Locatives in Ikizu

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Hazel Gray
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**Abbreviations**

1  Noun class  
1SG 1st person singular  
1PL 1st person plural  
A Augment  
APPL Applicative  
ASP Aspect  
CAUS Causative  
CONT Continuous  
COP Copula  
DEM1 1st series demonstrative  
EMPH Emphatic copula pronoun  
FUT Future  
FV Final vowel -a  
LOC Locative  
NEG Negative  
OPT Optative  
PASS Passive  
PFV Perfective  
POSS Possessive pronoun  
PRO Pronoun  
PROG Progressive  
PropN Proper Name  
PST Past  
RED Reduplication
1. Introduction

Ikizu is a Bantu language of Northern Tanzania. It is spoken mostly within the Chamriho Division of Bunda District, East of Lake Victoria (Hill et al. 2007). It has been classified as part of the Kuria JE40 branch of Bantu; JE402, according to Maho’s (2003) updated version of Guthrie’s referential system; it is not mentioned in Guthrie’s revision (1971) of his own earlier classification. Other languages in this JE40 branch are Ngoreme, Suba, Sizaki, Kabwa; Logooli (Idaxo, Isuxa, Tiriki); Gusii; Kuria (Simbiti, Hacha, Surwa, Sweta); Zanaki; Ikoma, Nata.

Studying the languages of this region based on a lexicostatistical survey, Nurse and Philipppson (1980: 41, 42, 49) agree with Bennett (1972) in separating the E41 group (Logooli, Idaxo, Isuxa, Tiriki) from the rest of the lacustrine group, considering them erroneously grouped with the other languages. They also contradict Guthrie’s inclusion of Sonjo (E46), claiming similarity of that language with Kikuyu (E20). Finally, they separate Gusii from the remaining languages of the region, leaving a group of ‘East Nyanza’ languages - JE401-405, JE43, JE44 and JE45.

In their 2005 survey of the Mara region of Tanzania, Hill et al. (2007) determined that Ikizu and Sizaki (also known as Shashi) are mutually intelligible, with some speakers claiming a shared historical origin. The same claim is made by Mturi, Sasora and Shetler 2001 (Hill et al. 2007: 8), a book describing traditional Ikizu and Sizaki culture as told by elders in the community. It tells of how the forefathers of the Sizaki and Ikizu settled around Chamriho and mingled with several other ethnic groups: Sukuma, Zanaki, Ndorobo, Sonzo, Ikoma and Zinza. Initial impressions from a recent dialectal survey among the Ikizu and Sizaki people groups confirm that Sizaki is increasingly merging with Ikizu. There appears to be no dialectal variation in Ikizu, though the survey discovered sociolectal differences; that is, pronunciation differences between the metal workers and the rest of the population (p.c. Mitterhofer).

Legère (2006: 9) lists Ikizu as among the twenty most endangered languages of Tanzania, based on a number of factors that include number of speakers, intergenerational language transmission and domains of language use. However, both the most recent population estimation of first-language speakers and the evidence from Hill et al. (2007: 31) seem to contradict this image of a language in danger of extinction. The Ethnologue lists the number
of Ikizu speakers at 132,000 in 2007. Hill et al. describe Ikizu as highly valued by its speakers, used as the primary language of communication in the day-to-day lives of speakers in the Ikizu area, and as the language first acquired by Ikizu children. Though some of the Ikizu admit that younger generations are mixing more Swahili with their Ikizu, they still consider that “pure” Ikizu is spoken in those villages which are less mixed with other ethnic groups. Based on Batibo’s (1992) five phases of extinction, Ikizu still seems to have progressed no further than phase two, where speakers are bilingual yet there is still ethnic language predominance in daily life.

There has been little in-depth research published on Ikizu to date. SIL began researching Ikizu in 2006 and has since produced orthography and discourse sketches, and published the New Testament book of Luke and Old Testament book of Ruth. Diercks has written an unpublished paper on Ikizu vowel harmony in partnership with the research being carried out by SIL (Diercks 2007). In 2008, LoT (Languages of Tanzania) published an Ikizu-Swahili-English dictionary (Sewangi 2008). Of the neighbouring languages, only Kuria has been well described.

My own research into Ikizu began in June 2008 upon joining the SIL team of linguists in Musoma, Tanzania. I participated in data collection and orthography testing workshops for the Ikizu and Zanaki languages while living in Musoma from June 2008 to December 2009. I also returned to assist the Ikizu team in a literacy workshop in September 2010. From these workshops, and other one-on-one sessions, I contributed to the completion of an Ikizu orthography sketch (Gray and Smith 2007-2010), wrote a basic discourse paper (Gray 2011a) and began drafting an orthography statement (Gray 2011b). Translation work is ongoing in the Old Testament books Genesis and Jonah, and in the New Testament books Matthew, Acts and Revelation. Various literacy primers have also been produced by SIL.

The subject for this dissertation was chosen with the aim of exploring one of the many remaining gaps in current knowledge of the Ikizu language. I have drawn upon data collected over the time I spent working in Musoma; wordlists and texts, as well as the scripture portions currently published and the unpublished draft (January 2013) of Genesis. My language resource person for the data analysis required for this thesis was Diana P. Marara, who communicated with me via email and skype each week. Each of these conversations was recorded and transcribed to help in my analysis.
2. Phonology

2.1 Consonants

The consonants of Ikizu are listed orthographically in the following table, with IPA in brackets for those consonants needing further clarification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveopalatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh [ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricative</td>
<td>b [β]</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ch [tʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td>j [dʒ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny [n]</td>
<td>ng’ [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized plosives</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>ng [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized fricatives</td>
<td>mb [mb]</td>
<td>nz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized affricates</td>
<td>nj [ndʒ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The consonants of Ikizu

The voiced bilabial plosive [b] is in free variation with the voiced bilabial fricative [β].

All of the voiced obstruents listed above can occur after a homorganic nasal. Prenasalized [r] surfaces as [nd]. These prenasalized consonants are mainly found root-medially or occurring across morpheme boundaries. [nk] is rare in the data, occurring once, but in a word which is thought to be a loan from Ngoreme, esegenke ‘arrowhead’. Otherwise, there are no prenasalized voiceless plosives in Ikizu. Homorganic nasals are written as n everywhere except when preceding b where it is written m.

The affricates ch, j and the voiceless fricative sh arise from a historical shift from Cy sequences involving k, g, s, respectively. These can occur anywhere within a root, though the change can be seen most clearly where ki, gi, or si meet any other vowel across a morpheme boundary. In the examples below, the palatalizations arise from the derivation of causative verbs with the extension -y-, which is underlyingly the high vowel i:

ukunyaaka  be anxious  ukunyaacha  to disturb
ukwiga  to learn  ukwija  to teach
The glides \textit{w} and \textit{y} occur in the syllables (N)CGV(V), GV(V). In non-word-final (N)CGV syllables, the vowel is automatically lengthened. There are no long vowels word-finally, even following a CG sequence of consonants. These vowels are written short in the orthography since the length is not contrastive. This automatic lengthening also occurs after \textit{ch}, \textit{j} and \textit{sh}, since they are underlyingly \textit{Cy} sequences, so vowels are also written short after \textit{ch}, \textit{j} and \textit{sh}.

To distinguish between the alveolar nasal followed by a desyllabified high vowel, \([\text{nj}]\), and the palatal nasal \([\text{n}]\), these nasals are written as \textit{n’y} and \textit{ny} respectively.

### 2.2 Vowels

Ikizu has seven vowels (Gray and Smith 2009: 5), which can be arranged in four degrees of height (Casali 2003).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  i & [i] & u & [u] \\
  i & [i] & u & [u] \\
  e & [e] & o & [e] \\
  a & [a] \\
\end{array}
\]

All seven vowels are contrastive position V1 in lexical roots. Mid vowels do not occur in the basic form of prefixes and suffixes. Since vowel height harmony is active in Ikizu, as described below, the following combinations of vowels are not found in lexical roots without fourth degree \textit{a} intervening: a third degree vowel followed by a first degree vowel, or a second degree vowel followed by a third degree vowel. For example, CeCi, CoCu, CiCo, CuCe are among the combinations not found. No other details are known about vowel compatibility in nominal (non-verbal) stems.

Vowel height is subject to assimilation or harmony processes. The fourth degree vowel \textit{a} is not affected by height harmony, and appears to stop vowels either side of it from affecting each other.

Two directions of harmony spread need to be distinguished:

a) \textit{Left-to-right into second degree suffixes.}

Second degree suffix vowels preceded by third degree root vowels are lowered to third degree vowels. First degree, second degree and fourth degree root vowels do not affect the second degree suffix vowels. Second degree suffixes are as follows:
applicative -ɨr-, impositive and neuter -ɪk-, separative -ɨr- and -ɨk-, optative and subjunctive final vowel -ɨ, and -ɨ and -u deverbal suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>with applicative -ɨr-</th>
<th>with separative -ɨr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>i a u</td>
<td>ukugurira ‘to crawl to’</td>
<td>ukuribura ‘to unstop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>i a u</td>
<td>ukubiikira ‘to bury for’</td>
<td>ukasimbura ‘to dig out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e o</td>
<td>e a o</td>
<td>okoreetera ‘to bring for’</td>
<td>okogorora ‘to spread out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>i a u</td>
<td>ukuryarira ‘to run to’</td>
<td>ukatara ‘to open’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Left-to-Right harmony into suffixes

b) Right-to-Left from first degree suffixes into roots, and from first and third degree vowels in roots into prefixes.

First degree vowels raise preceding second to first and third to second degree.

First degree suffixes are the causative -ɨy-, passive -w-, and perfective -ɨri verbal suffixes, and -ɨ and -u deverbal suffixes. As mentioned previously, third degree vowels do not occur in the basic form of prefixes and suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>with passive -w-</th>
<th>with agentive -i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>ukubirikira → ukubirikirwa to call → to be called</td>
<td>ukurima → umurimi to farm → farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>okorora → ukurarwa to see → to be seen</td>
<td>okogenda → umugindi to walk → traveller</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Right-to-Left harmony into stems

Third degree vowels in roots lower preceding second degree prefix vowels to third degree. Third degree vowels have no affect on first or fourth degree vowels and are not represented in the table below. Also, in NPX’s, the vowel i occurs in class 5, the corresponding back vowel u is not attested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>i u</td>
<td>inyumba ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i u</td>
<td>i a u</td>
<td>umugunda ‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e o</td>
<td>e o</td>
<td>omogongo ‘back’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Right-to-Left harmony into prefixes
Ikizu has two degrees of vowel length which can be considered contrastive. Contrastive vowel length is found in the following syllable structures: V, CV, NCV, which are thus distinct from VV\(^1\), CVV, NCVV. Long vowels are represented by two identical vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>riguti</th>
<th>neck</th>
<th>riguti</th>
<th>tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>okohora</td>
<td>to get well</td>
<td>okohora</td>
<td>to peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikisagi</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>ikisagi</td>
<td>tsetse fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umuhiri</td>
<td>messenger; angel</td>
<td>umuhiri</td>
<td>blood relative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously mentioned, vowel length is not contrastive in (N)CGV(V). Automatic lengthening of vowels also occurs before a prenasalized consonant. Thus, before NCV(V) syllables, the vowel of the previous syllable is lengthened. Vowels are not written long in this environment, as length is not contrastive. It has not been extensively researched whether vowels meeting across a morpheme boundary resulting in the possible combination CV-VNCV are longer than the automatically lengthened vowels in the corresponding CVNCV found in roots. These morphologically induced long vowels are written with two vowels, in order to retain the shape of the morpheme. Thus, a-ra-ang-a 1-CONT-refuse.FV ‘he refuses’ is written araanga, not *aranga.

When two vowels meet at a morpheme boundary, front vowels form the glide Cy before any vowel except i, and back vowels form the glide Cw before any vowel except u. In these other situations, a long vowel is formed. The vowel a in prefixes assimilates to the vowel which follows it when the two meet at morpheme boundaries. Thus, akiita 1-PST-kill.FV, is in fact a-ka-ita.

### 2.3 Tone

Ikizu is a tonal language, with initial research revealing two tone patterns for nouns in isolation and a single tone pattern on verbs. This is obvious to Ikizu speakers, who were able to whistle the tone patterns of elicited words. Unfortunately, tone has not been studied beyond the initial observation that it is not necessary to mark for reading or writing comprehension. Tone is not marked on any data in this paper.

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\(^1\) V and VV syllable structures are only found word initially
3. The noun class system

Nouns typically consist of a noun class prefix and a stem. Almost all noun prefixes may be preceded by an augment, typically consisting of a vowel mirroring that found in the prefix. The semantics of the augment has not been investigated yet, so it remains unknown why and when it occurs, though typically it is included in the elicitation of nouns in isolation. The class 5 prefix ri- is rarely found with an augment, except when the stem of the noun is vowel initial, as in i-ri-imbe: iryimbe ‘song’.

The class 5 prefix ri- is rarely found with an augment, except when the stem of the noun is vowel initial, as in i-ri-imbe: iryimbe ‘song’.

The noun classes are listed in table 5 with the prefix and augment highlighted. The basic forms of noun prefixes only have four vowels; first degree i, second degree ɨ and ʉ, and fourth degree a. As discussed in section 2.2, vowel height harmony spreads from the root vowel into the prefixes causing variations in the prefix and augment vowels. Only one example is given for each class prefix. Except for class 16, all examples have a as the first vowel of the stem in order to show the prefix and augment unaffected by vowel harmony. The locative classes 17, 18 and 23 are discussed later and so are omitted from this table. Locative class 16 is included as it one inherent member. Common patterns of singular-plural class pairings are shown by grouping those classes together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Augment</th>
<th>NPx</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>mu- ba-</td>
<td>umuhaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>abahaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nyaamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>banyaamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>mu- mi-</td>
<td>umubabayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ɨ-</td>
<td>imibabayu</td>
<td>papaya trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(i-)</td>
<td>ri- ma-</td>
<td>ribaara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>amabaara</td>
<td>sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ɨ-</td>
<td>ki- bi-</td>
<td>ikibara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ibibara</td>
<td>grasslands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>N- ziN-</td>
<td>imbaata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>zimbata</td>
<td>ducks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>ru-</td>
<td>uruganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>akahaazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>utataara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>ubuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ʉ-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>ukuhaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Noun classes

Plurals not shown by the format of the table are as follows: 5/10, 11/10, 11/8, 11/14, 12/19, 12/13, 14/6, 15/6, 19/12, 20/6. Class 13 is used only by older Ikizu speakers. Class 19 seems to be replacing it as a diminutive class.

Table 6 shows the patterns of agreement corresponding to each noun class listed above for nominal, numeral, demonstrative and pronominal prefixes. The range of use of each series of prefixes is described below:

- The nominal prefix, NPx, occurs with nouns and adjectives. Adjectives may also take the augment vowel.
- The numeral prefix, EPx, occurs with numerals 1-6 and 8, and is also used with certain quantifiers (any, all).
- The pronominal prefix, PPx, occurs with demonstratives, as well as occurring with nominal and pronominal possessives.
- The verbal prefix, VPx, occurs in verb forms. The subject prefix differs from the object prefix for dialogue participants and for class 1, however all other classes have identical forms for subject and object.
4. Locative nouns

4.1 Class 16

The class 16 locative class contains one noun, ahagero ‘place’. Unlike classes 17 and 18, the class 16 NPx ha- no longer appears to be productive as a derivational prefix, that is, it cannot be used to derive locational nouns as a secondary prefix. There appears to be one remaining example of class 16 having been used as a derivational prefix; ha-asi 16-9.land ‘ground’.

Although class 16 cannot be used as a derivational prefix anymore, the associative for this class may be used with or without the head noun ahagero to describe the location of a noun.

(1) ha baginyi
    16.of 2.guest

the place where the guests are (lit. of guests)

The class 16 prefix ha- also appears in several invariable forms including conjunctions and locational adverbs. These will be discussed briefly in section 5.

4.2 Classes 17 and 18

4.2.1 Prefixation to nouns

Unlike class 16, class 17 NPx ku- and class 18 NPx mu- are used productively with nouns as derivational prefixes. This secondary prefix takes the place of the augment on the noun, and it is not possible to include the augment vowel before the locative prefix; *o-ko-koboko A-17-15.arm, *u-mu-chara A-18-7.land. These two locative class NPx’s are the only ones which
may attach in this pre-prefix position. Diminutives and augmentatives always replace the original NPx, rather than attaching to them, thus *a-\textit{kataaru} A-12.\textit{river} ‘little river’ not \textit{a-ka-kitaaru} A-12-7.\textit{river} or \textit{*ka-kitaaru} 12-7.\textit{river}.

When a noun has no prefix or augment, such as class 1a nouns or proper names, a locative prefix cannot be attached. To describe ‘at the location of PropN’, the associatives \textit{ha} (cl. 16), \textit{kwa} (cl. 17) or \textit{wa} (cl. 23) may be used; \textit{ha} or \textit{kwa} for the person’s current location or home base, and \textit{wa} only for the person’s home base. ‘In the location of PropN’ is expressed by the class 18 associative \textit{mwa}. Like \textit{ha} and \textit{kwa}, \textit{mwa} does not only imply the person’s home base however that is its commonest use.

(2) \textit{*ku-Kitaboka}

(3) \textit{kwa} Kitaboka
17.of Kitaboka
at Kitaboka (her current location)

(4) \textit{wa} Kitaboka
23.of Kitaboka
at Kitaboka’s (house)

(5) \textit{*mu-unina}

(6) \textit{a-ka-sikira \textit{mwa} unina}
1-PST-enter.FV 18.of mother.POSS1/2
He has entered his/their mother’s (house)

(7) \textit{a-ka-sikira \textit{ha} \textit{wiisi}}
1-PST-enter.FV 16.of father.POSS1/2
He has entered his/their father’s place (current location)

Likewise, \textit{ka-} and \textit{mu-} cannot be attached to the proper names of locations. Instead, \textit{kwa} and \textit{mwa} may be used however they are not obligatory since these places are already locational.

(8) \textit{*ni-ri-ikara \textit{mu-Tanzania}}

(9) \textit{ni-ri-ikara \textit{mwa} Tanzania}
1SG-CONT-dwell.FV 18.of Tanzania
I live in Tanzania

(10) \textit{ni-ri-ikara \textit{Tanzania}}
1SG-CONT-dwell.FV Tanzania
I live in Tanzania
For class 5 nouns, the NPx ri- may optionally be omitted. This reflects the historical origin of ri- as the augment for class 5, according to Meeussen’s (1967: 97) reconstruction of Proto-Bantu. The Ikizu find it acceptable to retain ri-, reflecting its synchronic status as a prefix, not an augment. When ri- is replaced by either derivational NPx, the historical class 5 NPx i-, which is usually only present on monosyllabic stems, is once again present on the noun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kw}-\text{iige} & \sim \text{ku-riige} & \text{at the egg} \\
\text{mw}-\text{ibu} & \sim \text{mu-riibu} & \text{in the ash} \\
\text{kw}-\text{iburu} & \sim \text{ku-riburu} & \text{at the hut} \\
\text{mw}-\text{iboma} & \sim \text{mu-riboma} & \text{in the town}
\end{align*}
\]

**4.2.2 Prefixation to adjectives**

Independent adjectives can also be prefixed with derivational locative NPx’s ku- and mu-.

(11) **ku-bandi**  
17-2.other  
At (the location of) the others

(12) **ku-bakuru**  
17-2.big  
at (the location of) the elders (lit. big/old people)

(13) **mu-bandi**  
18-2.other  
among the others

(14) **mu-bagushi**  
18-2.short  
among the short people

**4.2.3 Prefixation to demonstratives, numerals and possessive pronouns**

Class 17 ku- and class 18 mu- can also attach to independent demonstratives, numerals and independent possessive pronouns.

The phenomenon of prefixation to demonstratives has been described by Marten (2010: 257) in siSwati as one of the indicators of “the great siSwati locative shift”; the shift from locatives being part of the noun class system to functioning as prepositional markers. In siSwati however, when nouns modified pre-nominally by a demonstrative are combined with the locative marker ku-, the locative marker is attached before the demonstrative.
In Ikizu, locative prefixes are attached to demonstratives of any series. They must be independent of a noun phrase however, unlike in siSwati. In the following example, Moses talks of the descendants of the sons of Noah. Noah’s sons are referred to anaphorically by the class 2 demonstrative bayo to which the class 17 prefix is attached.

(15) \[\begin{array}{lllll}
ku-rwira & ku-bayo & iisi & i-ki-izura & abaatu \\
\end{array}\]

from them the land was full with people. (Genesis 9:19)

The proximal demonstrative used as a relative pronoun in the following sentence also takes a locative prefix.

(16) \[\begin{array}{llllllll}
A-teme \ldots & ku-usi & yuusi & na & ku-bimu & be-ko-gendera & zinda \\
iguru & wi & isi \\
23.above & 23.of & 9.land \\
\end{array}\]

Let him rule...over all the land and over those (creatures) who walk over the stomach of the land. (Genesis 1:26)

Class 17 ku- + DEM2 frequently occurs in the context of referring back to an entity which has already been discussed; ku-gayo… 17-6.DEM2 ‘in all those things...’ Class 18 mu- may also be used in this way with little semantic difference, though ku- is more commonly used.

As with independent demonstratives, ku- and mu- also attach to independent numerals and possessive pronouns:

(17) \[\begin{array}{llll}
ku-gamwi \\
17-6.one \\
lit. at a location where there is a group of class 6 nouns \\
\end{array}\]

(18) \[\begin{array}{llll}
mu-batatu \\
18-2.three \\
among three (people) \\
\end{array}\]

(19) \[\begin{array}{llll}
a-ka-ja & ku-zaazi \\
1-PST-go.FV & 17-10.POSS1 \\
he went to his (cows) \\
\end{array}\]

(20) \[\begin{array}{llll}
a-ka-ja & mu-zaazi \\
1-PST-go.FV & 18-10.POSS1 \\
he went among his (cows) \\
\end{array}\]
The attachment of a locative prefix to class 23 locative possessive pronouns is unexpected since these are already locational however the reason may be related to the loss of class 17 and class 18 possessive pronouns. These forms are discussed further in section 6.2.3.

4.2.4 Semantics
Semantically, the class 17 prefix infers a locative meaning of ‘on, at’:

(22) *ku*-nyumba
17-9.house

at the house (i.e. outside it) OR on the house (i.e. on the roof)

(23) *ku*-kituguru
17-7.heel

You bite him on the heel (Genesis 3:15)

(24) *ku*-kitumbi
17-7.chair

I am sitting on the chair

(25) *ku*-musubi
17-1.male

She was taken from man (Genesis 2:23)

Class 17 locatives may also be used to refer to non-physical or abstract nouns locationally:

(26) Abiiburwa  baazu  *ku*-rwiburu  rwazu  rwa  kane…
A.2.descendent  2.POSS2SG  17-11.generation  11.POSS2SG  11.of  12.four

Your descendents, in the fourth generation,… (Genesis 15:16)

(27) *ku*-bururu  bwabu  ba-ki-ita  umuutu
17-14.anger  14.POSS2  2-PST-kill  A.1.person

In their anger they killed a person. (Genesis 49:6)

Use of the class 18 derivational prefix infers a meaning of containment ‘in, among’:

(28) Hisau  akaja  kw-ikara  *mu*-biguru  bya  *mu*-charu  cha  Siiri

Esau went to dwell in the mountains in the country of Seir. (Genesis 36:8)
Class 18 may also be used metaphorically as in the following example:

(30)  buusi  ni- bahuru  mu-misu  gaazi
      2.all   COP  2.healthy  18-6.eye  6.POSS1

All are healthy in his eyes (Luke 20:38)

As with class 17, the class 18 NPx may also be used with abstract nouns.

(31)  mu-misiigi  ganyu
       18.6.thought  6.POSS2PL

In your thoughts

Unlike some other Bantu languages (for example, Ekoti: Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000), in Ikizu ku- and mu- may be prefixed to singular or plural animate nouns, providing that noun allows the attachment of a prefix, as described in section 4.2.1. For an example, see (29). When mu- is prefixed to singular animate nouns, it is often in the context of talking about that person or animal’s thoughts or spirit, rather than a tangible object within their body. To talk about something located inside the body of a class 1a noun or PropN’s body, a description such as musi wa ‘inside of’ or ‘in the body of’ must be added. A class 18 associative would not achieve this end. Saying mwa nyaamu 18.of 1a.cat for example would not imply a location in the cat’s body, but instead refers to a place inside the cat’s territory or the place where it usually lives.

Both class 17 and class 18 NPx’s may be affixed to nouns denoting parts of the day to form temporal noun phrases.

(32)  ku-butiku  bwa  reero
       17-14.night  14.of  today

on this night

When used to create temporal noun phrases, the semantic distinction created by the choice of class 17 or class 18 is difficult to determine.
4.3 Class 23

Class 23 is not widely attested in Bantu. Meeussen (1967: 97) refers to it as class 24 in his reconstruction of Proto-Bantu, and Bastin (2003: 521) as class 25. Maho (1999: 206) considers class 23 to be primarily attested in Eastern Bantu languages, with those controlling agreement in concords limited to the interlacustrine area.

In Ikizu, the class 23 prefix i- is not used derivationally, only being found clearly prefixed to one noun in the corpus, umwambuku; i-mwambuku 23-3.opposite.side ‘on the opposite side’. Potentially another class 23 derived noun is the locational noun iyaa si ‘at the bottom; beneath’. This resembles haasi 16.9.land ‘ground’, the single remaining trace of ha- when it was used as a derivational prefix, so it is possible that iyaa si is in turn another remnant of class 23 as a derivational prefix; iyaa si 23-9.land, though it is not clear why the prefix appears to be iyaa-.

There may be a small number of nouns inherent to this class, see the discussion in section 4.4. Class 23 demonstratives are used as locative adverbials and the class 23 prefix i- may be used as a prefix on independent possessive pronouns; similar to the use of class 23 in Haya (Trithart 1977: 90) and in Ha (Harjula 2004: 66). It is unclear what role class 23 has semantically in Ikizu. It could, like in Ha, be used in connection with areas that have some special relevance, however as its use as a derivational prefix is much more limited than in other interlacustrine languages where it is attested, such as Luganda (Ashton 1954), it is difficult to pinpoint its semantics.

---

2 The root of the verb ukuuza ‘come’ appears to be Vz, where V is unspecified. As such, the root will appear with different vowels in the glosses.

3 I shall continue to refer to it as class 23, as this is the name given to this locative class by most of the authors who have described the class in Eastern Bantu: Harjula (2004), Ashton (1954), Cole (1965), etc.
Comparing the prefix vowels in ɨ-waazi 23-23.POSS1 ‘at his place’ and ɨzaazi 23-10.POSS1 ‘on his way’ throws confusion on the form that the class 23 prefix takes. According to Meeussen (1967: 97), the Proto-Bantu reconstruction of the prefix for this locative class, which he calls class 24, is the more open of the high vowels, which corresponds to ɨ in Ikizu. Since there are so few class 23 nouns, derived or inherent, it is hard to know why the prefix sometimes appears as ɨ- apparently independently of vowel height harmony.

### 4.4 Inherently locational nouns

Apart from proper names of locations like Nyamuswa, Musoma, etc., there are several nouns in Ikizu which appear to be inherently locational. As such, these nouns can be used with or without the locative prefix. These nouns are what Buell (2007: 106) terms semantic locatives; that is, they “denote things which can be construed as places, [but] do not themselves belong to one of the [four] locative classes.”

- **icharu** cl. 7 country
- **urubaara** cl. 11 on the side
- **rusizu** cl. 11 beside

The nouns listed below are also inherently locational however these may not combine with a locative prefix.

1. **yiika** at home
2. **inyuma** at the back; behind
3. **igatu** outside
4. **igati** inner room
5. **gati** between
6. **muesi** inside
7. **ruguru** cl. 11 East
8. **maama** cl. 9 North
9. **kiiya** cl. 9 South
10. **nyanza** cl. 9 West
It is possible that the first four of these are inherent members of class 23. Certainly, if getu and gati were class 9 nouns, it would be expected that they become *ingetu and *ingati with a class 23 prefix, so it seems unlikely that these two are derived from class 9 nouns.

The fourth word, igati, looks like it could have been derived from the fifth word gati by the addition of a class 23 prefix. Gati however takes class 23 agreement, implying that it is already inherent to class 23 which makes further class 23 prefixation unexpected, though double prefixation of class 23 is not unattested elsewhere in Ikizu, see section 6.2.3.

Interestingly, not all the words which require class 23 agreement have a class 23 prefix. Rusizu, ragaru and mausi all command class 23 agreement, yet the first two appear to belong to class 11 according to the shape of the prefix ru-, and mausi is a lexicalized class 18 quantifier; 18-all.

(37) Kenya i-ri rusizu wa Tanzania
Kenya 9-be 11.beside 23.of Tanzania
Kenya is to the side of Tanzania

Maamu, kiiya, nyanza, urubaara and icharu all require their inherent class agreement, not class 23 agreement.

(38) ...urubaara rwa kiiya ya Bitiiri.
A.11.side 11.of 9.south 9.of Bethel
...on the south side of Bethel. (Genesis 35:8)

5. Invariable forms
There are several words in Ikizu which show locative morphology, but which have become lexicalized. Hakiriku may have derived from a verb however its origin is not known and therefore its derivation is only hypothetical.

hamwi 16.one or, perhaps (conjunction)
hamwimwi 16.one.RED together (conjunction)
hasuuhu 16.small a little (adverb)
hanyuuhu 16.gentle quietly (adverb), or a soft place (adjective)
haguhi 16.short near (to), welcome (locative adverb)
hakiriku (16-(unknown)-17LOC?) preferably, it is better
kurushaku 15.take.FV-17LOC with the exception of, apart from (conjunction)
6. Agreement with locative nouns

6.1 Demonstratives

6.1.1 Overview in Ikizu

Demonstratives are used not only to denote proximity and remoteness, but also anaphoricity and emphasis in discourse.

Ikizu has three series of demonstratives:

- **PPx-ʉʉ**, expressing proximity to the speaker (DEM1)
- **PPx-yo**, expressing proximity to the addressee (DEM2)
- **PPx-rya**, expressing remoteness from both speaker and addressee (DEM3)

These demonstratives can be fully reduplicated for emphasis. The demonstrative indicating proximity to the speaker also functions as a relative pronoun.

(39)  
Gega umwana waazʉ umumwimwi waazʉ u-siigiri, Iisaka…  
take.FV A.1.son 1.POSS2SG A.1.one.RED 1.DEM1 2SG-love.PFV Isaac  
Take your only son whom you love, Isaac… (Genesis 22:2)

6.1.2 Independent locative demonstratives

The following table shows the three demonstrative series for the locative classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>class 16</th>
<th>class 17</th>
<th>class 18</th>
<th>class 23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM1</td>
<td>ḫanʉ</td>
<td>ḫenʉ</td>
<td>ḫenʉ</td>
<td>ḫenʉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM2</td>
<td>ḫayo</td>
<td>ḫuyo</td>
<td>ḫuyo</td>
<td>ḫuyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM3</td>
<td>ḫarya</td>
<td>ḫurya</td>
<td>ḫurya</td>
<td>ḫurya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7: Locative demonstratives*

Each of these demonstratives can be used with a locative head noun or independently. The following example shows class 23 demonstratives used as locative adverbials and comes from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in Luke’s Gospel. Here, Abraham is replying to the rich man’s plea to send Lazarus to cool his tongue with water.
(40)  barya  ba-kw-endā  ku-rwa  ina  ku-ja  i-wanyu,
   2.DEM3  2-PROG-want.FV  15-go.out.FV  23.DEM1  15-go.FV  23-23.POSS2PL
   ba-ta-najā  ku-ry-ambuka,  na  barya  ba-a-ri  ba-kw-endā  ku-rwa
   2-NEG-be.able.FV  15-5-cross.FV  with  2.DEM3  2-PST-be  2PL-PROG-want  15-go.out.FV
   iyo  ku-uzā  kwa  niitwi,  ba-ta-najā.
   23.DEM2  15-come.FV  17.of  EMPH1PL  2-NEG-be.able.FV
Those wanting to go out of here to go to yours (place), they are not able to cross, and those wanting to go out of there to come to us, they are not able. (Luke 16:26)

Semantically, class 16 demonstratives are used to indicate a general area, as are class 23 demonstratives. One possible difference between them that was elicited was that class 23 demonstratives imply that the location referred to is slightly further away, and possibly not visible to the speaker.

Class 17 demonstratives appear to have a narrower semantic range than class 17 derived locatives. Though the semantics of class 17 locative nouns may encompass a general area; kunyumba ‘at the house’ and a location on top of something; kunyumba ‘on top of the house’, the class 17 demonstrative may only be used if the implied location is ‘on top of’.

As with class 18 derived nouns, the class 18 demonstrative refers to a contained location.

6.1.3 Agreement with a locative head noun

Class 16 ahagero may be modified by a demonstrative taking the class 16 PPx ha-.

(41)  ahagero  hayo
   A.16.place  16.DEM2
that place

Ahagero may also be modified by class 23 demonstratives: ahagero ina, ahagero iyo, ahagero irya, are all acceptable.

For class 17 derived nouns, as mentioned in the previous section, the class 17 demonstrative may be used if the location referred to is on top of the inherent noun. The demonstrative agreeing with the inherent noun is also acceptable.

(42)  ku-nyumba  kuyo
   17-9.house  17.DEM2
on top of that house
(43) **ku-nyumba** yiyo  
17-9.house 9.DEM2  
on top of that house OR at that house

If the location ‘at’ is intended by the use of a class 17 derived noun then the demonstrative may agree with the inherent noun or may be a class 16 demonstrative.

(44) **ku-nyanza** yiyo  
17-9.lake 9.DEM2  
at that lake

(45) **ku-nyanza** hayo  
17-9.lake 16.DEM2  
at that lake

With a class 18 nominal head, demonstratives may either agree with the inherent noun or the derived noun, or a class 16 demonstrative may be used. The slight difference in meaning that the choice of demonstrative gives is very difficult to pinpoint.

(46) **mu-rubiri** ruyo  
18-11.village 11.DEM2  
in that village

(47) **mu-rubiri** muyo  
18-11.village 18.DEM2  
in that village

(48) **mu-rubiri** hayo  
18-11.village 16.DEM2  
in that village

Class 23 demonstratives can also be used with class 17 or class 18 derived nouns. As mentioned previously, the only difference in semantics that could be elicited was that class 23 demonstratives refer to a location outside of the speaker’s vision or slightly further away than implied by class 16 demonstratives.

(49) **mu-riboma** lyo  
18-5.town 23.DEM2  
In that town

(Also possible: **mu-riboma** riyo, **mu-riboma** hayo, **mu-riboma** muyo)
(50)  **ku-kibara**  ḳrya  
17-7.desert  23.DEM3  
In that desert

(Also possible: **ku-kibara** kirya, **ku-kibara** ḳrya. Not possible: ***ku-kibara** kurya*)

Class 23 locative nouns may be modified by class 16 or class 23 demonstratives within a noun phrase. The class 23 derived noun **imwambuku** cannot be modified by demonstratives from its inherent class, class 3, but only by class 16 or class 23 demonstratives.

(51)  **yiika**  iyo  
23.home  23.DEM2  
that home

(Also possible: **yiika** hayo)

(52)  **i-mwambuku**  iyo  
23-3.opposite.side  16.DEM2  
on that opposite side

(Also possible: **i-mwambuku** hayo. Not possible: ***i-mwambuku** guyo)

The following table summarises possible combinations of demonstratives modifying locative head nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 16 ahagero</th>
<th>Class 17 (yes (if general area implied))</th>
<th>Class 18 (yes)</th>
<th>Class 23 (yes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hanʉ</strong> <strong>hayo</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (if general area implied)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>harya</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yes (if ‘on top of’ implied)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kʉnu</strong> <strong>kuyo</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yes (if ‘on top of’ implied)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mʉnu</strong> <strong>muyo</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mʉnu</strong> <strong>murya</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>iʉ</strong> <strong>iyo</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (if unseen general area implied)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>irya</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8: Demonstrative use with a locative head noun**
6.1.4 Anaphoric use of locative class demonstratives

Demonstratives are frequently used for anaphoric reference in discourse. Class 16 demonstratives are not only used to refer back to class 16 ahagero, but may also be used to refer anaphorically to class 17 or class 18 derived nouns. Class 16 demonstratives may even refer back to nouns which are not morphologically marked as locations, such as in (53).

(53) umuganda guyo... Hayo neho Aburahaamu a-a-biikiri
A.3.field 3.DEM2 16.DEM2 EMPH16 Abraham 1-PST-bury.PASS.PFV
nu mukari waazi Saara.
with 1.wife 1.POSS1 Sara.

that field,... There at that very place, Abraham was buried with his wife Sarah. (Genesis 25:10)

Class 18 demonstratives are also used anaphorically. It is logical to assume that class 17 demonstratives may also be used this way however there are no examples within the text corpus. That class 17 demonstratives are semantically limited to referring to locations ‘on top of’ could explain the lack of examples in the text corpus.

As with all the other locative class demonstratives, class 23 demonstratives may be used as anaphoric referents. In the text corpus their most common use is to refer back to specific place names mentioned in a preceding section of the discourse.

(55) iyo Biiri-sheba... bahucha baazi ba-ka-tuka iyo ikisima
23.DEM2 Beersheba 2.servant 2.POSS1 2PL-PST-dig.FV 23.DEM2 A.7.well
ikindi
A.7.other
there at Beersheba... his servants dug there another well. (Genesis 26:25)

6.1.5 Reduplicated locative demonstratives

Reduplicated locative demonstratives are used for emphasis. As with the basic demonstratives, class 16 reduplicated demonstratives may also be used with class 17 or class 18 derived nouns; see example (59).
Aburahaamu a-ka-ja naatu kw-imiiirira harya harya
hanu a-ki-imiiirira nu Mukuru
16.DEM1 1-PST-stand.FV with God
Abraham went again to stand at that very place where he stood with God. (Genesis 19:27)

mu-ku-muya murya murya
18-3.town 18.DEM3 18.DEM3
In that very town

ku-nyumba kuyo kuyo
17-9.house 17.DEM2 17.DEM2
on that very house

ba-ka-rya, ba-ka-nywa nu ku-hindira mu-muji harya harya
They ate, drank and lay down in that very town. (Genesis 24:54)

6.1.6 Other uses of locative demonstratives
As well as meaning ‘this/that very place’, class 16 reduplicated demonstratives may also mean ‘at this/that very time; immediately’.

Hayo hayo, ebegenge byazi bi-ka-hora.
16.DEM2 16.DEM2 A.8.leprosy 8.POSS1 8-PST-get-well.FV
Immediately his leprosy recovered. (Luke 5:13)

The class 16 and class 23 demonstratives hanu and inu are often used as relative pronouns introducing temporal or locative relative clauses. Class 17 kuru and class 18 murya are also used as relative pronouns. Relative clauses will be discussed further in section 8.

Hayo, the class 16 demonstrative denoting proximity to an addressee, is also used in discourse as a temporal connective.

Na ewe a-ka-mu-haka Aburaamu, a-ka-buga, “…” Hayo, Aburaamu
with 3SGPRO 1-PST-1-bless.FV Abram 1-PST-say.FV Then Abram
a-ka-mu-ha Miirkizidiki riitinka ryi kuni rye begero byusi.
1-PST-1-give.FV Melchizadek 5.part 5.of ten 5.of 8.thing 8.all
And he blessed Abram, he said “…” Then Abram gave Melchizadek a tenth of everything. (Genesis 14:19-20)

Class 18 demonstratives muyo and murya may combine with chimbu or nimbu to act as manner adverbials meaning ‘in this way, just like’. Reduplicated class 18 demonstratives
**muyo muyo** and **murya murya** may also be used with or without **chimbe** or **nimbe** to give the same meaning. Context alone distinguishes between the emphatic demonstrative and the manner adverbial.

(62) **Naaba abasarya ba-ra-kora muyo muyo!**
even **A.2.sinner 2-CONT-do.FV 18.DEM2 18.DEM2**

Even the sinners do the very same! (Luke 6:32)

In summary of the other uses of locative demonstratives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM1</th>
<th>Class 16</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class 17</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class 18</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class 23</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For temporal and locative relative clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>For locative relative clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>For locative relative clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td>For temporal and locative relative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM2</td>
<td>Temporal connector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manner adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manner adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated</td>
<td>‘immediately’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manner adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9: Summarizing the other uses of locative demonstratives**

6.2 Numerals, quantifiers ‘all’ and ‘any’, and possessives

6.2.1 Overview in Ikizu

In Ikizu, the numerals 1-6 and 8 take the numeral prefix EPx agreeing with the head of a noun phrase.

one  **-mwi**  four  **-ne**  eight  **nani (cl.10 -nyanyi)**
two  **-biri**  five  **-taano (cl.10 –saano)**
three **-tata (cl.10 -satu)**  six  **-saasaba**

(63) **abaana batatu**
A.2.person 2.three
three people

(64) **zisiku lsatu**
10.day 10.three
three days

The quantifiers **-usi** ‘whole; all’ and **-u-usi** ‘any’ also take the EPx agreeing with the head of the noun phrase.
Possessives take the pronominal prefix PPx agreeing with the class of the head noun; the possessed noun. PPx-a is the underlying form of the possessive which associates two nouns. The vowel of this associative form is influenced by the augment vowel belonging to the possessor noun which follows it. Thus, any of the seven vowels may surface on the associative. The augment is then no longer present on the possessor noun.

In Ikizu, the form of the possessive pronoun depends on the noun class of the possessor and the noun class of the possessed noun. Just as there are verbal subject and object prefixes for speech act participants, so also are there bound pronouns for these persons. These bound pronouns for speech act participants and for classes 1 and 2 are the most common bound pronouns found in the text corpus and are listed in the table below along with the bound pronouns for the locative classes. The bound pronouns for other noun classes are omitted from this table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Bound Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>-azu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>-azi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>-ite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>-nyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>-abu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 16</td>
<td>-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 17</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 18</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 23</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 10: Some bound pronouns*
6.2.2 Agreement with a locative head noun

Numerals, quantifiers and possessives always take the class 16 prefix ha- when modifying the class 16 noun abahiero.

(69)  
haiero  
hamwi  
16.place  
16.one  
one place (OR a certain place)

(70)  
abahiero  
haazi  
A.16.place  
16.POSS1  
his place

(71)  
Aburahaamu  
a-ku-umbaka  
abahiero  
hu  
kuhurukirya  
ikimweso  
Abraham  
1-PST-build.FV  
A.16.place  
16.of  
15-exit.APPL.CAUS.FV  
A.7.sacrifice  
Abraham built a place of offering sacrifices (Genesis 22:9)

(72)  
itoorera  
abahiero  
habausi  
ahu  
o-re-end  
u-biiki  
mukaazu  
choose.FV  
A.16.place  
16.any  
16.DEM1  
2SG-CONT-want.FV  
2SG-bury.OPT  
1.2SG.wife  
choose any place where you wish to bury your wife. (Genesis 23:6)

The class 17 and class 18 associatives, kwa and mwa, are only used independently of a locative head and cannot be used as modifiers. Associatives within a NP with a derived class 17 or class 18 head noun take the PPx corresponding to the class of the inherent noun of the head.

(73)  
*a-ka-hindira  
mu-nyumba  
mwa  
Reeya

(74)  
ka-ka-hindira  
mu-nyumba  
ya  
Reeya  
1-PST-lie.down.FV  
18-9.house  
9.of  
Leah  
He lay down in Leah’s house

(75)  
*ku-rubiri  
kwa  
Sodoma

(76)  
ku-rubiri  
rwa  
Sodoma  
17-11.village  
11.of  
Sodom  
at the village of Sodom (Genesis 18:26)

Likewise, numerals, quantifiers and possessive pronouns modifying a derived class 17 or class 18 locative head noun always agree with the class of the inherent noun in Ikizu.
(77) **ku-kiguru** kimwi
17-7.mountain 7.one
on one mountain

(78) **ba-ka-sikira** **mu-rubiri** runwi rwa Basamaaria
2-PST-enter.FV 18-11.village 11.one 11.of 2.Samaria
They entered a certain Samaritan village (Luke 9:52)

(79) **ku-usi** yuusi
18-9.land 9.all
over all the land

(80) **mu-usi** yuusi
18-9.land 9.all
in the whole land (lit. in all the land)

(81) a-ga-tonye **ku-rurimi** rwani iri ro-meeze
1-6-drop.OPT 17-11.tongue 11.POSS1SG ili 11-be.cool.OPT
May he drop (water) on my tongue that it may be cool. (Luke 16:24)

(82) **mu-rwiburu** rwazi
18-11.descendent 11.POSS1
among his descendents

The derived class 23 noun **imwambaka** ‘on the opposite side’ and inherently locational nouns, including **rusizu** ‘beside’, **ruguru** ‘East’, and **meusi** ‘inside’, are normally modified by possessives taking class 23 PPx **wa-**. Numeral modifiers take the class 16 EPx.

(83) yiika **waani**
23.home 23.POSS1SG
At my house

(84) a-ka-ba-ambucha **i-mwambuku** wi kitaaru cha Yabuuki
1-PST-2-cross.CAUS.FV 23-3.opposite.side 23.of 7.river 7.of Jabbok
He made them cross over to the opposite side of the river of Jabbok (Genesis 32:22)

(85) Nangu ni-ri **rusizu** wi kisima kinu...
now 1SG-be 11.beside 23.of 7.well 7.DEM1
Now I am at the edge of this well... (Genesis 24:13)

(86) Ki-ra-hitira urubaara rwa **ruguru** wi charu cha Ashuru
7-CONT-pass.APPL.FV A.11.side 11.of 11.east 23.of 7.country 7.of Asshur
It passes the east side of the country of Asshur (Genesis 2:14)

(87) ga-ri-ikara **meusi** waazi
6-CONT-dwell.FV inside 23.POSS1
they live inside him. (Luke 11:26)
It appears to be acceptable to use the class 16 associative ha to modify some class 23 nouns instead of wa in situations where there is a need to distinguish between a home base location and a current location. That is, ha is used to identify the noun as the current location of a person or thing. It is not clear whether this is true for all class 23 nouns.

As mentioned in the overview of possessive pronouns, there are bound pronouns for each of the locative classes. Following are some examples of class 16, 17 and 18 bound pronouns. No examples from class 23 were found in the text corpus, though there is no reason to suppose they do not exist since the class 23 verbal locative clitic exists.

6.2.3 Independent locative numerals, quantifiers and possessives
There are no locative class independent numerals. Class 16 numeral hamwi has become lexicalized as a conjunction, as mentioned in section 5.

Class 16 quantifiers ‘all’ and ‘any’ may be used independently of a class 16 head noun.
(94) Ku kuba  
    heausi  hanu  u-raa-ji...
    Because  
    16.any  16.DEM1  2SG-FUT-go.OPT
    Because anywhere you go... (Ruth 1:16)

(95) ...ahagero  ahaqumu  ku-kira  heausi  mu-charu  kimu
    A.16.place  A.16.good  15-exceed.FV  16.all  18-7.country  7.DEM1
    ...a good place exceeding all others in this country. (Genesis 47:6)

As mentioned in section 5, muusi, originally the quantifier ‘all’ with a class 18 NPx, has become lexicalized to mean ‘inside’. Other than this, there are no class 17, class 18 or class 23 quantifiers ‘all’ and ‘any’ in Ikizu.

All locative class associatives can be used independently of a locative head noun. Class 16, 17 and 18 associatives refer to the current location of the possessor noun and the class 23 associative refers to the possessor noun’s home base.

(96) a-ka-mw-umbaka  umukari  waazi  bu  kw-ikara
    1-PST-1-build.FV  A.1.woman  1.POSS1  15.of  15-dwell.FV
    he built his woman (wife) a place to live

(97) a-ka-hindira  mwa  Reeya
    1-PST-lie.down.FV  18.of  Leah
    He lay down in Leah’s (house) (mwa implies current location or coincidental dwelling place)

(98) a-ka-garuka  kwa  wiisi
    1-PST-return.FV  17.of  father.POSS1/2
    He returned to his father (kwa implies current location or coincidental dwelling place)

(99) a-ka-garuka  wa  wiisi
    1-PST-return.FV  23.of  father.POSS1/2
    He returned to his father(‘s house) (i.e. the house belonging to his father, not current location)

Class 16 and class 23 possessive pronouns are formed using a class 16 or class 23 PPx respectively, and may be used independently of a head noun.

Class 16: haani, haazu, haazi, hiitu, hanyu, haabu

Class 23: waani, waazu, waazi, wiitu, wanyu, waabu

As with the associatives, class 16 refers to the coincidental dwelling of the possessor and class 23 to the home base of the possessor.

The class 17 possessive pronouns kwani, kwazu, etc. and class 18 possessive pronouns mwani, mwazu, etc. do not exist in Ikizu. Instead of these paradigms, we find the following:
Class 17 and class 18 prefixes may be affixed to the class 23 possessive pronouns listed above, for example, **mu-waani** 18-23.Poss1SG ‘in my house’. The class 17 prefix is irregular in this paradigm, appearing as **u-** rather than **ka-** as expected. The class 18 prefix also unexpectedly has a first degree height vowel, being **mu-** instead of the usual prefix **mu-**.

Class 17: **u-waani, u-waaza, u-waazi, u-wiite, u-wanyu, u-waabu**

Class 18: **mu-waani, mu-waaza, mu-waazi, mu-wiite, mu-wanyu, mu-waabu**

Class 23 prefix **ɨ-** can also be affixed to the class 23 possessive pronouns. It is hard to determine what extra meaning this brings to these possessive pronouns which are already locational.

Class 23: **ɨ-waani, ɨ-waaza, ɨ-waazi, ɨ-wiite, ɨ-wanyu, ɨ-waabu**

The irregular class 17 prefix **u-** is reported to be more commonly used than the class 23 prefix, but both are used and are considered interchangeable semantically.

- **kubaniitwi** and **kubaniimwi** are used as 1PL and 2PL class 17 possessive pronouns respectively. These appear to derive from affixation of the class 17 prefix on words which resemble the 1PL and 2PL emphatic copula pronouns **niitwi** ‘we are the ones; it is us’ and **niimwi** ‘you are the ones; it is you’ with a class 2 prefix **ba-**.

Only these two members of this paradigm are acceptable as class 17 possessive pronouns. They do not describe a ‘home base’ location but a current location.

The class 18 prefix may be affixed to these words instead of the class 17 prefix to make 1PL and 2PL class 18 possessive pronouns, but these forms are not used much: **mu-baniitwi, mu-baniimwi**.

- Coincidental location can also be expressed by the use of associative **kwa** with an independent personal pronoun in a contracted form, though this is not considered to be good Ikizu. Only **kwewe, kwawe** and **kwibu** are attested in the data, though there is no reason to suspect that the same is not possible for the other speech act participant pronouns:

  | kwa + awe    | 17.of + 2SGPRO | kwawe   |
  | kwa + ewe    | 17.of + 1PRO   | kwawe   |
  | kwa + ibu    | 17.of + 2PRO   | kwibu   |
6.3 Adjectives

6.3.1 Overview in Ikizu
Ikizu adjectives take a NPx. This prefix agrees with the class of the head of the noun phrase. They can also be used independently of a head noun.

(100) ụbuzumu  bukuru
A.14.good  14.big
great goodness

(101) basuuhu
2.small
small (people)

Adjectives may also take an augment vowel, though it is not clear at present under what circumstances the augment vowel is present.

6.3.2 Agreement with a locative head noun
Class 16 inherent noun ahagero is modified by adjectives taking the class 16 NPx ha-.

(102) Nawe ba Yaakuɓu ba-ka-ja ahagero ahandi
However 2.of Jacob 2-PST-go.FV 16.place 16.other
However Jacob (his family and servants) went to another place. (Genesis 33:17)

(103) ahagero ahumu
A.16.place A.16.dry
a dry place

(104) ahagero hakuru
A.16.place 16.big
big place

Adjectives in a noun phrase with a derived class 17 or class 18 locative head noun always take a NPx agreeing with the class of the inherent noun.

(105) A-ka-mu-ruusha Raauti ku-rwa ma-nyaako iƙuru yiyo…
He removed Lot from that catastrophe… (Genesis 19:29)

(106) ku-ribaga iʃuuhu
17-5.time 5.small
For a short time

Adjectives take class 16 NPx ha- when the head of the noun phrase is from class 23 or is inherently locational.
(107) a-ra-bi-iricha  igati  hakuru
1-CONT-2-show.FV  23.inner.room  16.big
He will show you a big inner room (Luke 22:12)

(108) rusizu  ha-suuhu
11.beside  16.small
close beside

6.3.3 Predicative adjectives
A predicative adjective modifying a noun from any locative class takes class 16 NPx ha-.
The clause may contain the copula ni or the adjective may occur in a verbless predicate
clause as seen in (112) and (113).

(109) aha-gero  hayo  ni  harindu
A.16.place  16.DEM2 COP  16.holy
that place is holy

(110) ka-rubiri  ni  hazumu
17-11.village COP  16.good
At the village is good

(111) mu-rubiri  ni  hazumu
18-11.village COP  16.good
the inside of the village is good

(112) mu-nyumba  muyo,  muusi  hakuru
18-9.house  18.DEM2 inside  16.big
That house, the inside is big!

(113) yiika  waazii  hakuru
23.home  23.POSS1  16.big
his home is big (also: his big home)

(114) i-mwambuku  ni  hazumu
23-3.opposite.side COP  16.good
the opposite side is a nice place

6.4 Agreement summary
A more in depth summary of demonstrative agreement within a noun phrase can be seen in
table 8 in section 6.1.3 however a brief summary of possible combinations of locative
demonstratives with locative head nouns is included below.
Table 11: Demonstrative agreement with a locative head noun

The prefixes taken by other modifiers within NP’s with a locative head can be summarized as in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>numerals</th>
<th>‘all’ and ‘any’</th>
<th>possessives</th>
<th>adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>class 16 head noun</td>
<td>take class 16 EPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 EPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 PPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 NPx (a)ha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 17 head noun</td>
<td>take EPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take EPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take PPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take NPx of inherent noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 18 head noun</td>
<td>take EPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take EPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take PPx of inherent noun</td>
<td>take NPx of inherent noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 23 head noun</td>
<td>take class 16 EPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 EPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 23 PPx wa- (possibly ha-)</td>
<td>take class 16 NPx (a)ha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Agreement of other modifiers with a locative head noun

Independent forms for the locative classes can be summarized as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>numerals</th>
<th>‘all’ and ‘any’</th>
<th>possessives</th>
<th>adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>class 16</td>
<td>(lexicalized: hamwi ‘or; perhaps’)</td>
<td>take class 16 EPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 PPx ha-</td>
<td>take class 16 NPx (a)ha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>new alternatives formed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(lexicalized: mausi ‘inside’)</td>
<td>new alternatives formed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>take class 23 PPx wa-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Independent forms

Predicative adjectives for all locative classes take class 16 NPx, ha-.
It is quite clear from the above summary tables that while class 16 *ahagero* still requires class 16 agreement on modifiers, the other locative classes can no longer command such agreement.

Given the agreement story of the derivational locative classes 17 and 18 within NP’s, it seems possible to conclude that in Ikizu the whole noun phrase is marked by a locative prefix on the head noun. If this is true then may be that locative demonstratives modifying such derived nouns could be considered to be outside the noun phrase. For example:

(a) **mu-miriga jan-i muyo**  
18-4.luggage 4.POSS1SG 18.DEM2

(b) **mu-miriga jan-i giyo**  
18-4.luggage 4.POSS1SG 4.DEM2

Example (a) could be considered to be two separate locative phrases; **mu-miriga jan-i** and **muyo**, and example (b) just one noun phrase where the class 18 prefix **mu-** marks the whole phrase **miriga jan-i giyo** as locative.

Marten (2010: 257), in examining the locative classes in the southern Bantu language siSwati, notes that in this language dependent nominals agree with the original class of the inherent noun rather than the locative class. He goes on to claim that the locative morphology in siSwati cannot function as the head of the locative phrase for agreement purposes. This is only a small part of the evidence which leads him to conclude that locatives in siSwati are not locative noun phrases but locative prepositional phrases. While the agreement situation is only comparable to classes 17 and 18 in Ikizu, it is interesting to note the possibility of such a transition in use from NP to prepositional phrase, and to consider other pieces of evidence, should they arise. Of the reasons Marten (2010: 264) lists as his evidence for the great siSwati locative shift, those which have yet to be examined for classes 17 and 18 in Ikizu are:

- development of locative subject marker **ku-** as an expletive marker
- no locative object marker
- no (formal) locative inversion: locatives are not used as subject
- special relative marking strategy for locatives.
7. Verbal agreement

The arrangement of verbal morphemes in Ikizu may be summarized as follows:

SC-NEG-TAM-OC-BASE-TAM-LOC

Here, BASE refers to the verbal root, plus any derivational extensions.

7.1 Subject concords

7.1.1 Overview of Ikizu subject concords

A subject concord is required on almost all finite verb forms. There are exceptions to this such as imperatives; gega! ‘carry!’ which bear no subject marking, however these are not relevant for this study.

In canonical SVO word order and when a subject is postposed, the noun class of the subject controls the verbal subject concord, even in the absence of a lexical (subject) noun phrase.

(115)  a kan yunyi ka-ka-buga…
A.12.birth 12-PST-say.FV
The little bird said…

(116)  ...a-ka-a  a-za mu nwi wu n a-a-ri yizwir ebegenge
1-PST-come.FV 1.person 1.one 1.DEM1 1-PST-be 1-be.full.PFV A.8.leprosy
... a certain man came who was full of leprosy. (Luke 5:12)

(117)  ki-ka-buga…
7-PST-say.FV
It said… (where the subject is from class 7)

Subject concords for classes 16, 17 and 18 are ha-, mu- and ku- respectively. There is no subject concord for class 23. The following section will detail the restrictions on usage of these concords.

7.1.2 Subject agreement with a locative noun phrase

As with words belonging to the canonical noun classes, ahagero as the only member of class 16 can control subject agreement on the verb.

(118)  Ahagero ha n a ha-ru-ubahya nda ki!
16.place 16.DEM1 16-CONT-be.afraid.CAUS.FV like what!
This place causes fear like what! (Genesis 28:17)

Class 23 locational nouns also command the class 16 subject concord on verbs.
Class 18 subject agreement appears to be disappearing in the language. It is reported that some Ikizu still use the class 18 subject concord in sentences such as (121), however it is considered that the class 16 subject concord is more acceptable, as seen in (122).

(121) mu-charu muyo mu-na baatu baaru
18-7.country 18.DEM2 18-have 2.person 2.many
In that country there are many people. (lit. there in the country has many people)

(122) mu-charu muyo ha-na baatu baaru
18-7.country 18.DEM2 16-have 2.person 2.many
In that country there are many people. (lit. there in the country has many people)

With some verbs, as example (123) shows, only the class 16 concord is acceptable, even for those Ikizu who still use mu- with in sentence (121).

(123) mu-nyumba ha-zamiri bukung’u
18-9.house 16-be.pleasing.PFV 14.well
The inside of the house pleases well.

(124) *mu-nyumba mu-zamiri bukung’u

Class 17 subject concords are still used by all Ikizu speakers when the lexical subject is a class 17 derived noun meaning ‘on top of’, (125). A class 16 subject concord is used when the location implied by the derived locative is the general area surrounding the inherent noun; (126). Other uses of classes 16 and 17 subject concords are discussed in the following section, 7.1.3.

(125) ku-nyumba ku-buruuriri
17-9.house 17-be.dirty.PFV
on top of the house is dirty

---

4 hi and hayi are the locative interrogatives meaning ‘where’ in Ikizu.
(126) **ku-nyumba**  **ha-buruuriri**
17-9.house 16-be.dirty.PFV
at the house is dirty (i.e. the walls or the area surrounding it)

7.1.3 Expletives
The class 16 subject concord is found in various different situations where its use appears not to be motivated by a locative noun phrase subject. Class 16 **ha-** is used in verbs describing meteorological phenomena (128), in presentational constructions (129) and existential constructions (130).

(127) **imbura**  **i-ra-twika**
9.rain 9-CONT-rain.FV
The rain is raining

(128) **ha-ra-twika**
16-CONT-rain.FV
It is raining

(129) **ha-a-re-ho**  **muutu**  **wamwi, riina ryazi**  **Yusufu**
16-PST-be-16LOC 1.person 1.one 5.name 5.POSS1 Joseph
There was a man, his name was Joseph. (Luke 23:50)

(130) **Ka-rubiri**  **ruyo, chimbu**  **ha-raa-rorekani**  **abaatu**
17-11.village 11.DEM2 if 16-FUT-be.seen.OPT A.2.person
merongo itatu be heene ni-ta-ku-guricha
tens 10.three 2.of 9.truth 1SG-NEG-PROG-destroy.FV
In that village, if there are thirty righteous people, I will not destroy it. (Genesis 18:30b)

The class 17 subject concord is also found in similar situations.

(131) **ka-ra-twika**
17-CONT-rain.FV
It is raining

(132) **ko-be-ho**  **ubwiru**
17-be.OPT-16LOC A.14.white
Let there be light (lit. may there be whiteness) (Genesis 1:3)

(133) Hamwi  **ku-ka-rorekana**  **abaatu**  **merongo itatu be heene?**
or 17-PST-be.seen.FV A.2.person tens 10.three 2.of 9.truth
Or if there are thirty righteous people? (Genesis 18:30a)

Class 16 and class 17 subject markers are therefore used as expletive markers when there is no noun phrase to command subject agreement. This appears to be the case in apparent
situations of locative inversion. Though further investigation is necessary to prove this conclusively for each verb type, it seems that in Ikizu a preposed locative cannot command agreement of the subject concord on the verb; it is not the grammatical subject.

(134) mu-charu  muyo  kw-a-re-ho  mukari  wumwi...
18-7.country  18.DEM2  17-PST-be-16LOC  1.woman  1.one
in that village there was a certain woman...

(135) mu-nyumba  ku-ra-sikira  abaginyi
18-9.house  17-CONT-enter.FV  A.2.guest
in the house there are entering guests.

(136) *mu-nyumba ha-ra-sikira abaginyi

In conclusion, the following table summarizes locative subject agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>ha-</th>
<th>ku-</th>
<th>mu-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 lexical subject</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 lexical subject</td>
<td>yes - for ‘at’ locations</td>
<td>yes - for ‘on top of’ locations</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 lexical subject</td>
<td>all Ikizu speakers with most verbs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>some Ikizu speakers with some verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 lexical subject</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No subject</td>
<td>yes - expletive</td>
<td>yes - expletive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Uses of locative subject concords

7.2 Object concords

7.2.1 Overview of Ikizu object concords

In Ikizu, object concords may appear on verbs to refer back to a known referent; see sentence (137) where the man being buried is assumed to be uniquely identified in the hearer’s knowledge, either by previous mention as the person who has died, or by assumption that both speaker and addressee know who is being discussed. For a transitive verb like ‘bury’, there has to be mention of the object in the verb phrase, either as an object concord or as a lexical object.

(137) a-ra-mu-biika
1-CONT-1-bury.FV
He is burying him
(138) *a-ra-biika

If a lexical object is present postverbally, it need not be marked on the verb with a concord.

(139)    a-ra-biika  umakaruka  mu-mbiira
      1-CONT-bury.FV  A.1.old-man  18-9.tomb
      He is burying the old man in the tomb

Unlike some Bantu languages such as Kichaga and Chicheŵa (Bresnan and Moshi 1990), object concords in Ikizu are not in complementary distribution with lexical objects in postverbal position, see example (140). I have not investigated the pragmatic or semantic conditions which allow the co-occurrence of object markers with lexical objects, but merely point to the possibility of both being present in a clause in order to investigate the use of locative object markers later on.

(140)  a-ra-mu-biika  umakaruka  mu-mbiira
      1-CONT-1-bury.FV  A.1.old-man  18-9.tomb
      He is burying the old man in the tomb

For a ditransitive verb such as ukubha ‘give’ in the absence of an object concord, unless the context is clear because one postverbal argument is higher in the animacy hierarchy (Hyman and Duranti 1982), the recipient is identified by its placement directly following the verb. If the object concord is present on the verb, it will correspond with the class of the recipient noun. The recipient precedes the theme in unmarked word order, (143). This is a very simplified view as there are other factors to consider however it is sufficient for the following discussion. Ikizu does not allow more than one object concord to be expressed on a verb.

(141)  ni-ra-ha    mwana    waazi    ikitabu    kinu
      1SG-CONT-give.FV  1.son    1.POSS1  A.7.book    7.DEM1
      I am giving his son this book

(142)  ni-ra-ha    ikitabu    kinu    mwana    waazi
      1SG-CONT-give.FV  A.7.book    7.DEM1  1.son    1.POSS1
      I am giving his son this book

Animacy hierarchy: (highest) 1st > 2nd > 3rd human > 3rd animal > 3rd inanimate (lowest)
An applicative extension in Bantu adds a new (object) argument to the base verb (Bresnan and Moshi 1990: 148). Verbs which have an extra argument licensed by an applicative affix will still only allow one of them to be marked on the verb.

Bresnan and Moshi (1990: 149) list the roles of added arguments in Kivunjo-Chaga as benefactive, motive, goal, locative, instrumental or malefactive; all of which are also possible as arguments added by an applicative suffix in Ikizu.

7.2.2 Locative class object marking
Class 16 **ahagero** can command the class 16 object concord **ha-**.
Abraham called that place ‘Jehovah Jireh’. (Genesis 22:14)

Classes 17, 18 and 23 object concords do not exist in Ikizu. Class 16 ha- may be used in the presence of a class 17 lexical object, as (154) shows, but not with class 18 or class 23 lexical objects.

As mentioned in the previous section, a locative argument can be added to a verb using an applicative suffix. Unlike the addition of a beneficiary argument, the function of the applicative with locative complements is less obvious, and seems to depend on the semantics of the verb. With some verbs of motion, as in (162) and (163), the applicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(151)</td>
<td>Abraham called that place ‘Jehovah Jireh’. (Genesis 22:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(152)</td>
<td>*a-ka-ko-rora ku-muti guyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(153)</td>
<td>a-ka-rora ku-muti guyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(154)</td>
<td>a-ka-ha-rora ko-keko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(155)</td>
<td>*a-ka-mo-rora mo-keko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(156)</td>
<td>*a-ka-ha-rora mo-keko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(157)</td>
<td>a-ka-rora mo-keko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(158)</td>
<td>*ga-ra-mu-sikira mu-muutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(159)</td>
<td>ga-ra-sikira ma-muutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(160)</td>
<td>*a-ra-ha-sikira igati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(161)</td>
<td>a-ka-sikira igati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Sentences (152) and (155) are in fact grammatical however the object concords do not reference locative objects. Instead, they refer to 2SG and 3SG persons respectively, causing the interpretation to be ‘he saw you at that tree’ and ‘he saw him inside the gourd’.

7 compare with ga-ra-mu-sikira muutu 6-CONT-1-enter.FV 1.person ‘they (spirits) entered the person’
appears to imply a direction of motion toward the location expressed by the NP. In contrast, a locative NP in the same clause without the applicative extension on the verb indicates the location where the motion takes place.

(162) a-ka-ryara ku-kiguru
1-PST-run.FV  17-7.mountain
He ran on the mountain

(163) a-ka-ryarira ku-kiguru
1-PST-run.APPL.FV  17-7.mountain
He ran to the mountain

For verbs which already express directed motion, such as ukuruza ‘come’ and ukurwa ‘go out (from)’, the argument added by an applicative extension will be the beneficiary or maleficiary of the action.

(164) a-ka-aza kwa wiisi
1-PST-come.FV  17.of father.POSS1/2
He came to (the location of) his father.

(165) a-ka-mw-izira wiisi
1-PST-1-come.APPL.FV  father.POSS1/2
He came for his father. (i.e. to take him somewhere else)

(166) a-ka-rwa kwa wiisi
1-PST-go.out.FV  17.of father.POSS1/2
He went out from his father’s location.

(167) a-ka-mu-rwira
1-PST-1-go.out.APPL.FV
He went out for him (i.e. in order to scold someone).

With non-motion verbs such as okorora ‘see’ followed by a locative NP, an applicative extension indicates that the verb is being performed at the location expressed by the locative NP. This contrasts with example (162) and (163), where the addition of an applicative changes the locative phrase from being the location where the motion occurs to being the location towards which the motion is directed.

(168) a-ka-rora mu-rubiri
1-PST-see.FV  18-11.village
He saw the inside of the village OR He saw (something) in the village
(the subject of the verb is not necessarily in the village, but the object is)
In all cases so far addressed, the locative prefix is obligatory on the object noun phrase in order for it to be locational.

As in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1978: 37), in Ikizu there are certain postural verbs for which the addition of an applicative suffix to the verb negates the need to put a locative prefix on the locational NP which follows. If the derivational prefix is attached to the NP, then the sentence would still be understood, but it would not be considered good Ikizu. Kimenyi lists three such verbs for Kinyarwanda: ‘lie down’, ‘sit down’ and ‘lean on’. It was difficult to elicit any different in meaning between the following in each pair of sentences, however if Ikizu is like Kinyarwanda in its usage of these verbs then the difference is that “with these verbs the locative NP has a patient meaning” (Kimenyi 1978: 38).

(170) a-ki-ikara kn-kitumbi
1-PST-sit.FV 17-7.chair
He sat in the chair

(171) a-ki-ikarira ikitumbi
1-PST-sit.APPL.FV A.7.chair
He sat in the chair

(172) ? a-ki-ikarira ku-kitumbi

(173) a-ka-hindira ku-buriri
1-PST-lie.down.FV 17-14.bed
He lay down on the bed

(174) a-ka-hindirira buriri
1-PST-lie.down.APPL.FV 14.bed
He lay down on the bed

It is possible to include an object concord on the verb when it has an applicative extension. For example in (171) it is possible to add ki- to refer to the chair; a-ka-ki-ikarira ikitumbi.

7.3 Locative clitics
As Diercks (2011: 67) notes, the locative clitic, unlike the object concord, has received little attention in Bantu literature. Lubukusu (Diercks 2011), Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1978) and
Haya (Trithart 1977; Riedel 2010), all Interlacustrine Bantu languages, provided interesting points of comparison for my investigation into Ikizu locative clitics.

A locative clitic from any of the locative classes, that is -ho⁸ (16), -ku (17), -mu (18), -ya (23), may be found in post-final position on any verb form. In this position the clitic may fulfill various functions which will be explored in the following subsections.

### 7.3.1 Anaphoric locative arguments

All four locative clitics may function as anaphoric locative arguments. The class 17 and class 18 locative clitics, like their demonstratives, cannot refer anaphorically to a locative from another class, however they can be used to refer back to places which are by implication semantically, if not morphologically, equivalent; see the following example where sikira ‘enter’ implies a class 18 location and thus is referred back to by a class 18 clitic.


If you enter any village, stay in one house until the day you go from in there. (Luke 9:4)

(176) ni-ra-ku-ha umugundumusisi, na ribigirinu ri-ri muyo, 1SG-CONT-2SG-give.FV A.3.field 3.whole with 5.cave 5DEM1 5-be 18.DEM2 iri u-ji u-bikimu-mu mukaazu, so that 2SG-go.OPT 2SG-bury.OPT-18 1.your-wife

I am giving you the entire field, with the cave that is in there, so that you may go bury your wife there. (Genesis 23:11)

Class 17 clitic -ku is not used very often to refer anaphorically to class 17 locative NP’s since, as with the class 17 demonstratives, it is semantically more restricted than the class 17 NPx to which it may refer. There is no reason to believe that -ku cannot be found as an

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⁸ According to all the examples from the scripture portions available of clitic -ho attaching to i final verbs (that is, those verbs taking PFV or OPT, -tii or the defective copula -ri) it would appear that this clitic causes leftward spreading vowel lowering. Testing these vowels to ascertain that they are indeed lowered to third degree height is beyond the scope of this paper, and so all examples of such i-final verbs taking the class 16 clitic have been left with third degree e as the final vowel. In contrast to this, first degree height vowel u in -ku and -mu only appears to raise i in the defective copula -ri, but doesn’t affect i in -tii or the PFV or OPT suffixes.
anaphoric referent despite there being no examples in the text corpus. See section 6.1.4 for a discussion of the semantic restriction of the class 17 demonstratives as anaphoric referents.

The class 16 clitic -ho is used anaphorically more freely than the clitics from both class 17 and 18. As the example below shows, the class 16 clitic may also refer back to a noun which is semantically locational, but not morphologically marked as such.

(177) Na baatu bu rebi ruwuru baa-raa-tami
   with 2.person 2.of 11.village 11.any 2-FUT-fail.OPT
   ku-ba-sung'ana, mu-rwe-bo hayo
   15-2PL-receive.FV 2PL-go.out.OPT-16LOC 16.DEM2

   And if people of any village fail to receive you, leave that place. (Luke 9:5)

The class 23 locative clitic is used to refer anaphorically to distant locations and proper names of locations mentioned in the text.

(178) lisaka a-mariri ku-mu-haka Yaakubu nu ku-mu-tuma mu-charu
   Isaac 1-finish.PVF 15-1-bless.FV Jacob with 15-1-send.FV 18-7.country
   cha Padami-ramaamu, a-ji ku-mahya-yu umukari
   7.of Paddam Aram 1-go.OPT 15-search.for-23LOC A.1.wife
   Isaac had finished blessing Jacob and had sent him into the country of Paddan Aram to go search for a wife there (Genesis 28:6)

7.3.2 Preposed locatives
Locative clitics cannot co-occur with a locative NP when that locative NP occurs in its canonical postverbal position. Thus, both of the following are ungrammatical *a-ra-biika-mu umakeruka mu-mbihira and *a-ra-biika-mu mu-mbihira umakeruka ‘he is burying (there) the old man in a tomb’.

Unlike in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1978: 89), in Ikizu locative clitics cannot be used in the objectivization of locatives; see the Ikizu examples (181) and (182) compared with the Kinyarwanda sentences (179) and (180).

(179) umwana yataaye igitabo mu maazi (Kinyarwanda)
   child 1.PST.throw.ASP book in water

   The child has thrown the book into the water

(180) umwana yataay-mo amaa zi igitabo (Kinyarwanda)
   child 1.PST.throw.ASP-in water book

   The child has thrown the book into the water
Locative clitics may co-occur with locative NP’s in clauses when the locative has been preposed from its usual postverbal position. Unlike in Lubukusu (Diercks 2011), the locative clitic is not obligatory in such circumstances, and can be omitted with no loss of comprehension resulting.

Due to the semantic limitation of class 17 clitic -ku, class 16 clitic -ho is used in order to refer to a class 17 locative phrase that referring to the location ‘at’. As a result, class 17 clitics are not found very often, however an extended usage will be elaborated in section 7.3.6.

The class 23 clitic -ye, like class 23 demonstratives, may be used to refer to class 17 or class 18 derived locative NP’s. Use of a class 23 clitic implies that the location referred to by the class 17 or class 18 NP is some distance away, possibly at some unseen location.
7.3.3 Verbs expressing being at a location

The verbs -\textit{ri} ‘to be’ and \textit{ukaba} ‘to be; become’ may be used with a locative complement to express a subject being located at a certain place.

\begin{itemize}
\item [(189)] Barya ba-ri mu-rubiri rwa Yirusariimu…
\item [2.DEM3 2-be 18-11.town 11.of Jerusalem]
\end{itemize}


Alternatively, being in a certain place can be expressed by the use of a locative clitic on either of these two verbs. Generally, a locative NP occurring postverbally excludes the use of a locative clitic on the verb, however the verbs -\textit{ri} and \textit{ukaba} actually require a locative clitic in the case of subject postposing and thus may co-occur with a postverbal locative phrase; (190). Using the locative clitic distinguishes the postposed subject from being the complement of the verb as it identifies the complement of -\textit{ri} and \textit{ukaba} as a location. As new information tends to occur postverbally in discourse, these locative clitics are often found in presentational constructions where the new information, the subject who is being introduced, is postposed.

\begin{itemize}
\item [(190)] a-ri-\textit{mu} musubi wumwi mu-rubiri muyo
\item [1-be-18LOC 1.male 1.one 18-11.village 18.DEM2]
\end{itemize}

There is a certain man there in that village

\begin{itemize}
\item [(191)] \textit{mu-riribita} \textit{riyo.} ba-a-ri-\textit{mu} Abafarisayo
\item [18-5.group 5.DEM2 2-PST-be-18LOC A.2.Pharisee]
\end{itemize}

In that group there were Pharisees (Luke 19:39)

Class 16 is the only locative clitic which can be used without anaphoric reference to a specific place. As a result, it is often found in existential constructions with an expletive subject, as in (192).

\begin{itemize}
\item [(192)] Ku-ra-ba-ho ichirikin'yu ku-\textit{ryuba}, un\textit{wiri}, \textit{na} zenzota
\item [17-CONT-be.FV-16LOC A.7.sign 17-5.sun 3.moon and 10.stars]
\end{itemize}

There will be a sign in the sun, moon and stars. (Luke 21:25)

Another way of expressing the existence of a noun in a place is to use the verbs -\textit{ri} and \textit{ukaba} with a locative subject concord and followed by \textit{na} ‘with’. This subject concord may be an expletive, if general existence is implied, as in example (193), or it may refer to a

---

\textit{9} This is a defective verb; it cannot be fully inflected for tense and aspect as other verbs can.
locative noun phrase, (194). In such ‘be with’ constructions, use of a locative clitic on the verb is ungrammatical.

(193) kw-a-ri mu mutu wumwi, a-a-ri na baana habiri bi kisubi…
17-PST-be with 1.person 1.one 1-PST-be with 2.child 2.two 2.of 7.male
There was a certain person, he had two sons… (Luke 15:11)

(194) mu-rubiri muyo, mw-a-ri na mukari wumwi,…
18-11.village 18.DEM2 18-PST-be with 1.woman 1.one
In that village there, there was a certain woman…

As with the expression of existence in a place, being absent from a certain place (195) and non-existence (196) may also be expressed by the use of a locative clitic co-occurring with the NEG prefix on -ri or ukuba.

(195) Neho¹⁰ ba-ka-sikira muusi, ba-ka-buna ikitundu
then 2-PST-enter.FV inside 2-PST-find.FV A.7.corpse
cha Yisu ki-ta-rii-mu¹¹
7.of Jesus 7-NEG-be-18LOC
Then they entered inside, they found Jesus’ body was not there. (Luke 24:3)

(196) Ndora mu-bahiriri banyu ta-re-ho wi riina riyo!
Look 18-2.blood.relative 2.POSS2PL NEG-be-16LOC 1.of 5.name 5.DEM2
Look, among your relations, there is no-one of that name! (Luke 1:61)

7.3.4 Lexicalized locative clitics
There are certain verbs for which the locative clitic has become a lexicalized part of the verb. Without this locative clitic, the verb has no meaning. Those that have been identified as requiring a locative clitic are ukumirakut ‘grab hold of’ and -timmu (cl. 18) and -teeho (cl. 16) ‘put (somewhere)’. *ukumira and *-tii¹² have no meaning, though *-tii may appear without a locative clitic if it takes an applicative suffix in order to express location; ukutiiira.

(197) Mu-maboko gaazu, ni-ra-tii-mu ekoro yaani
Into your hands, I put in there my spirit. (Luke 23:46)

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¹⁰ Neho, the class 16 emphatic copula pronoun, is often used as a discourse marker, hence the gloss here being ‘then’ instead of EMPH16.
¹¹ The vowel of -ri is lengthened when it is used with a negative prefix and locative clitic.
¹² It is hard to determine the basic form of this verb since there are no examples of it without some sort of extension to express location.
He put his hands on him. (Luke 13:12)

But Ruth clung to her mother-in-law. (Ruth 1:14)

7.3.5 Verbs of contact

Apart from *maboko gaaz which appears to require the class 17 clitic, there are several verbs of physical contact which may optionally take the class 17 locative clitic without apparent anaphoric reference. It may be that this clitic is referring to an assumed location, the body, which it is not necessary to mention explicitly. Certainly, *gwata ‘seize; take hold of’ does not take -ku when it is used with non-concrete nouns; (204).

We want to lie with them. (Genesis 19:5)

We want to lie with them. (Genesis 19:5)

Abram seized the way down into the country of Egypt. (Genesis 12:10)

Although *kuha ‘give’ is not in this category of verbs of physical contact, it can also take clitic -ku in example (205). This may be to express the idea of physical contact when giving something into someone’s hands.

I am asking her to give me a little (water) that I may drink from her vessel. (Genesis 24:43)
Example (206) also does not express physical contact between two concrete NP’s however the idea of sleep as something which could be brought in to contact with a person is common in other languages. The literal translation of the Hebrew original (taken from the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia) for Genesis 2:21 is ‘God Yahweh, and he made fall on the man a deep sleep’ which in Ikizu is translated as **Mungu akamoreetera umusubi wuyo zendooro ndito** ‘God brought to that man a heavy sleep’. Considering all this, the idea of sleep losing contact with Jacob as a way of saying that Jacob was unable to sleep in (206) is not so strange.

(206) zendooro zi-ka-m-bara-ku  
10.sleep 10-PST-1-lose.FV-17LOC  
sleep lost him (Genesis 31:40)

That -**ku** is optional with these verbs can most clearly be seen in the correctness of the following three phrases, all meaning ‘he touched the ear’:

(a) **a-ka-kun’ya-ku akatwi** 1-PST-touch.FV-17LOC A.15.ear  
(b) **a-ka-kun’ya ku-katwi** 1-PST-touch.FV 17-15.ear  
(c) **a-ka-kun’ya akatwi** 1-PST-touch.FV A.15.ear

That all these are acceptable is interesting considering that in Ikizu a location cannot be ojectivized by use of a locative clitic, as described in section 7.3.2 in comparison with Kinyarwanda.

### 7.3.6 Licensing an object concord

Certain intransitive verbs of directed motion, such as **ukuuza** ‘come’, **ukuuja** ‘go’, **ukugareka** ‘return’, **ukwisuka** ‘move closer to’ and **ukurwa** ‘go out (from)’, are special in that the use of class 17 locative clitic -**ku** licenses the inclusion of an object concord on the verb.

(207) *a-ka-**tu**-za  
(208) a-ka-**tu**-za-ku 1-PST-1PL-come.FV-17LOC  
He came to where we were.

(209) *a-ka-**mu**-garuka  
(210) a-ka-**mu**-garuka-ku 1-PST-1-return.FV-17LOC  
He returned to him. (implication: he came once, left, then returned to the same place again)
He left him. (lit. went out from on top of him, e.g. a child leaving a parent’s lap)

He moved closer to him.

This object licensing is not possible with all intransitive motion verbs, as a clitic on \textit{okogenda} ‘walk’ does not license an object concord; \textit{*a-ka-mo-genda-ku} 1-PST-1-walk.FV-17LOC. Locative clitics from classes 16, 18 and 23 do not license an object concord, only class 17 \textit{ku}. Thus for example \textit{*akamuzaho} is not grammatical. Inanimate referents are also allowed as the location referred to by the object concord; \textit{a-ka-gu-za-ku umutit} 1-PST-3come.FV-17LOC A.3.tree ‘he came to the area around the tree’.

The object concord together with the locative clitic is the object of these verbs, rather than the object concord alone. Therefore, the object concord in \textit{a-ka-mu-za-ku} 1-PST-1-come-17LOC ‘he came to his location’ cannot be considered syntactically the same as in \textit{a-ka-mo-rora-ku} 1-PST-1-see.FV-17LOC ‘he saw him there (on top of something)’.

Even though clitic \textit{ku} is normally semantically restricted to ‘on top of’ locations, the location expressed by the combination of the object concord and the locative clitic is not limited in this way. Instead, the location referred to is a general area surrounding the noun referred to by the object concord, thus it is semantically more like the class 16 clitic than the class 17 clitic.

As mentioned previously in section 7.2.2, these verbs which allow \textit{ku} to license an object concord are ones which already imply a direction of motion and as such they do not need to take an applicative extension in order to show this direction as other verbs of motion do such as \textit{ukaryara} ‘run’. The semantics of these verbs with an object licensed by \textit{ku} are very close to the basic verb followed by a class 17 derived noun, though (217) and (218) show a slight semantic difference.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{a-ka-mu-rwa}\text{ \textit{a-ka-mu-rwa-ku}} 1-PST-1-go.out.FV-17LOC
  \item \textit{*a-ka-mw-isuka}\text{ \textit{a-ka-mw-isuka-ku}} 1-PST-1-move.closer.FV-17LOC
  \item \textit{He left him.}
  \item \textit{He moved closer to him.}
  \item This object licensing is not possible with all intransitive motion verbs, as a clitic on \textit{okogenda} ‘walk’ does not license an object concord; \textit{*a-ka-mo-genda-ku} 1-PST-1-walk.FV-17LOC.
  \item Locative clitics from classes 16, 18 and 23 do not license an object concord, only class 17 \textit{ku}. Thus for example \textit{*akamuzaho} is not grammatical. Inanimate referents are also allowed as the location referred to by the object concord; \textit{a-ka-gu-za-ku umutit} 1-PST-3come.FV-17LOC A.3.tree ‘he came to the area around the tree’.
  \item The object concord together with the locative clitic is the object of these verbs, rather than the object concord alone. Therefore, the object concord in \textit{a-ka-mu-za-ku} 1-PST-1-come-17LOC ‘he came to his location’ cannot be considered syntactically the same as in \textit{a-ka-mo-rora-ku} 1-PST-1-see.FV-17LOC ‘he saw him there (on top of something)’.
  \item Even though clitic \textit{ku} is normally semantically restricted to ‘on top of’ locations, the location expressed by the combination of the object concord and the locative clitic is not limited in this way. Instead, the location referred to is a general area surrounding the noun referred to by the object concord, thus it is semantically more like the class 16 clitic than the class 17 clitic.
  \item As mentioned previously in section 7.2.2, these verbs which allow \textit{ku} to license an object concord are ones which already imply a direction of motion and as such they do not need to take an applicative extension in order to show this direction as other verbs of motion do such as \textit{ukaryara} ‘run’. The semantics of these verbs with an object licensed by \textit{ku} are very close to the basic verb followed by a class 17 derived noun, though (217) and (218) show a slight semantic difference.
\end{itemize}
He came to his father.

He went away from his father. (lit. he went out from his father’s location. No contact implied)

He left his father. (lit. went away from on top of him, e.g. a child leaving a parent’s lap)

7.4 Summary of locative marking on verbs

Class 16 ha- appears to have fully functional verbal concords, both subject and object. It has also developed into an expletive subject marker.

As seen with class 17 modifiers, subject concords for class 17 lexical subjects seem to depend on the location implied by the derivational prefix. Class 17 NPx ku- prefixed to a noun can refer to two different locations:

(a) on top of the noun
(b) the general area surrounding the noun

The class 17 subject concord may only be used with those class 17 NP’s that refer to location (a). Class 16 ha- is used as the subject concord when (b) is the location implied by the class 17 lexical subject. There is no class 17 object concord. Class 17 ku- has, along with class 16 ha-, also developed into a marker for expletive subjects.

Class 18 verbal marking appears to be disappearing in Ikizu. The subject concord mu- remains acceptable for some Ikizu speakers on certain verbs however for others it is no longer acceptable. These speakers use class 16 ha- instead.

Class 16 ha- has also completely taken over from any class 23 marking there originally may have been in Ikizu. There is no object marking for class 23.

Locative inversion, though not investigated fully, does not appear possible in Ikizu.

The locative clitics are often optional on verbs. There are a few situations where they are obligatory, such as with verbs ukumiraku and -tii. The class 17 locative clitic -ku has developed a special use of being able to license an object concord on certain verbs.
8. Relative clauses

8.1 Relative clauses in Ikizu
As mentioned in section 6.1.1, relative clauses in Ikizu are typically formed using the proximal demonstrative agreeing with the class of the antecedent of the relative clause. It appears as though when the antecedent is an independent demonstrative, the proximal demonstrative is absent, as seen in the sentence below.

(219) Gayo Peetero a-a-gambiri, ta-a-ga-minyiri
6.DEM2 Peter 1-PST-say.PFV NEG-PST-6-know.PFV
These things Peter said, he did not know them. (Luke 9:33)

There are four situations, which can be put in two categories, to consider in studying the interaction of relative clauses with locative nouns:

1. the antecedent is not a locative noun
   a. the head of the relative clause is a locative noun
   b. the head of the relative clause is not a locative noun

2. the antecedent is a locative noun
   a. the head of the relative clause is a locative noun
   b. the head of the relative clause is not a locative noun

These will be considered in turn.

8.2 Relative clauses with non-locative antecedents

8.2.1 Non-locative noun as head of the relative clause
The proximal demonstrative agreeing in class with the antecedent is used whether the head of the relative clause is a subject or object of the clause. The role of the head noun in the relative clause is made clear by its agreement, or lack of agreement, with the subject marking on the verb of that clause. If there is a lack of agreement, then the head noun is not the subject of the clause.

Head corresponds to the subject of the relative clause:

(220) a-ka-aza matitu wunwi wunu s-a-ri y-izwiri ebegenge
1-PST-come.FV 1.person 1.one 1.DEM1 1-PST-be 1-be.full.PFV A.8.leprosy
A certain man came who was covered with leprosy. (Luke 5:12)
Head corresponds to the object of the relative clause:

(221)  ki-ta-ree-ho  kegero  chazu  kina  ni-raa-gege  
7-NEG-be-16LOC 7.thing 7.POSS2SG 7.DEM1 1SG-FUT-carry.OPT
There do not exist there your thing which I will take. (Genesis 14:23)

8.2.2 Locative noun as head of the relative clause

Even if the antecedent is not a locative phrase, the head of the relative clause can still be a locative noun. As before, the relative pronoun agrees with the class of the antecedent. A locative clitic may optionally be used on the verb of the relative clause.

(222)  A-ki-inahirirya  iguru  wu  buriri  bunu  ikitundu  ch-a-ri(-ku)  
1-PST-approach.FV 23.top 23.of 14.bed 14.DEM1 A.7.corps 7-PST-be(-17LOC)
He approached the top of the bed which the corpse was on top of. (Luke 7:14)

(223)  u-ra-gura  zinyumba  zinu  ni-giire-ho  Ikwiswahiri  
2SG-CONT-buy.FV 10.house 10.DEM1 1SG-learn.PFV-16LOC A.7.Swahili
you are buying the houses where I learnt Swahili

8.3 Relative clauses with locative antecedents

8.3.1 Non-locative noun as head of the relative clause

When the head of the relative clause is the inherent noun of a locative antecedent, the proximal demonstrative acting as relative pronoun will agree in class with the inherent noun of the antecedent.

(224)  Mo-gende  mu-rabiri  runu  ruri  mu-butangi  bwanyu.  
Go to inside the village which is before you. (Luke 19:30)

(225)  U-ji  ku-mu-hurucha  ku-kiguru  kina  ni-raa-kw-irichi  
2SG-go.OPT 15-1-go.out.CAUS.FV 17-7.mountain 7.DEM1 1SG-FUT-2SG-show.OPT
Go take him out onto the mountain which I will show you. (Genesis 22:2)

8.3.2 Locative noun as head of the relative clause

If the antecedent and head of the relative clause are locatives, then a locative demonstrative agreeing with the locative antecedent is used as the relative pronoun introducing the relative clause.

If the antecedent is a class 16 locative, the relative clause will take class 16 hanu as relative pronoun.
Because any place where you go… (Ruth 1:16)

The use of kʉn as a relative pronoun, as with all class 17 demonstratives, may only be used if the location implied by the class 17 antecedent is a location on top of the inherent noun. If a general area surrounding the inherent noun is intended, class 16 hanu must be used as the relative pronoun.

*a-ka-mu-muhya ku-nyanza kʉn a-mu-ruzi iizo

He looked for him at the lake at which he had seen him yesterday.

Class 18 manu is used as the relative pronoun for locative-headed relative clauses with a class 18 antecedent.

A-ka-gwata Yuusufu, a-ka-mu-tuura mo-keboho manu ababuhwa abandi
1-PST-seize.FV Joseph 1-PST-put.FV 18-7.prison 18.DEM1 A.2.prisoner A.2.other
bu mutimi ba-a-ri
2.of 1.king 2-PST-be
He took Joseph and put him in prison where the king’s other prisoners were. (Genesis 39:20)

Class 23 ina may also introduce locative-headed relative clauses.

Naumi a-garukiri ku-rwa mu-charu cha Moabu ina a-a-minyiri
Naomi 1-return.PFV 15-go.out.FV 18-7.country 7.of Moab 23.DEM1 1-PST-know.PFV
Naomi returned from the country of Moab where she had lived. (Ruth 4:3)

The relative clause in (230) may also be introduced by class 18 manu, in which case the antecedent would be mu-charu. Class 16 hanu is also acceptable here.

All the verbs of these locative-headed relative clauses may take a locative clitic, so long as that clitic can grammatically be used to refer anaphorically to the locative antecedent. Thus, in (230) mu-charu cha Moabu inu a-a-minyiri, the verb aaminyiri could take a class 18 clitic -mu or a class 23 clitic -yu, but not a class 17 clitic -ku. These clitics are optional.
8.4 Relative clause summary

In summary, we see the following methods for forming relative clauses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>head of relative clause</th>
<th>non-locative antecedent</th>
<th>locative antecedent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-locative</td>
<td>DEM1 PPx agrees with (inherent) class of antecedent</td>
<td>DEM1 PPx agrees with inherent class of antecedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>DEM1 PPx agrees with inherent class of antecedent (Locative clitic optional)</td>
<td>DEM1 PPx agrees with derived locative class of antecedent (Locative clitic optional)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 15: Relative clause summary*

8.5 Temporal relative clauses

As mentioned in section 6.1.6, both class 16 *hanu* and class 23 *inu* can be used in temporal relative clauses.

(231) ribaga ri-ra-hika *hanu* ri-ta-ree-ho muuru riibwi rinu
5.time 5.CONT-arrive.FV 16.DEM1 5-NEG-be-16 even 5.stone 5.DEM1
ri-ku-saaga iguru wa riibwi irindi
5-PROG-remain.FV 23.above 23.of 5.stone A.5.other
The time is arriving when there will not be even a stone which remains on top of another stone.
(Luke 21:6)

(232) Ni ki mu-ra-m-birikira Naumi *inu* Mungu a-n-kuriri
COP what 2PL-CONT-1SG-call.FV Naomi 23.DEM1 God 1-1SG-do.APP.PFV
amabi na a-nyaakiryi?
A.6.bad with 1-be.anxious.CAUS.PFV
Why do you call me Naomi when God has done bad to me and made me troubled? (Ruth 1:21)
References


**Published text sources**
