

A corpus-based description of locative and non-locative reference in Kirundi locative enclitics

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Abstract

This article presents a corpus-based description of locative as well as non-locative functions of Kirundi locative enclitics. Whereas locative verbal prefixes in Kirundi are restricted to class 16, one of four locative enclitics (classes 16, 17, 18 & 19) can attach to verbs. Three main uses are distinguished: formal locative reference, semantic locative reference and non-locative reference. Formal locative reference concerns the most basic – albeit not the most frequent – use of locative enclitics, i.e. endophoric reference to a locative form. Semantic locative reference refers to the capacity of locative enclitics to evoke a locative meaning not formally present in the discourse. The non-locative uses of locative enclitics include grammaticalized and lexicalized uses as well as a rare partitive/separative use. For each use a detailed description and quantification is provided and where relevant overlaps and differences between the use of locative enclitics, on the one hand, and the use of the locative verb prefixes, on the other hand, are discussed.

Keywords: Kirundi, Bantu corpus linguistics, locative enclitics, locative demotion, progressive aspect, emphatic negation, partitive/separative

Introduction

The ability of verbs to host locative enclitics is a well-known feature of Kirundi grammar. These locative enclitics are part of a series of pronominal forms traditionally referred to as ‘short substitutives’, both in Kirundi (Meeussen 1959: 163-168; Ntahokaja 1994) and in Bantu studies more generally (De Blois 1970; Kamba-Muzenga 2003). They consist of a pronominal prefix followed by the so-called ‘-6 of reference’ (Dammann 1977). Since the earliest Kirundi grammar studies (Ménard 1908; Bagein 1951; Meeussen 1959), they are known to serve both locative and non-locative purposes. Nonetheless, many details regarding their usage in present-day Kirundi remain foggy at best. Are the different locative enclitics equally frequent and are they used in exactly the same way? Do all of them refer to both grammatically marked and unmarked locative noun phrases? When referring to a locative noun do they manifest strict formal agreement or are other agreement patterns attested? Have all uses been reported in the literature or did some of them go unnoticed so far? How do locative and non-locative uses relate to each other and are they equally distributed in written and oral language? In order to clear up a number of these questions, we pursue in this article a corpus-based study of locative enclitics with a special focus on the last three decades of Kirundi language use. Even if this article is part of a thematic journal issue dedicated to non-locative uses of locative enclitics in Bantu, the ultimate goal is to come up with a corpus-based description of both their locative and non-locative functions in Kirundi that is as exhaustive as possible. It may be the starting point for more advanced studies on some of their specific usages.

1. Kirundi corpus

Following earlier studies within our research group (de Schryver & Gauton 2002; de Schryver and Nabirye 2010; Bostoen *et al.* 2012; Kawalya *et al.* 2014; Lafkioui *et al.* 2016; Mberamihigo *et al.* 2016; Nshemezimana & Bostoen 2017), the current study is corpus-based. Our analysis of locative suffixes in Kirundi is informed by the BantUGent Kirundi text corpus whose compilation was initiated as part of the PhD project that led to the dissertation of Mberamihigo (2014) and was extended during the research that resulted in the PhD thesis of Nshemezimana (2016). Manoah-Joël Misago has been further enlarging it since the start of his doctoral study in 2014. At its current state, the BantUGent Kirundi text corpus consists of 2,777,126 tokens and 288,123 types. About 85% represents the written language (2,357,702 tokens) and 15% the oral language (419,424 tokens). The genres represented are as diverse as ecology, education, folktales, health, history, law, magazines, news, peace, poetry, politics, religion, traditional culture, novels, songs, theatre, etc. The BantUGent Kirundi text corpus starts in the 1920s and thus covers nearly a century. For the present study, which is mainly a synchronic description of the locative suffixes, we have focused on the last three decades of the corpus, i.e. between 1990 and 2016, in which written language amounts to 1,440,538 tokens (i.e. 51.9% of all tokens and 61.1% of all written tokens) and oral language amounts to 397,091 tokens (i.e. 14.3% of all tokens and 94.7% of all oral tokens, almost exclusively from the 2010s).

We queried the selected decades of the corpus with WordSmith Tools 6 (Scott 2013) using the search string **ho/*ko/*mwo/*yo*. This query resulted in 110,034 hits in the written sub-corpus and 34,154 hits in the oral sub-corpus, many of which were irrelevant though, for example *ibikóresho* ‘materials’, *amâmuko* ‘origin’, *amakamyo* ‘lorries’. After having excluded the most common undesired words, still 8,158 and 3,392 hits remained in the written and oral sub-corpora respectively. In order to obtain a manageable sample for further study, these hits were randomly down-sampled to about 300 examples for each of the sub-corpora, i.e. using a sample rate of 1 out of 27 for the written part and 1 out of 11 for the oral part. This random sample still contained some forms without locative enclitics, which were excluded to remain with exactly 238 verbs ending in a locative suffix in the written sub-sample and 277 in the oral sub-sample. The ‘noise’ was thus considerably higher in the written sample (with 64 out of 302 or about 21% non-locative forms) than in the oral sample (with 31 out of 308 or about 10% non-locative forms). Extrapolated back to the original corpus selection between 1990 and 2016, this means that the written sub-corpus contains out of 1,440,538 tokens in total 6,426 (i.e. 238 x 27) verbs with a locative enclitic, while the oral sub-corpus has 3,047 (i.e. 277 x 11) verbs out of 397,091 tokens in total. Expressed as a number of occurrences per million tokens, as we do throughout this study, we clearly see that locative enclitics are significantly more commonly used in spoken discourse than in written language with 7,673 occurrences per million words in oral discourse (or about once every 130 words) vs. 4,461 occurrences per million words in written language (or about once every 224 words). This is a first important observation, which we attempt to account for in Section 2.

2. Locative enclitics

The locative substitutes discussed in this article can be used independently, as in (1), but are more typically part of a clitic group or attach to a host.

- (1) **Hó harashikira abaantu bavuyé kuré.**

(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

hó	ha-ra-shik-ir-a	a-ba-ntu	ba-vu-^Hye
SBST ₁₆	SP ₁₆ -DJ-active-APPL-IPFV	AUG-2-person	SP ₂ -come.from-REL.PFV
ku-re			
17-far			

‘There, there are people arriving who come from far.’

Examples (2) to (5) illustrate the use of locative short substitutes in combination with *na-* ‘and, with’, the affirmative copula *ni* and the negative copulas *si* and *nta*, respectively.¹

- (2) **Murí Komíne ya Giháro, na hó nyené harihó ishírahamwe**

(*CUI00427*, Peace, 2010s)

1. Throughout the paper we follow current Kirundi orthography. The short substitutes in (2) to (5) are therefore not attached to the preceding particles.

muri Ø-komiíne i-a Giháro na hó nyené ha-ri-hó
 18 9-municipality PP₉-CON Giháro and SBST₁₆ also SP₁₆-be-LOC₁₆
i-Ø-shírahámwe
 AUG-5-association
 ‘In the municipality of Giharo, and there as well, there is an association.’

- (3) **Ni yó narí harahéze améezi abiri caanké atatu.**

(*CMPPR_Branham*, Religion, 2010s)

ni yó n-á-ri ha-ra-hér-ye a-ma-éezi a-biri
 COP SBST₁₉ SP_{1SG}-REM.PST-be SP₁₆-DJ-end-PFV AUG-6-month PP₆-two
caanké a-tatu
 or PP₆-three
 ‘It is there that I was two or three months ago.’

- (4) **Mugábo si yó twaári twebwé.**

(*Dialogo2_06_09_14*, Society, 2000s)

mugabó si yó tu-á-ri twebwé
 but COP SBST₁₉ SP_{1PL}-REM.PST-be us
 ‘However, it was not there that we were, us.’

- (5) **Baangirináama na Nyárucari nta hó baágiye.**

(*Bugaboburihabwa*, Informations, 1990s)

Baangirináama na Nyárucari ntaa hó ba-á-gi-ye
 Baangirináama and Nyárucari NEG.COP SBST₁₆ SP₂-REM.PST-go-PFV
 ‘Baangirináama and Nyárucari have not gone anywhere.’

Whereas the preceding uses are attested in non-locative classes too, a couple of uses are exclusive to locative short substitutives. The attachment of a class 16 short substitutive to personal pronouns gives a contrastive reading, as in (6).

- (6) **Mberé jehó naciíyé ntwáara beto zibiri i muhirá iwáanjé.**

(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)

mberé je-hó N-á-ci-ye N-twáar-a
 besides me-SBST₁₆ SP_{1SG}-REM.PST-DO.THEN-PFV SP_{1SG}-transport-IPFV
Ø-beto zi-biri i mu-hirá i-áanjé
 10-concrete.iron PP₁₀-two 19 3-homestead PP₁₉-my
 ‘Besides, as for me, I was transporting two pieces of concrete iron to my homestead.’

Only locative short substitutives can combine with (inflected) verb forms. While only class 16 and class 19 locative enclitics are known to attach to non-verbal hosts, all four locative classes are attested with verbs, as seen in (7) to (10).

- (7) **Baravahó, barageenda.**

(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

ba-Ø-ra-vu-a-hó ba-Ø-ra-geend-a
 SP₂-PRS-DJ-leave-IPFV-LOC₁₆ SP₂-PRS-DJ-go-IPFV
 ‘They left there and went.’

- (8) **Inyuma y'ishá imwé, ca uyáshirakó gushika amasahá umunaáni.**
(*CUI10708Itu*, Peace, 2010s)

i-nyuma i-a i-Ø-sahá i-mwé ci-a
19-behind PP₉-CON AUG-9-hour PP₉-one do.then-IPFV
u-a-shír-a-kó ku-shík-a a-ma-sahá umunaáni
SP_{2SG}-OP₆-put-IPFV-LOC₁₇ 15-arrive-INF AUG-6-hour eight
'After an hour, put them there until eight o'clock.'

- (9) **Ubu, mu mashírahámwe meénshi, turasáangamwó abakényezi.**
(*Umutsama070101*, Ecology, 2000s)

ubu mu ma-shírahámwe ma-iínshi tu-Ø-ra-sáang-a-mwo
now 18 6-association NP₆-many SP_{1PL}-PRS-DJ-find-IPFV-LOC₁₈
a-ba-kenyézi
AUG-2-woman
'Nowadays, in many associations, we find there women.'

- (10) **Ukwiiye kwaáma ubáza imbere yó kugeendayó.**
(*USCRI_I_Health*, Education, 2000s)

u-Ø-kwíir-ye ku-aám-a u-báz-a i-N-bere
SP_{2SG}-PRS-must-PFV 15-remain-INF SP_{2SG}-ask-IPFV AUG-9-before
i-ó ku-geend-a-yó
PP₉-CON 15-go-INF-LOC₁₉
'You should always ask before going there.'

We refer to the post-final locative short substitutives **-ho**, **-ko**, **-mwo** and **-yo** in (7) to (10) as locative enclitics, and gloss them as locative (LOC) followed by the locative class number. Kirundi short substitutives can be used both as independent words and as part of larger words. We therefore consider 'enclitic' to be an adequate descriptive term. Their post-final position within verbs confirms this status. The Bantu post-final position typically comprises newly grammaticalized and grammaticalizing elements (Güldemann 2003), i.e., elements that are in between affixes and function words. Figure 1 gives the frequencies of each of the locative enclitics in our corpus sample. The absolute numbers seen in the samples for the written and oral sub-corpora have been normalized and express extrapolated occurrences per million tokens for both. So, the 581 written occurrences of the class 16 enclitic correspond to 31 out of 238 hits in our written sample, while the 1,745 oral occurrences of the same enclitic correspond to 63 out of 277 in our oral sample. Figure 1 shows that the class 16, 17 and 19 enclitics are more common in oral than in written language, i.e. 581 vs. 1,745, 1,706 vs. 3,269 and 131 vs. 443 respectively, while the frequencies of those of class 18 are more equal, i.e. 2,043 vs. 2,216 though still more frequent in spoken discourse. In both written and oral language, the most frequent enclitics are those of classes 17 and 18, representing together 84.04% and 71.48% respectively. However, the class 18 enclitic is more prominent than the class 17 enclitic in written language compared to oral language, while the opposite is true in spoken language.

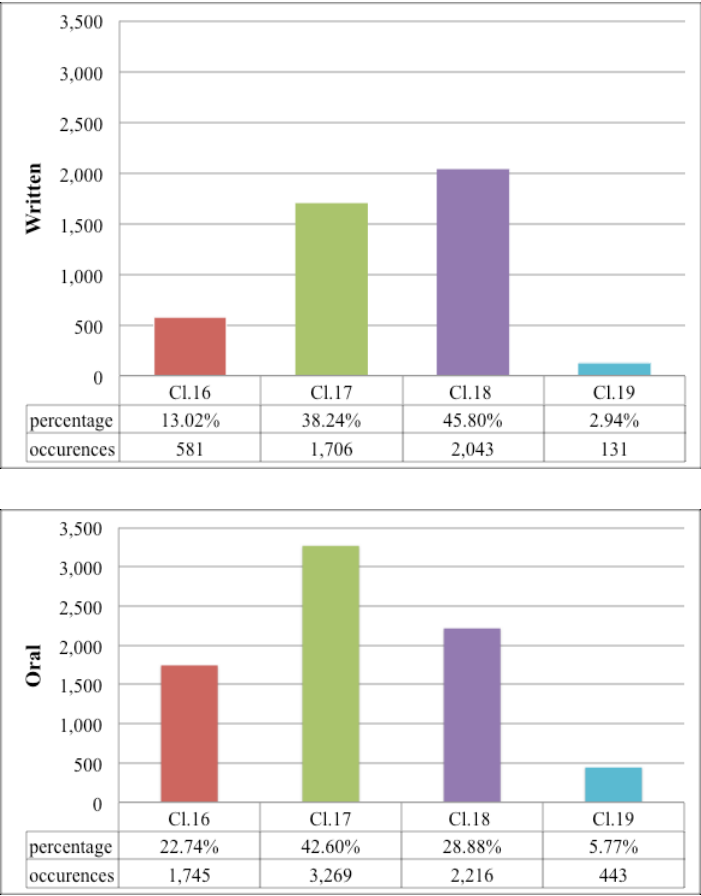


Figure 1. Distribution of locative enclitics per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

These discrepancies in both absolute and relative numbers can be accounted for to a great extent by the fact that the grammaticalized progressive auxiliary **-rikó** (Section 5.1) and the lexicalized existential verb **-rihó** (Section 5.2), combining **-ri** ‘be’ with the class 17 and 16 enclitics respectively, are much more common in spoken discourse than in written texts. In the written corpus, 375 out of 581 class 16 enclitics, i.e. nearly 65%, are instances of **-rihó**; in the oral corpus, this even amounts to 1,607 out of a total of 1,745, i.e. more than 92%. As for the auxiliary **-rikó**, it represents 450 out of the 1,706 occurrences of the class 17 enclitic in the written corpus, i.e. more than 26%, and 1,717 out of 3,269 occurrences in the oral corpus, i.e. more than 52%. While **-rihó** only occurs once every 3,841 words in written texts, it is used once every 247 words in spoken language, i.e. over 15 times more often. The auxiliary **-rikó** occurs almost 14 times more often in oral language, i.e. once every 231 words vs. once every 3,201 words in written language. Figure 2 shows that after the exclusion of progressive **-rikó** and existential **-rihó**, locative

enclitics occur in similar proportions in the written and oral sub-corpora, even if absolute occurrences still differ considerably. All locative enclitics but the one of class 16 are more frequently used in oral discourse than in written texts. Except in the existential **-rihó**, the enclitic **-hó** is even more rare in spoken than in written language.

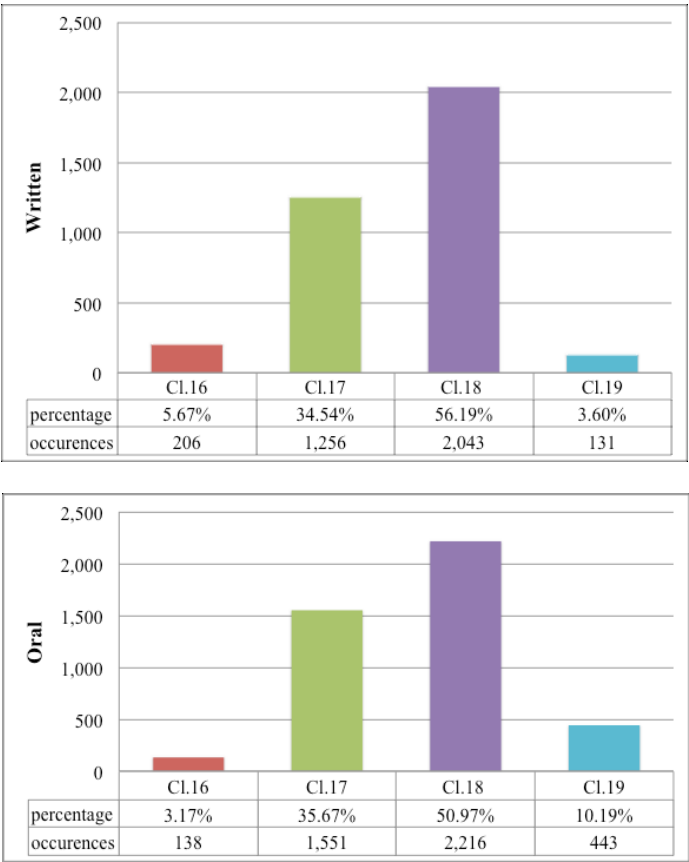


Figure 2. Distribution of locative enclitics per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016), excluding occurrences of progressive **-rikó** and existential **-rihó**

Functions of Kirundi locative enclitics are discussed in the following sections. Section 3 considers the most basic use of locative enclitics, i.e. endophoric reference to a locative form. Locative enclitics can also be used to evoke a locative meaning not formally present in the discourse. Such cases of semantic locative reference are discussed in Section 4. Section 5 looks at some extra-locative uses of the locative enclitics and a summary and conclusion are given in Section 6. The distribution of the different functions in the corpus is given in Figure 3, where it is shown that locative enclitics are much more often used for non-locative reference

in spoken than in written language. This is once again due for the most part to the prominence of the progressive auxiliary **-rikó** (Section 5.1) and the existential verb **-rihó** (Section 5.2) in spoken discourse.

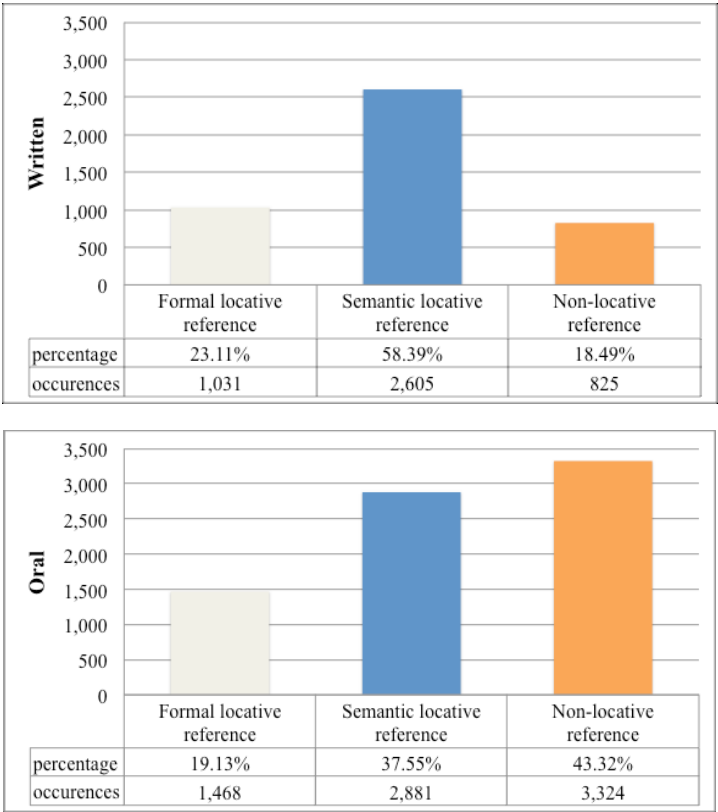


Figure 3. Functions of locative enclitics per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

3. Formal locative reference

Locative enclitics most typically refer to a locative noun. Locative nouns consist of a locative pre-prefix added to a full noun.² Kirundi has 4 locative nominal prefixes: class 16 **ha-**, class 17 **ku-**, class 18 **mu-** and class 19 **i-**.³ Only classes 17, 18 and 19

2. We adhere to current Kirundi orthography in separating the locative prefix from the noun but we follow Meeussen (1959) and Grégoire (1975: 72-84) in analysing these locative markers as noun (pre-)prefixes rather than prepositions notwithstanding the fact that they do not fully control agreement. They typically substitute for the augment (but see footnote 3 on augment-less forms) except for some inherent locative nouns like **ahaantu** ‘place’ where the augment + locative prefix attach directly to the noun stem.

3. Classes 17 and 18 have the complex allomorphs **kurí-** and **murí-** respectively, which are historically built on the copula **-ri** ‘be’ and which occur before augment-less forms (Meeussen 1959: 31, 163).

are productively used to form locative nouns. Class 17 indicates ‘upon’ or marks a specific location (11). Class 18 refers to a location ‘inside’, but other meanings like metaphorical extensions to time are frequent (12). Class 19 refers to more general locations. With proper names of places the choice for one or the other locative nominal prefix tends to be lexicalized (13).

(11) **Frida na Carine bavuye ku kazi.**

(*Ikirezi*, Drama, 1990s)

Frida	na	Carine	ba-Ø-vu-ye	ku	ka-zi
Frida	and	Carine	SP ₂ -PRS-come.from-PFV	17	12-work

‘Frida and Carine have come from work.’

(12) **Ináama izooza irabá rimwé muu ndwi.**

(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)

i-N-náama	i-zo-əz-a	i-ra-Ø-bá-a	rimwé
AUG ₉ -NP ₉ -meeting	SP ₉ -FUT-COME-IPFV	SP ₉ -DJ-PRS-BE-IPFV	once

mu **N-dwi**

NP₁₈ NP₉-week

‘The meeting will take place once (in) a week.’

(13) **Ashuungurukana ibarabara rivá i Muramvya.**

(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)

a-Ø-shuunguruk-an-a	i-Ø-barabara	ri-vu-^{Ha}a
SP ₁ -PRS-go.down-ASSOC-IPFV	AUG-5-road	SP ₅ -come.from-REL-IPFV

i **Muraamvya**

19 Muraamvya

‘He came down the road that comes from Muramvya.’

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the productive locative nominal prefixes in written and oral Kirundi. It is based on a sample of 502 written examples (i.e. using a sample rate of 1 out of 27 including 1.5% noise) and 481 oral examples (i.e. using a sample rate of 1 out of 16 including 3.8% noise).

The high frequency of class 18 is partly due to its extended uses. Next to the temporal use, illustrated in (12), it can also refer to materials used to fabricate things, as seen in (14). More importantly it is the only locative prefix which can combine with infinitives to express purpose (15) and manner (16), amongst other things (cf. also Meeussen 1959: 164).

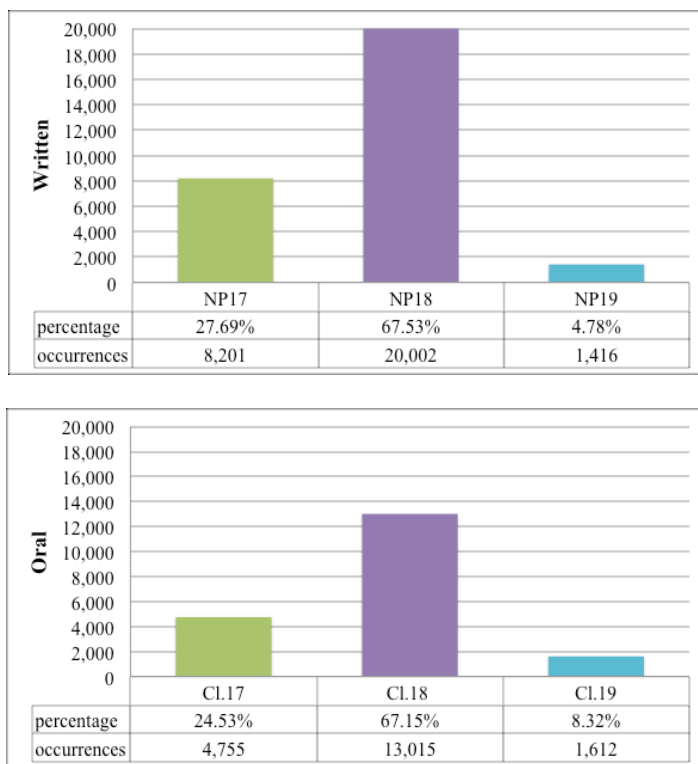


Figure 4. Distribution of productive locative nominal prefixes per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

(14) **Ibiyéeri na Amusitéeri ntibabikora mu masaká?**

(*Conversation_5_12_2015*, Society, 2010s)

i-bi-yéeri na amusitéeri nti-ba-bi-kór-a mu ma-saká
 AUG-8-beer and Amstel NEG-SP₂-OP₈-produce-IPFV 18 6-sorghum
 ‘(Primus) beer and Amstel aren’t they made from sorghum?’

(15) **Mu kuvuura iyo ngwáara, umugwáayi bamuha amáazi y’úrwiíri akanywá.**

(*IragiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

mu ku-vuur-a i-i-o N-gwáara u-mu-gwáayi
 18 15-cure-INF AUG-PP₉-DEM_b 9-disease AUG-1-sick.person
ba-Ø-mu-há-a a-ma-æzi a-a u-ru-íri
 SP₂-PRS-OP₁-give-IPFV AUG-6-water PP₆-CON AUG-11-couch.grass
a-ka-nyó-a

SP₁-SUBSEC-drink-IPFV

‘To cure this disease, the sick person is given couch grass water and drinks it.’

- (16) **Ubu reeró abakényezi basigaye arí abahiínga mu kubariira.**
(*GLI462*, Politics, 1990s)

ubu reeró a-ba-kényezi ba-Ø-sígar-ye a-ri
now today AUG-2-woman SP₂-PRS-BECOME-PFV SP₁-be
a-ba-híínga mu ku-bariir-a
AUG-2-expert 18 15-sew-INF
‘Women have now become experts in sewing.’

Class 16 is not used for the productive derivation of locative nouns. It is used as the nominal prefix of the locative noun ‘place’ (17) and with a set of lexicalized expressions denoting place, as seen in (18) and (19) (cf. also Grégoire 1975: 72-84).

- (17) **Ahaantu heénshi, amaázi ageenda agábanuka.**
(*Imbonesha116*, Magazines, 2010s)

a-ha-ntu ha-iínshi a-ma-azi a-Ø-geend-a
AUG-16-place NP₁₆-many AUG-6-water SP₆-PRS-go-IPFV
a-Ø-gabanuk-a
SP₆-PRS-diminish-IPFV
‘In many places, the water is progressively diminishing.’

- (18) **Ubu iri haruguru y’ibarabara rijá ku Mushaásha.**
(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)

ubu i-ri ha-ru-guru i-a i-Ø-barabara
now SP₉-be 16-11-upstream/north PP₉-CON AUG-5-road
ri-gi-^Ha ku Mushaásha
SP₅-go-REL.IPFV 17 Mushasha
‘Now, it is to the north of the road that leads to Mushasha.’

- (19) **Baáciye bákoranira ku kibugá c’úmupíra kirí haambavu y’úurúzi Ntahaangwá.**

(*Bulnfo90312Imigenzo*, News, 2000s)

ba-á-ci-ye ba-kóranir-a ku ki-bugá ki-a
SP₂-REM.PST-DO.THEN-PFV SP₂-rally-IPFV 17 7-field PP₇-CON
u-mu-píra ki-^Hri ha-N-bavu i-a u-ru-zi Ntahaangwá
AUG-3-ball SP₇-REL.be 16-9-side PP₉-CON AUG-11-river Ntahaangwá
‘They then rallied on the football field that is situated alongside the river Ntahaangwa.’

With productively derived locative nouns attributive agreement always goes with the inherent (non-locative) class rather than with the locative class (20).

- (20) **Baáciye ku musózi wa Bukeére bíitwaaje amahiri n’ámacumú.**
(*J_P_RPA_26_10_2014*, News, 2010s)

ba-á-ci-ye ku mu-sózi u-a Bukeére
SP₂-REM.PST-pass-PFV 17 3-hill PP₃-CON Bukeére
ba-i-twáar-ye a-ma-hiri na a-ma-cumú
SP₂-REFL-carry-PFV AUG-6-cudgel and AUG-6-spear
‘They went to Bukeére hill taking cudgels and spears.’

With lexicalized expressions denoting place two patterns are attested. The locative noun **ahaantu** induces agreement in class 16 (17). Other lexicalized locative expressions do not prompt agreement in the locative class nor in the inherent non-locative class, but rather in class 9, as seen in (18) and (19).⁷

Predicatively used modifiers referring to a locative noun always agree in class 16.

(21) **i Bururi ni heezá.**

(*Agahogo*, Songs, 1990s)

i Bururi ni ha-iizá

19 Bururi COP NP₁₆-beautiful

‘It is beautiful in Bururi.’

Within the verb both (subject and object) prefixes and enclitics can be used to refer to a locative noun. Whereas the verbal prefixes are restricted to class 16, the locative enclitics make use of all 4 locative classes. The ensuing agreement patterns are discussed in Section 3.1.

The absence of alternative agreement within the locative noun phrase, either locative or with the noun’s inherent class, and the use of a single locative subject prefix suggest that locative noun prefixes have become prepositions in Kirundi, just as in the Nguni S40 and Sotho-Tswana S30 groups (see, among others, Marten 2010; Zeller forthcoming). However, in line with the analysis of Kinyarwanda JD61 locatives by Zeller and Ngoboka (forthcoming), we do consider Kirundi locatives to be nominal categories (see also footnote 2). In languages with prepositional locatives, pre-verbal locatives are typically analysed as adjuncts and the invariant locative subject prefix as an expletive (Zeller 2013; Zeller forthcoming; Zeller and Ngoboka forthcoming). However, an adjunct-analysis is not possible if the pre-verbal locative functions as a thematic subject, as is the case in the elicited examples in (22) and (23), where the locative noun phrases **mu mwóonga** ‘in the valley’ and **mu cuúmba** ‘in my room’, respectively, are selected by the predicate and the class 16 locative subject prefix thus fulfils a referential function (see also Section 4.2.2).

(22) **Mu mwóonga harahéze.**

(*elicited*, based on example (40) in Zeller and Ngoboka (forthcoming))

mu mu-óonga ha-Ø-ra-hér-ye

18 3-valley SP₁₆-PRS-DJ-end-PFV

‘(The area) in the valley is finished.’

(23) **Mu cuúmba haraáneezeera.**

(*elicited*, based on example (47) in Zeller (forthcoming))

mu ki-uúmba ha-Ø-ra-N-néezeer-a

18 7-room SP₁₆-PRS-DJ-OP_{1SG}-please-IPFV

‘The inside of my room pleases me.’

Figure 5 shows the frequencies of each of the locative enclitics when used for formal locative reference. The high frequency of class 18 is directly linked to the predominance of class 18 locative nouns (cf. Figure 4).

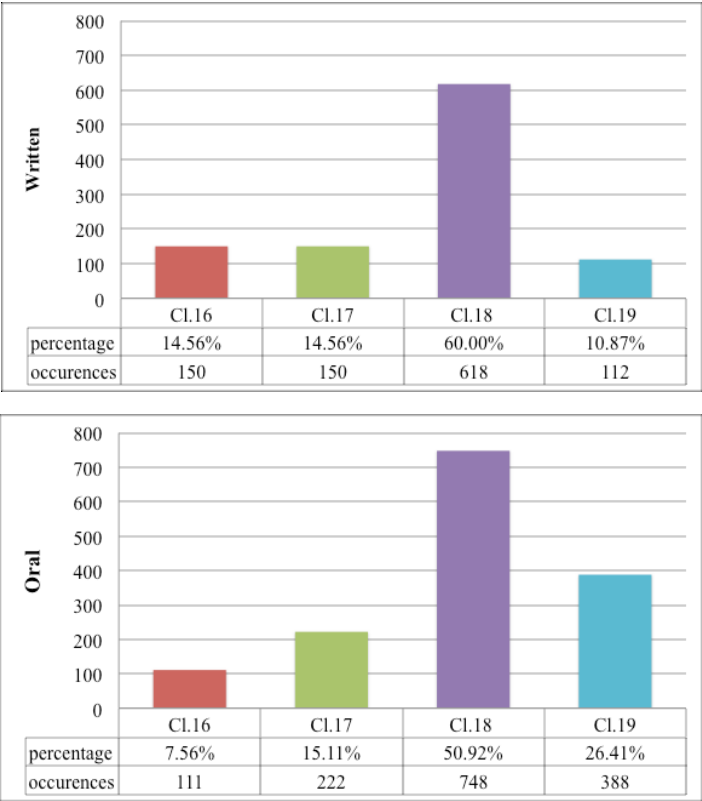


Figure 5. Distribution of locative enclitics used for formal locative reference per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

As has been pointed out by Marlo (2015), the co-occurrence of a full series of object prefixes and a series of locative enclitics invites a more fine-grained typology of object markers than the one proposed by Beaudoin-Lietz *et al.* (2004). Next to canonical type 1 languages, which only have object prefixes, there are languages which have object prefixes for non-locative classes, but enclitics for locative classes. Hema is a case in point (Marlo 2015).

- (24) Hema JE121 (Mugisa 2011: 13-14, as cited in Marlo 2015: 26)
o-mu-seija a-ka-gu-mu-mu-heer-er-a-yo
AUG-1-man SP₁-PST-OP₃-OP₁-OP₁-give-APPL-FV-LOC₂₃
‘The man gave it to him for her there.’

Kirundi belongs to yet another subtype having both locative object prefixes and locative enclitics, the locative prefixes being restricted to class 16. An example of a language with the exact same pattern is Manyika (S13) (Marlo 2015).

- (25) Manyika S13 (Bax & Diercks 2012: 200, as cited in Marlo 2015: 27)

a-bv-a-po (pa-Pomona)
 SP₁-leave-FV-LOC₁₆ (16-Pomona)
 ‘He left there (Pomona).’
a-pa-bv-a pa-Pomona
 1-16-leave-FV 16-Pomona
 ‘He left Pomona.’

The functional overlap between object prefix and enclitic, illustrated in (26) and (27) for Kirundi, is remarkable.

- (26) **Ahávuuye, arabaandaanya abona abaándi bavuukana babiri.**

(*Kw’Isoko*, Religion, 2010s)

a-ha-vu-ye **a-Ø-ra-baandaany-a** **a-bón-a** **a-ba-ndi**
 SP₁-OP₁₆-leave-PFV SP₁-PRS-DJ-continue-IPFV SP₁-see-IPFV AUG-PP₂-other
ba-vúuk-an-^{Ha} **ba-biri**
 SP₂-be.born-ASSOC-REL-IPFV NP₂-two
 ‘After having left there, he continued and saw two other brothers.’

- (27) **Atátubwiíye jeewé siimvahó.**

(*Murika_15_10_14revu*, Theater, 2010s)

a-ta-tu-bwíir-ye **jeewé** **si-N-vu-a-hó**
 SP₁-NEG-OP_{1PL}-inform-PFV me NEG-SP_{1SG}-leave-IPFV-LOC₁₆
 ‘If he does not inform us, me, I will not leave there.’

Locative enclitics are far more frequently used for endophoric reference than the locative object prefix in Kirundi, as can be gathered from Figure 6. It is based on a distinct corpus sample generated through the search string ***ho/*ko/*mwo/*yo/*ha*a/*ha*e** to target simultaneously locative object prefixes and enclitics. This query resulted in a total of 429 randomly selected attestations in the written sub-corpus (i.e. using a sample rate of 1 out of 11 including nearly 16% noise) and 430 in the oral sub-corpus (i.e. using a sample rate of 1 out of 4 including a bit more than 11% noise).

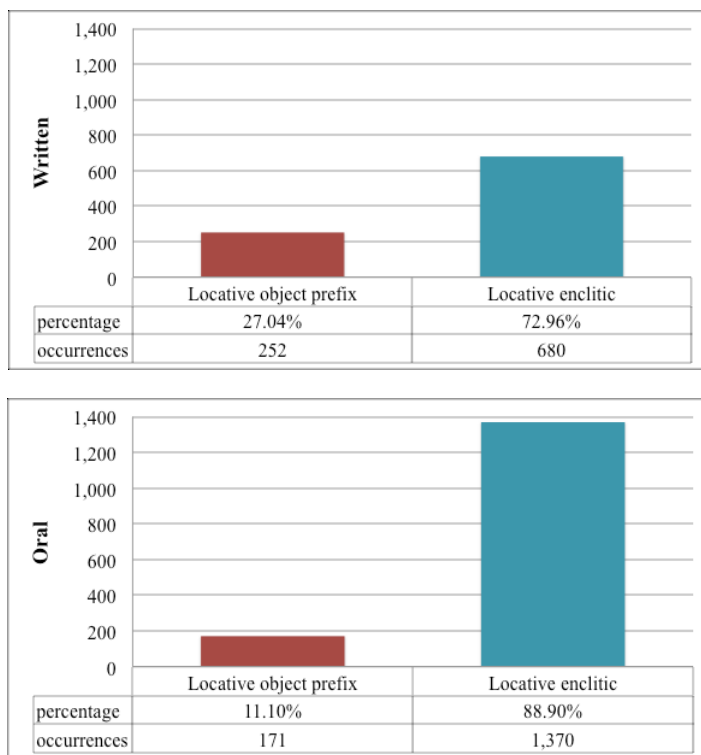


Figure 6. Distribution of locative enclitics versus locative object prefixes per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

In both absolute and relative numbers, endophorically used locative enclitics are even significantly more frequent in speech than in written language, as shown in Figure 6. It is our hypothesis that the locative enclitics are gradually replacing the locative object prefixes, i.e. suggesting an evolution towards languages of the Hema type. However, the locative object prefix is (still) used to the exclusion of locative enclitics when referring to a location with the semantic role of theme / patient rather than goal or source, as seen in (28).

(28) **Kugirá ngo wiikiingire umukoshi, wacá uhávuma.**

(*IrangiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

- a. **kugirá ngo u-i-kiing-ir-e u-mu-koshi**
 so.as.to QUOT SP_{2SG}-REFL-protect-APPL-SUBJ AUG-3-instigation
u-á-ci-a u-ha-vum-a
 SP_{2SG}-REM.PST-DO.THEN-IPFV SP_{2SG}-OP₁₆-curse-IPF
 ‘To protect yourself against the instigation, you cursed it [the place].’⁴

4. In the past, children were often sent out to deliver messages. They then had to wake up very early and were not even given the time to go to the toilet. As a result they sometimes had to relieve themselves on the road. Passers-by would then cover up the faeces with stones and plants. Such a place eventually became a source of superstitions and some people would curse it to protect themselves.

b. ***Kugirá ngo wiikíingire umukoshi, wacá uvumahó.**

‘intended: To protect yourself against the instigation, you cursed it [the place].’

Interestingly, the class 16 locative subject prefix is also used to the exclusion of the locative enclitic when referring to a subject with the semantic role of experiencer / patient (22) or agent, for that matter (23). The utterances in (29) and (30) with a class 18 locative enclitic added to the verb are considered unacceptable.

(29) ***Mu mwóonga harahézemwó.**

‘Intended: (The area) in the valley is finished.’

(30) ***Mu cuúmba haraáneezeeramwó.**

‘Intended: The inside of my room pleases me.’

The utterance in (29) can be rendered acceptable by adding a post-verbal thematic subject, like ‘water’ in (31), thereby changing the semantic role of the pre-verbal locative into location. As pointed out in the discussion of the utterances in (49), (52) and (53), and in (55), locative enclitics are optional when cross-referencing pre-verbal locative subjects with the semantic role of location and source, respectively.

(31) **Mu mwóonga harahézemwó amáazi**

mu	mu-óonga	ha-Ø-ra-hér-ye-mwó	a-ma-əzi
18	3-valley	SP ₁₆ -PRS-DJ-end-PFV-LOC ₁₈	AUG-6-water

‘In the valley has finished the water.’

As discussed more elaborately in Section 4.2.2, pre-verbal locations can be void of locative morphology in which case the verb agrees with the ‘inner noun’ and the locative enclitic, now obligatory, serves to secure the locative semantics.

In Section 3.1, we look at locative enclitics referring to locative noun phrases. Section 3.2 is dedicated to the use of locative enclitics in relative clauses referring to a locative antecedent.

3.1. Locative enclitics referring to locative noun phrases

As was mentioned before, locative nouns are regularly formed by addition of a locative nominal prefix of class 17, 18 or 19. Locative enclitics of classes 16 and 19 can be used to refer to any locative noun. Locative enclitics of classes 17 and 18, on the other hand, always formally agree with the locative noun. The attested agreement patterns and their frequencies are given in Figure 7. The pattern whereby a class 18 locative enclitic refers to a class 18 locative noun is the most frequent by far.

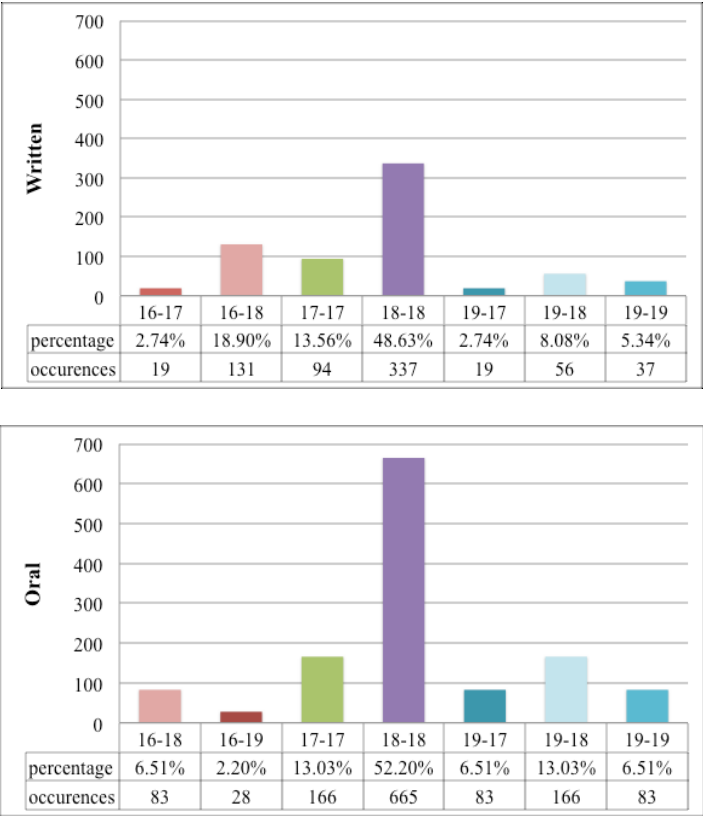


Figure 7. Agreement patterns of locative enclitics used for formal locative reference per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

Table 1 gives an overview of the agreement patterns:

locative enclitic	locative noun
class 18 -mwó	class 18 mu-
class 17 -kó	class 17 ku-
class 16 -hó	class 17 ku- , class 18 mu- , class 19 i-
class 19 -yó	class 17 ku- , class 18 mu- , class 19 i-

Table 1. Overview of agreement patterns

Meeussen (1959) already mentions differential agreement patterns. His Kirundi grammar, however, only illustrates the ability of the class 16 locative enclitic to refer to whichever locative class. Corpus data, also older data, show that class 19 has the same capacity. Figure 8 shows the distribution of the agreement patterns as represented in the corpus texts from the 1920s-1950s, i.e., the period before Meeussen wrote his Kirundi grammar. This specific corpus section was queried in

exactly the same way as we did for the most recent decades (cf. Section 1). Recall, however, that there is no oral material for this period in the BantUGent Kirundi corpus. There is moreover no data at all for the 1930s. 476 locative enclitics were identified in the (written) texts of the 1920s, 1940s and 1950s, which amount to a total of 129,840 tokens representing 35,328 different types. Only 59 of them refer to a true locative noun phrase of class 16, 17, 18 or 19. As shown in Figure 8, in more than a quarter of the cases, the class 19 enclitic refers to locative noun phrases introduced by either a locative prefix of class 17 (6.8%) or one of class 18 (20.3%), which is considerably more than in the present-day written language sample.

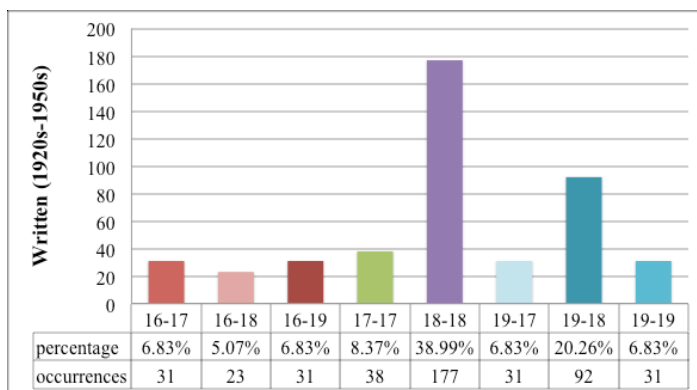


Figure 8. Agreement patterns of locative enclitics used for formal locative reference per million words in written Kirundi (1920s-1950s)

We now give examples of the agreement patterns of all four locative enclitics. The class 18 locative enclitic **-mwó** can only refer to a locative noun in class 18. An example of this one-to-one correspondence is given in (9). The class 17 locative enclitic **-kó** also shows strict formal agreement. An example is given in (32).

(32) **Kurí fagitĩire ntibabishirakó.**

(*Bafashe kumenya_2014*, Education, 2010s)

Kuri Ø-fagitĩire nti-ba-bi-shír-a-kó

17 9-invoice NEG-SP₂-OP₈-put-IPFV-LOC₁₇

‘On the invoice, they do not put it there.’

The class 19 locative enclitic can refer to a class 19 locative noun (33), but can also refer to class 18 (34) and class 17 locative nouns (35).

(33) **I Bujumbura, nagĩye atá kiintu nsaangayó.**

(*Conversation_3_4_2016*, Society, 2010s)

i Bujumbura n-á-gi-ye ata ki-ntu N-sáang-a-yó

19 Bujumbura SP_{1sg}-REM.PST-go-PFV NEG 7-thing SP_{1sg}-meet-IPFV-LOC₁₉

‘To Bujumbura, I went without meeting anything there.’

- (34) **Iyó uwaágirizwa icáaha yarí asanzwe mw’iibohero, aca agumayó gushika urwéego rw’úbutuúngane [...].**

(*Agatabu*, Law, 2000s)

Iyó u-u-agiriz-u-a i-ki-áaha a-á-ri
 when AUG-PP₁-accuse-PASS-IPFV AUG-7-eitor SP₁-REM.PST-be
a-sáang-u-ye mu i-Ø-bóhero a-ci-a a-gum-a-yó
 SP₁-find-PASS-PFV 18 AUG-5-prison SP₁-pass-IPFV SP₁-remain-IPFV-LOC₁₉
ku-shik-a u-ru-éego ru-a u-bu-tuúngane
 15-arrive-INF AUG-11-institution PP₁₁-CON AUG-14-justice
 ‘When the one who is accused was in prison, he remained there until the judicial institution [...].’

- (35) **Naagiye kw’iishuúre, ndavayó, ndagaruka, ndajá mu gikoóni**
 (*DialogueENYM2015*, Society, 2010s)

N-a-gi-ye ku i-Ø-shuúre N-ra-vu-a-yó
 SP_{1SG}-N.PST-go-PFV 17 AUG-5-school SP_{1SG}-DJ-come.from-IPFV-LOC₁₉
N-ra-garuk-a N-ra-gi-a mu ki-koóni
 SP_{1SG}-DJ-return-IPFV SP_{1SG}-DJ-go-IPFV 18 7-kitchen
 ‘I have gone to the school, I have come from there, I have returned and I have gone in the kitchen.’

The class 16 locative enclitic does not show formal agreement, except when referring to some lexicalized locative expressions, but it can refer to a locative noun in class 17, as in (36), 18, as in (37), and 19, as in (38).

- (36) **Uwugóomba uwó ajá kuramutsa, apfá guhágarara kw’iibarabara, umudugá ukamuhitanahó.**

u-u-Ø-goomb-a u-u-o a-gi-a ku-ramuts-a
 AUG-PP₁-PRS-want-IPFV AUG-PP₁-PRCS SP₁-go-IPFV 15-visit-INF
a-Ø-pfu-a ku-hágarar-a ku i-Ø-barabara
 SP₁-PRS-DO.ANYWAY-IPFV 15-stand.up-INF 17 AUG-5-route
u-mu-dugá u-ka-mu-hítan-a-hó
 AUG-3-car SP₃-SUBSEC-OP₁-take.up.in.passing-IPFV-LOC₁₆
 ‘The one who wants to visit someone is standing on the road and a car then hits him there.’
 (*Igisabo c’umwaka2*, Education, 1990s)

- (37) **Abahiínga mu vyeérekeye amaboómbe baákuyehó amaboómbe akomeyé yóóse muu nyubákwa y’úwiíkeekwa murí ubwo bwíicanyi.**
 (*VOA120721Prezida*, News, 2010s)

a-ba-híínga mu bi-éerek-ir-ye a-ma-boómbe
 AUG-2-experts 18 PP₈-concern-APPL-PFV AUG-6-bomb
ba-á-kur-ye-hó a-ma-boómbe a-komer-ye a-óóse mu
 SP₂-REM.PST-remove-PFV-LOC₁₆ AUG-6-bomb SP₆-be.well-PFV PP₆-all 18
N-ubákwa i-a u-u-ífkéek-u-a muri u-bu-o
 9-building PP₉-CON AUG-PP₁-presume-PASS-IPFV 18 AUG-PP₁₄-DEM_b

bu-úicanyi

14-killing

‘The bomb experts have removed bombs, all in good condition, from the building of the one who is presumed to have taken part in the killings.’

- (38) **Dushikira iwé, aratuzimaana, turaarahó buracá.**

(*BVBindariye*, Peace, 2000s)

tu-shik-ir-a **i-wé** **a-ra-tu-zimaan-a**

SP_{1PL}-arrive-APPL-IPFV PP₁₉-his SP₁-DJ-OP_{1PL}-receive.at.table-IPFV

tu-ráar-a-hó **bu-ra-cí-a**

SP_{1PL}-spend.night-IPFV-LOC₁₆ SP₁₄-DJ-dawn-IPFV

‘We arrived at his homestead, he received us at his table, and we spent the night there until the following day.’

3.2. Locative enclitics referring to locative antecedents

Locative enclitics can be attached to the verb of a relative clause to refer to a locative antecedent. The same agreement patterns as in Table 1 occur. Locative enclitics of class 17 and 18 show strict formal agreement, as shown in (39) for class 17. Class 16 and 19 locative enclitics can be used to refer to a locative antecedent in any class. In (40) the class 19 locative enclitic refers to a class 18 antecedent.

- (39) **Umwaámikazi wéése yagáandaarira ku kiríimba abakó.**

(*IragiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

u-mu-aámikazi **u-éése** **a-á-gaandaar-ir-a** **ku ki-riimba**

AUG-1-queen PP₁-each SP₁-REM.PST-mourn-APPL-IPFV 17 7-court

a-ba-^Ha-kó

SP₁-live-REL-IPFV-LOC₁₇

‘Each queen mourned at the court where she lived.’

- (40) **[...] barí mu bihúgu tudafiseyó izo Ambassadors.**

(*Amakuru Bonesha*, News, 2010s)

ba-rí **mu** **bi-húgu** **tu-ta-fit-^Hye-yó** **i-zi-o**

SP₂-be 18 8-country SP_{1PL}-NEG-have-REL.PFV-LOC₁₉ AUG-PP₁₀-DEM_b

Ambassadors

embassies

‘[...] who are in countries where we do not have those embassies.’

4. Semantic locative reference

Locative enclitics are also used to evoke a locative meaning not formally present in the (immediate) discourse. Two cases need to be distinguished. First, all locative enclitics can be used to imply a location not present in the immediate discourse but considered shared knowledge, as discussed in Section 4.1. Second, when a location is in subject or object position, it may be void of locative morphology.

The locative meaning is not lost; rather, it is obligatorily intercepted by a locative enclitic of class 17 or class 18 on the verb, a process we refer to as ‘locative demotion’. This type of compulsory semantic locative reference is discussed in Section 4.2. Section 4.3 looks at semantic locative reference in relative clauses. In terms of distribution, implied location (Section 4.1) seems to be more prominent in oral language than in written language. Of all enclitics assuming semantic locative reference, 35.6% refer to an implied location in speech, while only 25.2% in written language. In the latter corpus sample, locative demotion (Section 4.2) turns out to be much more important, i.e., 43.2% versus only 32.7% in the oral corpus sample. Semantic locative reference in relative clauses (Section 4.3) represents 31.6% of all cases in the written sample and 31.7% in the oral sample.

4.1. Implied location

All four locative enclitics can be used to suggest a location not present in the immediate discourse and assumed to be known by the hearers. As can be seen in Figure 9, the class 18 enclitic is most frequently used to refer to implicit locations. An example is given in (41).

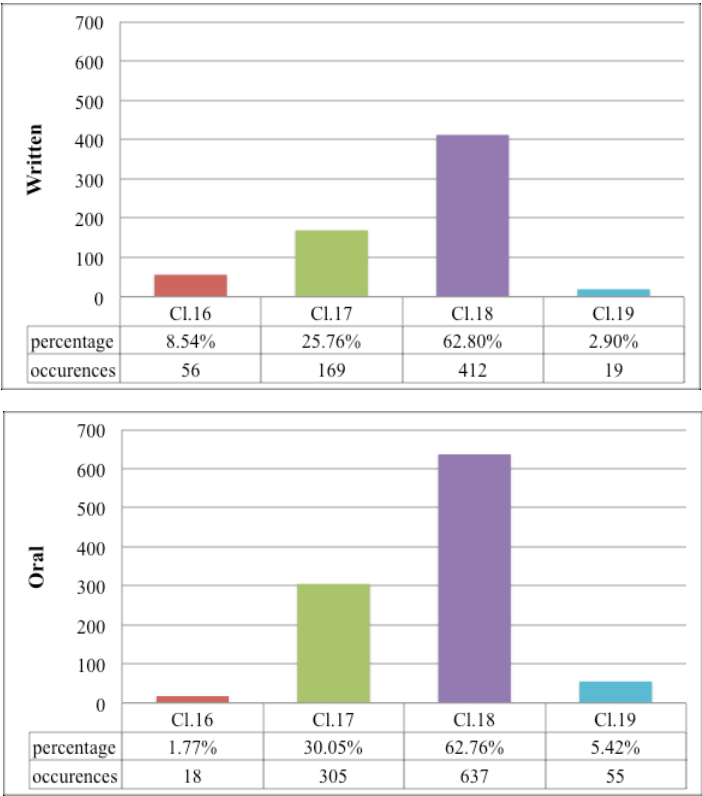


Figure 9. Distribution of locative enclitics used to refer to implicit locations per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

(41) **Utwo twoóya, udukuurayó gúte?**
(Akayabagu_claude_umusoma, Health, 2010s)
u-tu-o tu-oóya u-ø-tu-kúur-a-yó gúte
AUG-PP₁₃-DEM_b 13-body.hair SP_{2sg}-PRS-OP₁₃-remove-IPFV-LOC₁₉ how
‘Those hairs, how do you remove them there?’

4.2. Locative demotion

Locations in object or subject position may be void of locative morphology. The locative semantics are then obligatorily picked up by a locative enclitic in class 17 or 18 on the main verb. Class 16 and 19 locative enclitics cannot be used for this type of semantic locative reference, maybe because their locative meaning is too general. Locative enclitics securing locative semantics of objects and subjects are discussed in Section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, respectively.

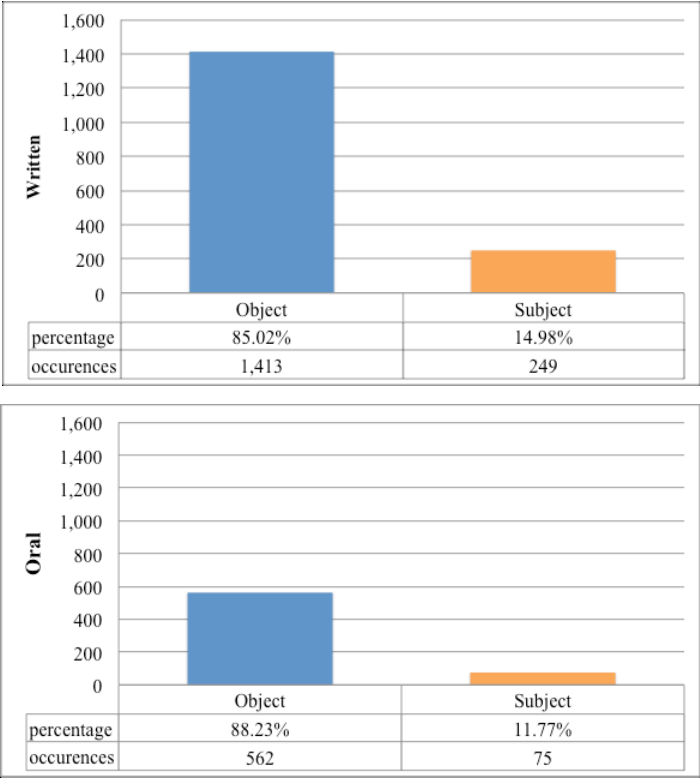


Figure 10. Locative demotion per million words in written and oral Kirundi (1990-2016)

As can be seen in Figure 10, locative enclitics more often secure locative semantics of objects missing locative morphology. We refer to this use as ‘locative demotion’, because it is our hypothesis that objects and subjects (as well as object and subject

prefixes) in Kirundi are formally preferably non-locative (cf. Hyman 1996 regarding ‘demotion’ linked to possessor promotion). Locative morphology tends to be ‘demoted’ to the enclitic slot. Figure 10 also shows that locative demotion, both for objects and subjects, happens much more frequently in written than in oral language.

4.2.1 Locative demotion with objects

Locative enclitics secure the locative semantics of objects in two types of constructions. In the first type, the object is represented by a non-locative object prefix, such as **-mú-** ‘him’ in (42), where the locative enclitic **-kó** adds a locative interpretation, i.e., ‘on him’.

- (42) **Arahezá akayímuciirakó amúheezagira.**

(*IragiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

a-Ø-ra-héz-a	a-ka-yi-mu-ciir-a-kó	a-Ø-mu-héezagir-a
SP ₁ -PRS-DJ-end-IPFV	SP ₁ -SUBS-OP ₉ -OP ₁ -spit-IPFV-LOC ₁₇	SP ₁ -PRS-OP ₁ -bless-IPFV

‘He ends by spitting it upon him and blessing him.’

The second construction involves a pre-posed (or post-posed) object, such as **ijíisho** ‘eye’ in (43), a co-referential object prefix – in the present case **-ri-** – and a locative enclitic – in the present case **-mwó** – securing the locative meaning, i.e., ‘in the eye’.

- (43) **Ijíisho na ryó arishiramwó ipiripiri ngo rihumé.**

(*Kw’isoko_2010*, Religion, 2010s)

i-ri-jíisho na	ryó	a-Ø-ri-shír-a-mwó	i-Ø-piripiri ngo
AUG-5-eye and	SBST ₅	SP ₁ -PRS-OP ₅ -put-IPFV-LOC ₁₈	AUG-5-pepper as.to

ri-hum-e
SP₅-become.blind-SBJV
‘As for the eye, he puts pepper in it for it to become blind.’

If the pre-posed locative noun phrase retains its locative morphology, it is referred to by either a locative enclitic (44) (for the agreement patterns see Section 3.1) or a locative object prefix of class 16 (45), or still by both (46).

- (44) **Mu gitabu c’ámategekó agéengá amatóora, turasangamwó kó [...].**

(*UEfinal*, Politics, 2010s)

mu	ki-tabu	ki-a	a-ma-tegekó	a-Ø-géeng-a
18	7-book	PP ₇ -CON	AUG-6-laws	SP ₆ -PRS-govern-REL-IPFV

a-ma-tóora	tu-ra-sáang-a-mwó	kó	[...]
AUG-6-election	SP _{1PL} -DJ-find-IPFV-LOC ₁₈	that	

‘In the book of laws which regulate the elections, we find there that [...].’

- (45) **Ku kazi, tuhamara amasahá meénshi.**

(*CU100607Amato*, Peace, 2010s)

ku	kazi	tu-Ø-ha-mar-a	a-ma-sahá	ma-iínshi
17	work	SP _{1PL} -PRS-OP ₁₆ -spend-IPFV	AUG-6-hours	6-many

‘At work, we spend [there] many hours.’

- (46) **Mu Buyéénzi, bahazigamwó amahóro n'úmutéekaano.**

(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

mu Buyéénzi ba-Ø-ha-zig-a-mwó a-ma-hóro
 18 Buyéénzi SP₂-PRS-OP₁₆-hope-IPFV-LOC₁₈ AUG-6-peace
na u-mu-téekaano
 and AUG-3-safety
 'In Buyenzi, they hope there for peace and safety.'

4.2.2 Locative demotion with subjects

There are three types of constructions in which locative noun phrases may occur in subject position: passive, existential and locative inversion constructions. In all three constructions the locative morphology may be omitted. If so, the locative semantics are secured by locative enclitics of class 17 or 18.

In the passive construction in (47), the locative morphology of the subject ('upon the agreement [has been put a signature]') is demoted to enclitic position.

- (47) **Ico ceegeranyo gishirwakó igikumú n'úwafáshe ivyo biintu bé n'úwabífatanywe.**

(*Agatabu*, Law, 2000s)

i-ki-o ki-ceegeranyo ki-shír-u-a-kó i-ki-kumú na
 AUG-PP₇-DEM_b 7-agreement SP₇-put-PASS-IPFV-LOC₁₇ AUG-7-signature and
u-u-á-fát-ye i-bi-o bi-ntu bé na
 AUG-PP₁-REM.PST-take-REL.PFV AUG-PP₈-DEM_b 8-thing also and
u-u-á-bi-fát-an-u-ye
 AUG-PP₁-REM.PST-OP₈-take-ASSOC-PASS-REL.PFV
 'This agreement has been signed by the one who has taken these things and by the one who was caught with them.'

In (48), the class 18 locative enclitic conveys the locative semantics of the subject ('from the west of the Central African Republic').

- (48) **Uburéengero bwaa Centrafrique bwaárahaganaguwemwó aba Islamu.**

(*VOA140320Uburengero*, News, 2010s)

u-bu-réengero bu-a Centrafrique
 AUG-14-west PP₁₄-CON Central.African.Republic
bu-á-ra-hanagur-u-ye-mwó a-ba-islam
 SP₁₄-REM.PST-DJ-wipe.out-PASS-PFV-LOC₁₈ AUG-2-muslim
 'The western part of the Central African Republic has been emptied of Muslims.'

The locative enclitics in (47) and (48) cannot be omitted. They obligatorily mark semantic agreement with the pre-verbal subject, which is to be considered here, from an information structural point of view, as a clause-internal topic. Prosodically, it cannot be separated from the following verb by a pause.

Note that it is possible for the pre-verbal constituent to retain its locative morphology. In that case, the subject prefix is in class 16 and the use of a locative

enclitic is optional, as in (49). In contrast to (47) and (48), the pre-verbal locative constituent can be separated from the following verb by a pause, but this is by no means necessary. The locative enclitic remains optional in both cases (see example (53) for a case where it is absent). Hence, from an informational structural point of view, the pre-verbal constituent is either a clause-internal topic prosodically tied to following verb or a left-dislocated, viz. clause-external, topic prosodically marked by a pause separating it from the verb. The locative constituent could also be right-dislocated to the very end of the sentence and be preceded or not by a pause. In the English translation, we mark clause-external locative constituents with a comma, in which case we translate the class 16 subject prefix on the verb as ‘there’. Whether the pre-verbal locative constituent is extra-clausal or not, **ha-**conveys locative reference. It is never semantically expletive in the presence of a locative noun phrase. Hence, examples as in (49), (52), (53) and (55), could be analysed as instances of what Marten and van der Wal (2014) consider to be ‘formal locative inversion’, even if they judge this construction to be absent from Kirundi. They consider it to be ‘default agreement inversion’, because the locative subject prefix is class 16 by default and it can also be used in the absence of a locative noun phrase (Jenneke van der Wal pers. comm.).

- (49) **Mu bitabu haandikwamwó caanécaané inkurú zeerekeyé ubuhiinga bw’ibiintu.**

(*Umutsama070203*, Ecology, 2000s)

mu bi-tabu ha-Ø-aandik-u-a-mwó caanécaané i-N-kurú
 18 8-books SP₁₆-PRS-WRITE-PASS-IPFV-LOC₁₈ especially AUG-10-news
zi-eéreker-ye u-bu-hiinga bu-a i-bi-ntu
 SP₁₀-concern-REL.PFV AUG-14-technology PP₁₄-CON AUG-8-thing
 ‘In the books(, there) is written mostly information about the technology of things.’

Locative enclitics also occur in existential constructions marked by **-ri** ‘be’. In line with Creissels (2013; 2015), we define existential constructions in relation to plain locational clauses. Existential constructions offer an alternative way of encoding the prototypical figure-ground relationship, i.e. the ground rather than the figure is the perspectival centre. In (50), ‘[on] the arms’ is the ground. It is void of locative marking but the locative semantics are secured by the class

- (50) **Amabóko abiri arikó ibigaanza, intoke n’finzáara.**

(*Inyigisho menyeshantara*, Education, 1990s)

a-ma-bóko a-biri a-ri-kó i-bi-gaanza i-N-toke
 AUG-6-arm PP₆-two SP₆-be-LOC₁₇ AUG-8-hand AUG-10-finger
na i-N-záara
 and AUG-10-nail
 ‘On the two arms are hands, fingers and nails’

The noun ‘milk’ is the ground in the existential construction in (51). Its locative semantics are carried by the class 18 locative enclitic.

(51) **Amatá arimwó karisiyóomu nyiínshi.**

(USCRI_N_Nutrition_Handout_9_18_19, Health, 2000s)

a-ma-tá a-ri-mwó karisiyóomu n-iínshi
 AUG-6-milk SP₆-be-LOC₁₈ calcium NP₉-many
 ‘In milk is a lot of calcium.’

Again it is possible for the subject of the existential construction to retain its locative morphology in which case the subject prefix is in class 16 and the use of a locative enclitic is optional. Examples with and without the locative enclitic are given in (52) and (53), respectively.

(52) **Mu búuki harimwó isúkaári.**

(Akayabagu_Maggi_Ubuki revu, Health, 2010s)

mu bu-úuki ha-ri-mwó i-Ø-súkaári
 18 14-honey SP₁₆-be-LOC₁₈ AUG-9-sugar
 ‘In honey(, there) is sugar’

(53) **Kw’isi hari ibiintu bisiga ubwéenge.**

(CUI00903, Peace, 2010s)

ku isí ha-ri i-bi-ntu bi-sig-^{Ha} u-bu-éenge
 17 earth SP₁₆-be AUG-8-thing SP₈-leave-REL.IPFV AUG-14-intelligence
 ‘On earth(, there) are incomprehensible things.’

The existential constructions in (50) and (51) could be considered special cases of ‘semantic locative inversion’ (Marten and van der Wal 2014).⁵ Non-existential cases of semantic locative inversion show the same demotion of the locative morphology to the enclitic slot, as seen in (54). An example of formal locative inversion with a class 16 subject prefix and an optional locative enclitic is given in (55).

(54) **Komiíne ya Rúhororo ibamwó abaantu bagizwé n’ámóókó atatu.**

(WTF_Kahise, Health, 2010s)

Ø-komiíne i-a Rúhororo i-ba-a-mwó a-ba-ntu
 9-municipality PP₉-CON Rúhororo SP₉-live-IPFV-LOC₁₈ AUG-2-person
ba-gir-u-^{He}ye na a-ma-óoko a-tatu
 SP₂-do-PASS-REL.PFV and AUG-6-ethnic.group PP₆-three
 ‘In the municipality of Ruhororo live people of three ethnic groups.’

(55) **Mu máaso haraazamwó ibiráshi.**

(Inyigisho menyeshantara, Education, 1990s)

mu ma-əso ha-Ø-ra-əz-a-mwó i-bi-ráshi
 18 6-eye SP₁₆-PRS-DJ-COME-IPFV-LOC₁₈ AUG-8-dirt
 ‘From within the eyes(, there) comes dirt’

5. In the case of semantic locative inversion the inverted locative subject is locative in meaning but is not formally marked as such. The utterances in (52) and (53) involve ‘formal locative inversion’; the inverted subjects include formal locative marking.

4.3. Semantic locative reference in relative clauses

The class 17 and 18 locative enclitics can also be used for semantic locative reference in relative clauses. They refer to a non-locative antecedent adding a locative reading to it in the relative clause. The class 18 locative enclitic in (56) refers to ‘the parcel’ adding a locative sense to it within the relative clause, i.e., ‘*in* the parcel’.

- (56) **Umwáana wa nyené urupaángu umwiígiisha abamwó atarika urutoki, abaza atí [...].**

(*Duharanire*, Peace, 2000s)

u-mu-áana u-a nyené u-ru-paángu u-mu-ígiisha

AUG-1-child PP₁-CON owner AUG-11-parcel AUG-1-teacher

a-ba-^Ha-mwó a-Ø-tárik-a u-ru-toki a-Ø-baz-a

SP₁-be-REL.IPFV-LOC₁₈ SP₁-PRS-put.up-IPFV AUG-11-finger SP₁-PRS-ask-IPFV

a-ti

SP₁-QUOT

‘The child of the owner of the parcel where the teacher lives puts up his finger asking [...].’

Similarly, the class 17 locative enclitic in (57) gives a locative sense to the antecedent ‘the decree, i.e., ‘*on* the decree’.

- (57) **Vyaari vyiizá kó ibwiirizwa ryóóse umukurú w’íghúgu ashizekó umukóno ricá [...]**

(*CUI00608Vyu*, Peace, 2010s)

bi-a-ri bi-iizá ko i-Ø-bwiirizwa ri-óóse u-mu-kuru u-a

SP₈-N.PST-be NP₈-good that AUG-5-decree PP₅-all AUG-1-president PP₁-CON

i-ki-húgu a-shír-^Hye-kó u-mu-kóno

AUG-7-country SP₁-put-REL.PFV-LOC₁₇ AUG-3-arm

‘It is good that each decree on which the president of the country puts his signature [...].’

5. Non-locative uses

Next to being used for formal and semantic locative reference, locative enclitics have a number of extra-locative uses. Three types can be distinguished. The uses of class 17 and 18 locative enclitics in grammaticalized progressive and emphatic negative constructions, respectively, are discussed in Section 5.1. Section 5.2 concerns some lexicalized uses of locative enclitics. The partitive/separative use of the class 18 locative enclitic is looked at in Section 5.3. The first two extra-locative uses are well represented in our corpus samples, especially in the oral one. The last use, however, is very rare. Although it was found in the Kirundi corpus, it was not represented in our corpus samples.

5.1. Grammaticalized uses

The most common grammaticalized use of a locative enclitic is as part of a construction marking progressivity. The progressive construction involves two inflected verb forms, the first of which is the auxiliary **-rikó** that is marked for tense/aspect. Historically, this auxiliary is composed of the defective verb **-ri** ‘be’ and the class 17 locative enclitic. The inflected main verb can be marked for ‘disjoint’, as in (58), to signal that the event to which the predicate refers is the most salient pragmatic information. In the present case, this is ‘the swimming’. However, the main verb following **-rikó** could also appear without the disjoint marker when the information following the verb is the most salient, viz. narrowly focused. Such a zero-marked verb form is commonly known as ‘conjoint’ (cf. Nshemezimana and Bostoen 2017 for an in-depth study of the conjoint/disjoint alternation in Kirundi). This progressive auxiliary construction is particularly frequent in spoken discourse contributing to the significantly higher frequency in the oral sample of both the class 17 enclitic (Figure 1) and extra-locative uses (Figure 2) as compared to the written sample. While it represents only 10% of all locative enclitic attestations in our written sample, it nearly stands for a quarter of all attestations (i.e., 22.4%) in our oral sample.

(58) **Rwaagasore yaríko aróoga mu rugomero rw’ábáana.**

(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)

Rwaagasore	a-á-ri-kó		a-ra-oóg-a
Rwaagasore	SP ₁ -REM.PST-be.REL-LOC ₁₇		SP ₁ -DJ-SWIM-IPFV
mu	ru-gomero	ru-a	a-ba-áana
18	11-swimming.pool	PP ₁₁ -CON	AUG-2-child

‘Rwagasore was swimming in a swimming pool for child.’

Kirundi has a special construction to convey the absence of an entity. It consists of the negative copula **ntaa** followed by a noun phrase referring to the absent entity and optionally a form of the verb **-ri** ‘be’ with a locative enclitic. **ntaa** + noun phrase alone are often followed by a relative verb form then forming part of a cleft construction, as seen in (59) and (66).

(59) **Mbe ntaa rwaaruka rwaárimwó, murí abo baákiza abaándi?**

(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

Mbe	ntaa	ru-aaruka	ru-á-ri-mwó		murí	a-ba-o
INTERR	NEG	11-youngster	SP ₁₁ -REM.PST-be-LOC ₁₈	18		AUG-PP ₂ -DEM _b
ba-á-kiz-a		a-ba-ndi				
SP ₂ -REM.PST-save-IPFV		AUG-PP ₂ -other				

‘Weren’t there any young people between the ones who saved the others?’

The construction with a class 18 locative enclitic has developed a negative emphatic reading, as seen in (60). The original meaning ‘there is not a person/thing inside’ has come to mean ‘it is not even a person / thing’.

- (60) **Aho reeró baába barikó baraampanuura ngo mpebé uwo mukoóbwa kukó nariheenze ntaa muuntu arimwó**
(CUI20418, Peace, 2010s)

a-ha-o reeró ba-á-ba-a ba-rikó

AUG-PP₁₆-DEM_b today SP₂-REM.PST-be-IPFV SP₂-be.PROG

ba-ra-N-hanuura ngo N-héb-e u-u-o

SP₂-DJ-OP_{1SG}-advise-IPFV as.to SP_{1SG}-abandon-SBJV AUG-PP₁-DEM_b

mu-koóbwa kukó n-á-ra-i-héend-ye ntaa

1-girl because SP₁-REM.PST-DJ-REFL-mistake-PFV NEG

mu-ntu a-ri-mwó

1-person SP₁-be-LOC₁₈

‘Today then, they were advising me to abandon that girl because I made a mistake, she is not even a person.’

5.2. Lexicalized use

We consider the combination of a verb and a locative enclitic lexicalized if the presence of the locative enclitic changes the meaning of the verb in an unpredictable way or delimits the original meaning in one way or another. Examples of verbs and their meanings with and without the lexicalized locative enclitic are given in Table 2.

-híta	‘pass, run away’	-hítamwó	‘choose’
-túma	‘send’	-tumakó	‘summon’
-cíibwa	‘be excommunicated, be cut off’	-cíibwamwó	‘have diarrhoea’
-íita	‘throw oneself’	-íitahó	‘see to, take care of’
-aama	‘bear fruit, be always, chase’	-aamahó	‘exist’
-ri	‘be’	-rihó	‘exist’
-súbira	‘return, come back, do again’	-súbiramwó	‘repeat’
-bónera	‘have possibility, look for, find at’	-bónerahó	‘take advantage of occasion’

Table 2. Lexicalized locative enclitics

The use of the verb **-híta** ‘pass’ with and without the lexicalized class 18 locative enclitic is illustrated in (61) and (62), respectively.

- (61) **Iruka! Bavuze kó bakwiíca. Hita!**

(Mushingantahe, Peace, 2000s)

iruk-a ba-Ø-vúg-ye kó ba-Ø-ku-íic-a hit-a

run-IMP SP₂-PRS-say-PFV that SP₂-PRS-OP_{2SG}-kill-IPFV pass-IMP

‘Run! They say that they are going to kill you! Pass!’

(62) **Abaándi na bó bahitamwó kubáana.**

(CU101118Ubu, Peace, 2010s)

a-ba-ndi na bó ba-Ø-hitamwó ku-ba-an-a
 AUG-PP₂-other and SBST₂ SP₂-PRS-choose.IPFV 15-live-ASSOC-INF
 ‘And the others choose to live together.’

The most common verb including a lexicalised locative enclitic is the existential **-rihó** ‘exist’ shown in (63). It is particularly pervasive in spoken discourse contributing to the significantly higher frequency in the oral sample of both the class 16 enclitic (Figure 1) and extra-locative uses (Figure 2) as compared to the written sample. While it represents only 8.4% of all locative enclitic attestations in the written sample, it stands for 20.9% in the oral sample. Together with progressive **-rikó** (22.4%), it constitutes nearly half of all oral locative enclitic attestations showing the pervasiveness of both non-locative constructions in speech.

(63) **Ní igití kaándi kiracáarihó.**

(IragiNdanga, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

ni i-ki-tí kandi ki-racáa-rihó
 COP AUG-7-tree and SP₇-PERS-exist
 ‘It is a tree and it still exists.’

The verb **-rihó** ‘exist’ most commonly occurs as a copula with a class 16 expletive subject prefix in a so-called ‘presentational cleft construction’ (cf. Lambrecht 2001: 507; Nshemezimana 2016: 257-295). Of all **-rihó** attestations in the written corpus sample, 70% are part of presentational clefts as the one illustrated in (64). In the oral corpus sample, they even represent 87.9% of all cases.

(64) **Harihó umugoré yatúriye inzu baábamwó n’úmugabo wíiwé n’áabáana.**

ha-rihó u-mu-goré a-á-túrir-^Hye i-N-zu
 SP₁₆-exist AUG-1-woman SP₁-REM.PST-burn-REL.PFV AUG-9-house
ba-á-ba-^Ha-mwó na u-mu-gabo u-íiwé na
 SP₂-REM.PST-live- REL.IPFV-LOC₁₈ and AUG-1-husband PP₁-her and
a-ba-ána
 AUG-2-child

‘There exists a woman who burned down the house in which her husband and children were living.’

(Kw’Isoko_2012_11, Religion, 2010s)

There is some ambiguity between presentational cleft constructions with the existential verb **-rihó** and existential constructions with an implied ground in which the figure happens to be modified by a relative clause. However, the latter construction prefers the use of a class 18 enclitic, as in (65), or a class 17 enclitic over the use of a class 16 enclitic (cf. Figure 8 in Section 3.1).

(65) **Haárimwó n’úmukényezi atabóna**

(Mushingantahe, Peace, 2000s)

ha-á-ri-mwó na u-mu-kényezi a-ta-bón-^Ha
 SP₁₆-REM.PST-be-LOC₁₈ and AUG-1-woman SP₁-NEG-see-REL.IPFV
 ‘There was also a woman inside who could not see.’

5.3. Partitive/Separative use

In combination with separative verbs the class 18 locative enclitic has developed a partitive reading. As this partitive use has not (yet) generalized to non-separative verbs, we refer to it as a partitive/separative use. In (66) the enclitic combines with the verb ‘remove’. It still evokes a locative sense of ‘within’ as a part (cf. ‘him’) is removed from *within* a whole (cf. ‘us’). The whole is expressed as a non-locative object prefix and the class 18 locative enclitic adds the locative component (cf. Section 4.2.1).

(66) **Ntaa muuntu yoomudúkuuramwó ngo ní ukó afisé inkoóho.**

(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

ntaa mu-ntu a-oo-mu-tu-kúur-^a-mwó
 NEG.COP 1-person SP₁-MOD-OP₁-OP_{1PL}-remove-REL.IPFV-LOC₁₈

ngo ni u-ku-ó a-fit-^{ye} i-N-koóho
 QUOT COP that SP₁-have-REL.PFV AUG-9-gun

‘There is no one who would take him away from us pretending he has a gun.’

The locative sense is less obvious when the enclitic combines with verbs referring to the division of entities into equal parts. The banana in (67) and the people in (68) are themes rather than sources. The locative enclitic then can be argued to express a partitive reading.

(67) **[...] umeze nk’úmuhwí mugabó muníniyá. [...] Ca uwucamwó kubiri.**

(*Akayabagu Sonia Imizuzu*, Health, 2010s)

u-mer-ye nka u-mu-hwí mugabó mu-níniyá
 SP₃-be-PFV like AUG-3-ripe.banana but NP₃-long

ci-a u-wu-ci-a-mwó kubiri
 DO.THEN-IMP SP_{2SG}-OP₃-cut-IPFV-LOC₁₈ twice

[...] it’s like a ripe but very long banana. [...] Cut it in two then.’

(68) **Reeta ahó kwiíhuutira kubatábaara, yiíhuutiye kubagaburamwó imirwi**
 (*IGIHE140404Ababuriye*, News, 2010s)

Ø-reeta ahó ku-ííhuut-ir-a ku-ba-tabaar-a
 9-government instead.of 15-hurry-APPL-INF 15-OBJ₂-go.help-INF

i-á-ííhuut-ir-ye ku-ba-gabur-a-mwó i-mi-rwi
 SP₉-REM.PST-hurry-APPL-PFV 15-OP₂-divide-INF-LOC₁₈ AUG-4-group

‘The government instead of hurrying to go help them, it has hurried to divide them into groups.’

Conclusions

The corpus-based study of Kirundi locative enclitics presented in this article has led to a detailed description and quantification of both their locative and non-locative uses, including a number of hitherto undescribed ones.

As for locative reference, it has been shown that locative enclitics may refer to locative nouns, i.e., nouns formally marked by a locative noun class prefix of

class 16, 17, 18 or 19, as well as to locations not formally marked in this way. We have called the first function ‘formal locative reference’, the second one ‘semantic locative reference’.

Regarding formal locative reference, it has been observed that class 18 is the most commonly used locative noun class in terms of both nominal prefixes and verbal enclitics. It has been demonstrated that the class 17 and 18 enclitics **-kó** and **-mwó** can only refer to locative nouns belonging to the same noun class, while the class 16 and 19 enclitics **-hó** and **-yó** can refer to any locative noun regardless of its noun class. The broad scope of the class 19 enclitic **-yó**, although well attested in the earliest and latest decades of the Kirundi text corpus, had gone unnoticed in earlier studies. Finally, non-subject locative nouns turn out to be much more frequently referred to by locative enclitics than by the class 16 object prefix **-há-**, the sole member of the paradigm of locative object prefixes. The latter is used to the exclusion of locative enclitics only when referring to a location with the semantic role of theme rather than goal or source. In all other cases, speakers have the choice between both types of non-subject markers and can even use both together on the same verb, but then opt much more often for enclitics. Given the rareness of locative themes, this may mean that the locative object prefix is on its way out in Kirundi for it to become a language which has object prefixes for non-locative classes and enclitics for locative classes.

Regarding semantic locative reference, it has been shown that locative enclitics can refer not only to a locative noun present in the discourse, but also to either an implied location or to a location that was previously mentioned but not grammatically marked as a location. In both cases, the use of a locative enclitic for reference is motivated on purely semantic grounds; hence our choice of the term ‘semantic locative reference’. Locative enclitics are actually more regularly relied on for semantic locative reference than for formal locative reference, both in written and oral language. When referring to an implied location, the class 18 and 17 enclitics **-mwó** and **-kó** – in this order of frequency – are most commonly employed, which is in line with the fact that they tend to refer to a more exact location than their equivalents of classes 16 and 19. When referring to a noun phrase that has the semantic role of location but whose head noun does not have a locative nominal prefix, the class 17 and 18 enclitics are even the only ones allowed. This specific usage, which largely fell between the cracks in previous Kirundi scholarship (except for Tuyubahe 2017 who did elicitate such constructions), seems to be linked with the language’s preference not to formally mark as locative noun phrases that simultaneously assume the semantic role of location and the syntactic role of either subject or object. Verbal locative enclitics then secure the locative semantics of such core arguments, while the latter trigger formal subject or object marking on the verb, i.e. in agreement with their basic noun class. Because locative morphology is ‘demoted’ to the enclitic slot in such a situation, we have opted to designate this specific function with the term ‘locative demotion’. This phenomenon turns out to occur significantly more with grammatically unmarked locations in object position than similar ones in subject position. Being properly identified for the first time in this article, this phenomenon of ‘locative demotion’ in Kirundi deserves more dedicated study in the future.

As for non-locative reference, we have distinguished between different grammaticalized and lexicalized uses of the locative enclitics and one very specific partitive/separative use. The latter function is actually very rare and had not been reported before. Such is the case for the negative emphatic reading, which the class 18 enclitic **-mwó** conveys together with the negative copula **ntaa** and the verb **-ri** ‘be’. The most common non-locative uses are those of class 17 **-kó** as a grammaticalized marker of progressivity and of class 16 **-hó** as a lexicalized existential verb, both in conjunction with **-ri** ‘be’. Especially in oral language, these two uses are very common to the extent that non-locative reference largely exceeds both formal and semantic locative reference in the functional load of locative enclitics.

Abbreviations

APPL	applicative
ASSOC	associative
AUG	augment
CON	connective
COP	copula
DJ	disjoint
FUT	future
H	floating high tone
LOC	locative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
NP	nominal prefix
N.PST	near past
NEG	negative
OP	object prefix
PASS	passive
PP	pronominal prefix
PERS	persistive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRCS	precessive
PRS	present
PST	past
QUOT	quotative
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM.PST	remote past
SP	subject prefix
SG	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SUBSEC	subsecutive
SBST	substitutive

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Résumé

Cet article présente, sur base d'un corpus, une description des fonctions locatives et non locatives des enclitiques locatifs du kirundi. Si, en kirundi, les préfixes verbaux locatifs se limitent à la classe 16, quatre enclitiques locatifs (classes 16, 17, 18 et 19) peuvent s'attacher aux verbes. On en distingue trois utilisations principales : la référence locative formelle, la référence locative sémantique et la référence non locative. La référence locative formelle concerne l'utilisation la plus basique – mais non la plus fréquente – des enclitiques locatifs, à savoir la référence à une forme locative. La référence locative sémantique renvoie à la capacité des enclitiques locatifs à évoquer un sémantisme locatif non présent formellement dans le discours. Les utilisations non locatives des enclitiques locatifs comprennent les utilisations grammaticalisées et lexicalisées ainsi qu'une rare utilisation partitive/séparative. Pour chaque utilisation, nous proposons une description détaillée et une quantification ; le cas échéant, nous étudions les chevauchements et les différences existant entre l'utilisation des enclitiques locatifs, d'une part, et celle des préfixes verbaux locatifs, d'autre part.