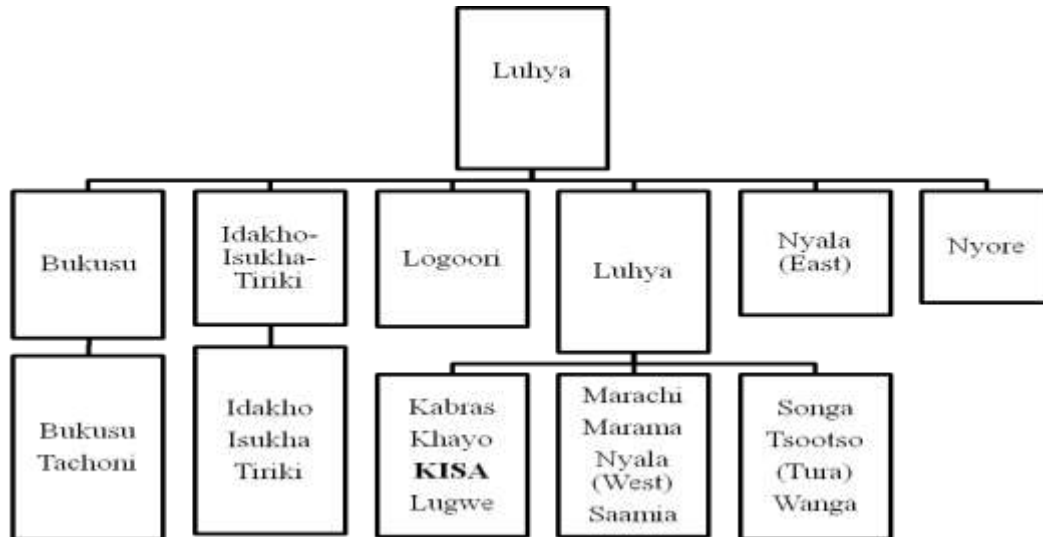


Figure 1. Ethnologue classification of the Luhya dialects.



Figure 2. Luhya dialect map.⁴

⁴ Adapted from Marlo (2007, p. 3).

Kisa Segmental Inventory and Orthography

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) representation of the Kisa consonantal inventory is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Kisa consonantal Inventory—IPA

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		t			k	
Affricates			ts	tʃ			
Fricatives	β	f	s	ʃ		x	h
Nasals	m		n	ɲ		ŋ	
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides	w				j		

Table 2 presents the practical orthography representation of the Kisa consonantal inventory.

Table 2: Kisa Consonantal Inventory—Practical Orthography

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		t			k	
Affricates			ts	ch			
Fricatives	b	f	s	sh		kh	h
Nasals	m		n	ny		ng'	
Nas-Stop	mb		nd			ng	
Nas-Aff			nz	nj			
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides	w				y		

Note: Kisa has a classic five vowel system /a, e, i, o, u/.

Kisa Basic Nominal Morphology

Kisa shows standard Bantu nominal morphological patterns. Nouns in Bantu languages are divided into classes numbered from 1–24 (Guthrie, 1967; Katamba, 2006; Meeussen, 1967; Welmers, 1973). While there is justification for the 1-24 numbering in Proto-Bantu, changes have occurred in several of the Bantu languages. As a result, not all of the 24 classes are necessarily found in any present day Bantu language (Katamba, 2006).

Synchronically, Kisa has 16 noun classes excluding the locative classes postulated by Sample, (1976). It is prefixation and in particular noun class prefixes that are the hallmark of the Kisa noun class system. Nouns are placed into classes depending on the prefixes they take and their meanings. The noun class prefixes constitute head class marking for nouns in Kisa.

The class system for Kisa common nouns is set out in Table 3.

Table 3: Kisa Common Noun Class System

Singulars				Plurals			
	Augment	Class	Semantic Domains		Augment	Class	Semantic Domains
1	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Humans	2	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	Regular plurals of class 1
3	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Trees, plants	4	<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Regular plurals of classes 3 and 20
5a	\emptyset -	<i>lii-</i>	Fruits	6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	Regular plurals of class 5, liquid masses
5b	<i>e-</i>	<i>li-</i>					
7	<i>e-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	Nouns of manner	8	<i>e-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	Regular plurals of class 7
9a	<i>i-</i>	\emptyset -	Loans	10a	<i>e-</i>	<i>tsi-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9a
9b	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	No clear semantic domain associations	10b	\emptyset -	<i>tsiiny-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9b
9c	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	Gerunds with the meaning 'style or way of doing things'	10c	\emptyset -	<i>tsiiny-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9c/d
9d	<i>i-</i>	<i>nz-</i>					
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	Diminutives	13	<i>o-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	Regular plurals of class 12
15	<i>o-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	Infinitives/gerunds	14	<i>o-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	Abstract entities, mass nouns
20	<i>o-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	Augmentatives				

It may be noted that the Augment (AUG) prefix is \emptyset - in Classes 5a and Classes 10b/c/d, and that the Class prefix is \emptyset - in Class 9a.

There is only one environment where the Augment prefix does not appear with common nouns. This is with the interrogative *shiina* "which", as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. *o-mu-saala*

AUG-3-tree

'a/the tree'

b. *mu-saala shiina?*

3-tree which

'Which tree?'

In all other environments, the Augment appears. This includes citation, so the citation form of "tree" is *o-mu-saala* and not *mu-saala*.

Noun modifiers take class markers that agree with the class marking of the nouns they modify. These constitute standard agreement markers in Kisa. This implies that a given noun class marking occurs with a particular class agreement marking. However, the forms of the agreement markers vary considerably. The agreement markers on adjectives differ from those on other modifiers.

Adjectives take agreement markers identical to the prefixes on the nouns they modify. The prefixes that occur with adjective roots are the same as those that occur with noun roots. Table 4 shows the prefixes for all the noun classes.

Table 4 : Kisa Adjective Class Marking

Adjective class	Augment	Class prefix	Example	Gloss	Noun class
1	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>o-mu-layi</i>	'good'	1
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>a-ba-layi</i>	'good'	2
3	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>o-mu-layi</i>	'good'	3
4	<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>e-mi-layi</i>	'good'	4
5a	∅-	<i>lii-</i>	<i>lii-layi</i>	'good'	5a/b
5b	<i>e-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>e-lye-ererekhu</i>	'smooth'	5a/b
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>a-ma-layi</i>	'good'	6
7	<i>e-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	<i>e-shi-layi</i>	'good'	7
8	<i>e-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>e-bi-layi</i>	'good'	8
9b	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>i-n-dayi</i>	'good'	9a/b/c/d
9c	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>i-n-dayi</i>	'good'	9a/b/c/d
9d	<i>i-</i>	<i>nz-</i>	<i>i-nz-ererekhu</i>	'smooth'	9a/b/c/d
10b	∅-	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>tsiin-dayi</i>	'good'	10a/b/c/d
10c	∅-	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>tsiin-dayi</i>	'good'	10a/b/c/d
10d	∅-	<i>tsiin-z-</i>	<i>tsiin-z-ererekhu</i>	'smooth'	10a/b/c/d
11	<i>o-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>o-lu-layi</i>	'good'	11
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	<i>a-kha-layi</i>	'good'	12
13	<i>o-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>o-ru-layi</i>	'good'	13
14	<i>o-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>o-bu-layi</i>	'good'	14
15	<i>o-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	<i>o-khu-layi</i>	'good'	15
20	<i>o-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>o-ku-layi</i>	'good'	20

Noun class 9a is the loan class. There are no loan adjective roots in Kisa. Therefore, there is no adjective class corresponding to noun class 9a.

Table 5 gives the class agreement markers found on other noun modifiers, such as possessive pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, etc.

Table 5: Kisa Class Agreement Prefixes

Class agreement	Agreement ⁵ prefix	Noun class	Adjective class
1	<i>wu-</i>	1	1
2	<i>ba-</i>	2	2
3	<i>ku-</i>	3	3
4	<i>chi-</i>	4	4
5	<i>li-</i>	5a/5b	5a/5b
6	<i>ka-</i>	6	6
7	<i>shi-</i>	7	7
8	<i>bi-</i>	8	8
9	<i>i-</i>	9a/b/c/d	9b/c/d
10	<i>tsi-</i>	10a/b/c/d	10b/c/d
11	<i>lu-</i>	11	11
12	<i>kha-</i>	12	12
13	<i>ru-</i>	13	13
14	<i>bu-</i>	14	14
15	<i>khu-</i>	15	15
20	<i>ku-</i>	20	20

This table shows that the form of the agreement prefix for classes 3 and 20 is the same. Noun classes 5a and 5b share an agreement prefix. Similarly, noun classes 9a, 9b, 9c, and 9d share an agreement prefix, as do noun classes 10a, 10b, 10c, and 10d.

Kisa Locative Marking

There are three locative meanings in Bantu languages: ‘at/by’, ‘on’ and ‘in’. In the Bantu literature, these locative meanings have been represented by language specific markers, which have been treated as noun class prefixes deriving locative nouns (Demuth, 2000; Guthrie, 1967; Katamba, 2006; Meeussen, 1967; Sample, 1976; Welmers, 1973). The derived locative nouns have been grouped into separate noun classes numbered 16, 17 and 18 respectively in the Bantu literature (Demunth, 2000; Guthrie, 1967; Katamba, 2006; McPherson, 2008; Meeussen, 1967; Mutonyi, 2000; Mwita, 2008; Sample, 1976; Wasike, 2007; Welmers, 1973).

There are three locative meanings in Kisa represented by the prefixes: *ha-* ‘by/at’, *khu-* ‘on’ and *mu-* ‘in’, as exemplified in (2).

(2) a. *ha-mu-saala*

at/by-3-tree

‘at/by the tree’

⁵ This means the prefixes found on noun phrases functioning as modifiers, demonstratives, quantifiers, cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, and possessives.

b. *khu-mu-saala*

on-3-tree

‘on the tree’

c. *mu-mu-saala*

in-3-tree

‘in the tree’

In Kisa all noun types and in the different classes can be preceded by the locative prefixes in (2). Table 6 shows locative marking in Kisa in all the sixteen noun classes with the locative prefix *khu-* ‘on’.

Table 6: Kisa Locative Marking

Locative prefix	Class prefix	Root	Gloss	Noun class
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>suku</i>	‘on the enemy’	1
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>suku</i>	‘on the enemies’	2
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>saala</i>	‘on the tree’	3
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>saala</i>	‘on the trees’	4
<i>khu-</i>	<i>lii-</i>	<i>tuuma</i>	‘on the maize’	5a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>ino</i>	‘on the tooth’	5b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>tuuma</i>	‘on the maize (pl.)’	6
<i>khu-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	<i>koombe</i>	‘ont the cup’	7
<i>khu-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>koombe</i>	‘on the cups’	8
<i>khu-</i>	∅-	<i>kalaamu</i>	‘on the pen’	9a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>bwa</i>	‘on the dog’	9b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>kula</i>	‘on the buying style’	9c
<i>khu-</i>	<i>nz-</i>	<i>aya</i>	‘on the plucking style’	9d
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsi-</i>	<i>kalaamu</i>	‘on the pens’	10a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>bwa</i>	‘on the dogs’	10b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>kula</i>	‘on the buying styles’	10c
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsiinzi-</i>	<i>aya</i>	‘on the plucking styles’	10d
<i>khu-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>fu</i>	‘on the dust’	11
<i>khu-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	<i>suku</i>	‘on the little enemy’	12
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>suku</i>	‘on the little enemies’	13
<i>khu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>lafu</i>	‘on the light’	14
<i>khu-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	<i>kula</i>	‘on the buying’	15
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>suku</i>	‘on the huge enemy’	20

The citation form of nouns in Kisa takes an agument, a class prefix and a noun root, as stated in the preceding section and as illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. *o-mu-saala*
 AUG-3-tree
 ‘a/the tree’

- b. *o-lu-saala*
AUG-11-stick
'a/the stick'
- c. *o-khu-saala*
AUG-15-jingle
'a/the jingling'

The data in (3) demonstrates that it is the class prefix that determines the noun class of a given noun root in Kisa.

As the data in (4) shows, a locative prefix in Kisa attaches to a noun root that already has a class prefix identifying its noun class. When it attaches to a noun root that lacks a class prefix, the resulting construction is ungrammatical. Consider the data in (5).

- (4) a. *khu-mu-saala*
on-3-tree
'on the tree'
- b. *khu-lu-saala*
on-11-stick
'on the stick'
- c. *khu-khu-saala*
on-15-jingle
'on the jingling'
- (5) a. **khu-o-saala*
on-AUG-tree
- b. **khu-o-saala*
on-AUG-stick
- c. **khu-o-saala*
on-AUG-jingle

The locative prefix in Kisa replaces the augment, as the data in (4) shows. In Kisa, the locative prefix and the augment cannot co-occur, as seen in the ungrammaticality of the data in (6).

- (6) a. **khu-o-mu-saala*
on-AUG-3-tree
- b. **khu-o-lu-saala*
on-AUG-11-stick
- c. **khu-o-khu-saala*
on-AUG-15-jingle

Similarly, ungrammaticality results when a locative prefix, in Kisa, attaches to a noun root that has an augment but lacks a class prefix, as the data in (5) exemplifies.

Locative prefixes, in Kisa, have been analysed by Sample (1976) as noun class prefixes deriving locative nouns, as stated earlier. Sample (1976) places such nouns in locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18; classes that have been identified as locative noun classes in Bantu literature. However, synchronically, in Kisa, all noun types and in the different classes can be preceded by a locative prefix, as the data in table 6 shows. The locative prefix replaces the augment and co-occurs with the noun class prefix and the resulting constructions have a locative meaning, as the data in table 6 shows. Given that the locative prefix and the class prefix co-occur in Kisa, it can be argued that the locative prefix and the class prefix do not belong to the same grammatical category in this language. In this case, the locative prefix and the class prefix perform different functions in the grammar of Kisa.

It is clear from the data in the preceding discussion and as in other Bantu languages what the function of the class prefix is. It serves to identify the noun class of the noun root it attaches to. It, therefore, helps show the noun class of noun roots. The function of the locative prefix has also been characterised in the same way in the Bantu literature, as stated earlier. That is as a class prefix identifying the locative noun class. In this case, as other class prefixes, it is construed to show the noun class of noun roots it attaches to as the locative noun class. However, synchronically, the locative prefix in Kisa cannot be argued to be a noun class prefix because, first, it attaches to noun stems that already have class prefixes identifying the classes of the noun roots involved. Second, the locative prefix instead of co-occurring with the augment, like the class prefixes, it replaces it.

The augment is an important component of the structure of a noun in Kisa because it must co-occur with the class prefix in the citation forms of nouns, as seen in the data in (3). If the augment prefix is omitted in the structure of a noun in its citation form, the resulting construction is ungrammatical as the data in (5) shows. Since the augment co-occurs with the class prefix, in Kisa, it has a separate and distinct function from the class prefix, and they are not members of the same grammatical category in Kisa. On the other hand, for the fact that the locative prefix and the augment cannot co-occur in Kisa, and only substitute each other, as the preceding discussion shows, the two can be argued to be members of the same grammatical category in Kisa. As members of the same grammatical category, the locative prefix and the augment can have the same or different grammatical functions in the grammar of Kisa.

The locative prefix replaces the augment prefix in all the environments the augment occurs in Kisa. This happens in in all definite and/or specific contexts. Consider the data in (7).

- (7) a) *a-la-rem-a* *o-mu-saala* *ku-no*.
 3sgS-HODF-cut-IND AUG-3-tree 3-this
 ‘S/he will cut this tree.’
- b) *a-la-rem-a* *khu-mu-saala* *khu-no*.
 3sgS-HODF-cut-IND on-3-tree on-this
 ‘S/he will cut on the surface of this tree.’

It also happens in a range of other contexts. This happens with habitual-generic statements, as (8) shows.

- (8) a) *o-mu-saala no=o-mu-layi.*
 AUG-3-tree is=AUG-3-good
 ‘The tree is good.’
- b) *khu-mu-saala no=o-khu-layi.*
 on-3-tree is=AUG-9b-good
 ‘On the tree is good.’

This also happens with indefinite reference, as in (9).

- (9) a) *o-mu-saala ku-undi ku-nyal-a o-khu-kwa-a.*
 AUG-3-tree 3-another 3S-can-IND AUG-15-come-INF
 ‘Another tree can fall.’
- b) *khu-mu-saala khu-undi khu-nyal-a o-khu-kwa-a.*
 on-3-tree on-another on-can-IND AUG-15-come-INF
 ‘Another tree can fall.’

Similarly, this form occurs with negatives, as seen in (10).

- (10) a) *shi=ku-li o-mu-ssaala=ta.*
 NEG=3S-is AUG-3-tree=no
 ‘(It) is not a/the tree.’
- b) *shi=khu-li khu-mu-saala=ta.*
 NEG=on-is on-3-tree=no
 ‘(It) is not on the surface of the tree.’

However, there are two specific constructions where common nouns lack the augment. Common nouns occur without the augment in interrogative constructions with ‘which’, as exemplified in (11).

- (11) *mu-suku shiina?*
 1-enemy which
 ‘Which enemy?’

The other specific construction where common nouns can occur without the augment is with vocatives involving a first person possessive, as (12) and (13) illustrate.

- (12) *mw-aana wa-anje bukul-a!*
 1-child 1-my take-sgS
 ‘My child, take!’
- (13) *mw-aana we-efu bukul-a!*
 1-child 1-our take-sgS
 ‘Our child, take!’

The locative prefix, on the other hand, occurs in interrogative constructions with ‘which’. Consider the example in (14). Table 7 summarises locative marking, in all the noun classes in Kisa, with the interrogative ‘which’.

- (14) *khu-mu-suku* *shiina?*
 on-1-enemy which
 ‘On which enemy?’

It also occurs with vocatives involving a first person possessive, as (15) and (16) demonstrate.

- (15) *khu-mu-saala* *khwa-anje* *rem-a!*
 on-3-tree on-my cut-sgS
 ‘On the surface of my tree, cut!’
- (16) *khu-mu-saala* *khwe-efu* *rem-a!*
 on-3-tree on-our cut-sgS
 ‘On the surface of our tree, cut!’

Table 7: Kisa Locative Marking with interrogative ‘which’

Locative prefix	Class prefix	Root	Interrogative ‘which’	Gloss	Noun class
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>suku</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which enemy?’	1
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>suku</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which enemies?’	2
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>saala</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which tree?’	3
<i>khu-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>saala</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which trees?’	4
<i>khu-</i>	<i>líí-</i>	<i>tuuma</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which maize?’	5a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>lí-</i>	<i>ino</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which tooth?’	5b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>tuuma</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which maize? (pl.)’	6
<i>khu-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	<i>koombe</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which cup?’	7
<i>khu-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>koombe</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which cups?’	8
<i>khu-</i>	Ø-	<i>kalaamu</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which pen?’	9a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>bwa</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which dog?’	9b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which buying style?’	9c
<i>khu-</i>	<i>nz-</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which plucking style?’	9d
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsi-</i>	<i>kalaamu</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which pens?’	10a
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsííny-</i>	<i>bwa</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which dogs?’	10b
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsííny-</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which buying styles?’	10c
<i>khu-</i>	<i>tsíínz-</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which plucking styles?’	10d
<i>khu-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which dust?’	11
<i>khu-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	<i>suku</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which little enemy?’	12
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>suku</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which little enemies?’	13
<i>khu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>lafu</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which light?’	14
<i>khu-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which ‘buying?’	15
<i>khu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>suku</i>	<i>shiina</i>	‘on which huge enemy?’	20

The examples in the preceding discussion show that the augment is or can be absent in two particular constructions, both of which are definite. However, it is also present in all kinds of indefinite constructions. Therefore, the augment does not mark definiteness in Kisa. It is not clear from the data what function this morpheme has. This morpheme is termed ‘augment’ for comparative Bantu reasons. The locative prefix, on the other hand, occurs in all the environments the augment occurs and also in the two environments in which the augment does not occur. This shows that the locative prefix and the augment have separate functions in the grammar of Kisa.

Given that the constructions in which the locative prefix occurs have a locative meaning and that locative prefixes co-occur with noun class prefixes, this paper argues that locative prefixes, in Kisa, attach to noun stems belonging to specific noun classes as specified by respective noun class prefixes. In Kisa, therefore, locative prefixes do not derive nouns belonging to the locative noun classes as argued by Sample (1976). Instead they derive locative constructions that are argued to be locative heads.

Kisa Locative Agreement

Another piece of evidence for locative prefixes deriving locative heads is found in agreement marking. As discussed earlier, modifiers of nouns take standard agreement markers dictated by the noun classes of the nouns they modify. Modifiers of locative constructions also take agreement markers just like modifiers of nouns. Modifiers occurring with locative constructions take either agreement prefixes corresponding to the locative prefix in question or agreement prefixes that agree with the class marking of the nouns in the locative construction. Consider the data in (17) and (18) respectively illustrating locative agreement when the modifier is a possessive.

- | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (17) | a) | <i>khu-mu-saala</i> | <i>khw-aanje</i> |
| | | on-3-tree | on-my |
| | | ‘on the surface of my tree’ | |
| | b) | <i>mu-shi-koombe</i> | <i>mw-aanje</i> |
| | | in-7-cup | in-my |
| | | ‘the space inside my cup’ | |
| | c) | <i>ha-bi-koombe</i> | <i>by-aanje</i> |
| | | at/by-8-cup | at/by-my |
| | | ‘the space at/by my cups’ | |
| (18) | a) | <i>khu-mu-saala</i> | <i>kw-aanje</i> |
| | | on-3-tree | 3-my |
| | | ‘on my tree’ | |
| | b) | <i>mu-shi-koombe</i> | <i>shy-aanje</i> |
| | | in-7-cup | 7-my |
| | | ‘in my cup’ | |

- c) *ha-bi-koombe* *by-aanje*
 at/by-8-door 8-my
 ‘at/by my cups’

The marking illustrated in (17) and (18) above depends on the location being referred to. If the location referred to involves the referent as a whole, then the locative prefixes are used as in example (17). On the other hand, if the location referred to does not involve the referent as a whole, then standard agreement prefixes are used as in example (18). When standard agreement prefixes are used as in example (18), then a specific location of the referent is implied rather than the whole referent. The fact that locative prefixes are used when the referent as a whole is referred to shows that the locative construction is a head in its own right. As a head it determines the agreement prefixes that its modifiers take. The use of standard agreement prefixes in locative constructions as seen above shows that the nouns in the locative constructions are not heads in this case, because the location referred to is specific in relation to the referent. If the locative constructions were deriving locative nouns, then agreement prefixes taken by their modifiers would only be determined by the locative prefixes as locative noun class prefixes. The possibility of the two sets of prefixes in the grammar of Kisa shows that there are two units in the locative construction, the unit marking the location and the unit marking the referent in relation to the location. The unit marking location triggers locative agreement markers, while the unit marking the referent in relation to the location triggers standard agreement markers.

CONCLUSION

This paper has provided morphological and semantic evidence to show that locative prefixes in Kisa derive locative heads and not locative nouns. Head class marking provided morphological evidence, which showed that locative prefixes attach to noun stems that already have prefixes specifying the noun class of the noun stems involved. In this way, they do not derive locative noun classes. Instead, they derive locative heads. Additionally, locative prefixes replace the augment prefix in the structure of a noun. They are, therefore, mutually exclusive with the augment prefix but not the class prefix, which they co-occur with. Given that locative prefixes co-occur with noun class prefixes; they cannot be argued to be marking locative noun classes. Locative prefixes have thus been argued in this paper to be marking locative heads just as noun class prefixes mark nouns as heads. Agreement class marking provided another piece of morphological evidence. Agreement marking showed that when nouns, as heads, are modified, their modifiers take agreement markers determined by the classes of the nouns being modified. However, when locative constructions, as heads, are modified, their modifiers either take agreement markers determined by locative prefixes or agreement markers determined by the class prefixes of the nouns in the locative construction. The meaning that comes out with regard to modification, however, showed that when agreement prefixes are governed by locative prefixes, this qualifies the locative constructions as heads given that the location intended relates to the referent as a whole. On the other hand, when agreement prefixes are governed by the nouns in the locative construction this qualifies the nouns in the locative constructions as non-heads because the location intended relates to a specific location of the referent.

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