

THE EXPRESSION OF LOCATION IN KOM

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This article attempts to analyse locative expression in Kom, a Bantu language of the Western Grassfields, from a synchronic point of view. However, I also attempt to link locative forms in Kom with the locative class in Proto-Bantu.

I treat successively: locative prepositions, the word for "place", locative adverbs of place, locative pronouns, locative concords and, finally, locative interrogatives.

Cet article se propose d'analyser l'expression de la localisation en kom, langue bantoue des Grassfields de l'Ouest, ceci d'un point de vue synchronique. Cependant j'essaie aussi de faire le lien entre les formes locatives du kom et les classes locatives du proto-bantou.

Je traite successivement des prépositions locatives, du mot pour "endroit", des locutions adverbiales de lieu, des pronoms locatifs, des accords locatifs et, enfin, des interrogatifs de lieu.

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper analyzes from a synchronic point of view the expression of location in Kom. An attempt is made to relate Kom locative forms to the forms of Proto-Bantu noun classes 16, 17 and 18 because, according to Grégoire (1975), classes 16, 17 and 18 constitute the principal tool by which location is expressed in Bantu languages.

Kom is one of the Ring languages spoken in Menchum Division in the North West Province of Cameroon. Other Ring languages include Aghem, Babanki, Lamnso, Oku. The Ring languages form a sub-group within Western Grassfields Bantu.

This paper is divided into six sections: section 1.0 deals with the structure and meaning of locative prepositional expressions in relation to nouns of different classes. Section 2.0 shows that

there is no trace of the Proto-Bantu noun stem *júmà in Kom. 3.0 examines adverbial phrases that indicate general as opposed to specific location and relates them to Proto-Bantu forms. Section 4.0 studies the locative pronoun forms along with their subtle meanings and uses. Section 5.0 focuses on regular and locative concords, while the last section 6.0 treats locative questions and their appropriate answers with reference to their morphology and syntax.

1. LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Kom has both a simple preposition and a set of locative phrases which are used to indicate location.

1.1 THE LOCATIVE PREPOSITION $\bar{a}$:²

The simple preposition $\bar{a}$ occurs with a surface mid tone when in initial position (e.g. when it occurs in incomplete answers to questions such as "where is it?") and in some other contexts.³ It is used in a general locative sense and can express notions such as 'in', 'on', 'at', 'over' etc. in the construction: Loc Prep+N. Thus when $\bar{a}$ is placed before $\text{nd}\bar{o}$ 'house', the locative expression $\bar{a} \text{ nd}\bar{o}$ 'in (at) the house' results. The specific meaning of the preposition $\bar{a}$ depends on the verb with which it occurs. In this way it means 'from' in (1)a, and 'to' in (1)b.

- (1)a. $\text{y}\bar{o}\eta \text{ l}\bar{u} \bar{a} \text{ d}\bar{u}\acute{\alpha}\text{l}\acute{\alpha}$
Yong Pr1: come Prep Duala
 'Yong has come from Duala'
- b. $\text{w}\bar{u} \text{ nd}\bar{u} \bar{a} \text{ d}\bar{u}\acute{\alpha}\text{l}\acute{\alpha}$
he Pr1:go Prep Duala
 'he has gone to Duala'

This preposition undergoes certain phonological processes in different environments, and it also induces perturbations in the tonal pattern of the noun which immediately follows it. The segmental process which the preposition undergoes is shown in (2) below:

(2) NCl	Noun	Gloss	$\bar{a}$ + N
1.	($\bar{e}$) $\text{w}\bar{u}\text{l}$	'person'	$\bar{a} \text{ w}\bar{u}\text{l}$
2.	($\bar{e}$) $\text{y}\acute{e}\text{l}\bar{e}$	'persons'	$\bar{a} \text{ y}\acute{e}\text{l}$
3.	$\bar{e}\text{-w}\bar{u}\text{l}\bar{i}\bar{n}$	'body'	$\bar{e}\text{-w}\bar{u}\text{l}\bar{i}\bar{n}^\circ$
4.	$\bar{i}\text{-w}\bar{u}\text{l}\bar{i}\bar{n}$	'bodies'	$\bar{i}\text{-w}\bar{u}\text{l}\bar{i}\bar{n}^\circ$
5.	$\bar{i}\text{-s}\acute{o}\eta$	'tooth'	$\bar{i}\text{-s}\acute{o}\eta^\circ$

(2)	NCl	Noun	Gloss	$\bar{a}$ + N
6.		$\bar{a}$ -sòŋ	'teeth'	$\bar{a}$ -sòŋ°
6a.		(ə)-mē-lúŋ	'blood'	$\bar{a}$ mé-lùŋ°
7.		$\bar{a}$ -fó	'thing'	$\bar{a}$ -fō
8.		$\bar{a}$ -fwó	'things'	$\bar{a}$ -fwō
9.		(ə) ndō	'house'	$\bar{a}$ ndō
10.		(ə) ndō-sē	'houses'	$\bar{a}$ ndōsē
13.		(ə) tē-ŋgòm	'plantains'	$\bar{a}$ té-ŋgòm°
19.		(ə) fē-tám	'fruits'	$\bar{a}$ fé-tám°

In this table each noun class is represented by a noun which is given in its citation form on the left and its form with the simple locative preposition on the right. Note that for all classes without a vowel prefix a phonetic level $\underline{a}$ appears initially in citation form. This $\underline{a}$ is distinct from the $\underline{a}$ - prefix of class 3 and 8 in that it is absent when the noun is not utterance initial as in (3)a while in classes 3 and 8 the $\underline{a}$ remains in all contexts as in (3)b.

(3)a. túm wúl sē yōŋ
send cl1:person to Yong
 'Send one person to Yong'

b. túm $\bar{a}$ -fwó sē yōŋ
send cl.8-thing to Yong
 'send things to Yong'

According to the data in (2), the locative preposition (Loc Prep) is retained before consonants and deleted except for its tone, before vowel noun prefixes. The general segmental rule that can be postulated for $\underline{a}$ deletion would be of the following form:

(4) $a \rightarrow \emptyset / _ V$

Turning to the tonal changes which the Loc. Prep. causes on the following nouns, the changes for nouns that even have the same surface citation tones is complicated as is shown in the following data (cf. also (2)):

(5)

$\emptyset$ -wúl	'person'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ wúl
$\emptyset$ -wáín	'child'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ wáTn
$\emptyset$ -lúm	'husband'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ lūm
$\emptyset$ -bzí	'goat'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ bzī
$\emptyset$ -bú	'dog'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ bū
$\emptyset$ -bés	'cat'	$\rightarrow$	$\bar{a}$ bés

All the citation forms on the left have high tone but in the locative phrase they fall into different classes. The differences between the realisation of all these high tone nouns in a locative phrase is no doubt due to differing underlying tone patterns of the nouns. However, these have not been worked out for Kom.

1.2 LOCATIVE PHRASES:

Besides the general locative preposition $\bar{a}$, there are some locative phrases: they are made up of locative $\bar{a}$, followed by one or another noun belonging to a restricted set. In (6) and (7) below, some of those restricted nouns are given. Their class membership is indicated with brackets. In the right hand column, their use in locative phrases is illustrated:

(6) <u>Noun</u>	<u>Locative phrases</u>
$\bar{a}$ -cfù (3) 'mouth'	$\bar{a}$ -cfù 'in front, at'
$\bar{a}$ -sú (6) 'eyes'	$\bar{a}$ -sū 'before, in front'
$\bar{a}$ -tú (7) 'head'	$\bar{a}$ -tū 'on'
$\bar{I}$ -sás (5) 'bottom'	$\bar{I}$ -sās 'under'
$\bar{a}$ -bé (7) 'atmosphere'	$\bar{a}$ -bē 'outside'

Some of the nouns are inherently locative in that their meaning is only locative. They are:

(7) <u>Noun</u>	<u>Locative phrases</u>
$\bar{I}$ -bām (5) 'behind'	$\bar{I}$ -bām° 'behind'
$\bar{a}$ -mbày (9) 'surrounding'	$\bar{a}$ mbày 'around'
$\bar{a}$ -ngùṅ (9) 'nearness'	$\bar{a}$ ngùṅ 'near'
$\bar{a}$ -mfāylè (9) 'between'	$\bar{a}$ mfāylè 'between'
$\bar{n}$ dièn (9) 'distance'	$\bar{a}$ ndièn 'far'
$\bar{n}$ tēynè (9) 'inside'	$\bar{a}$ ntēynè 'inside'

These locative phrases can be used in different and varying ways as the following examples illustrate:

- (8) a. wù ṅ yú $\bar{a}$ -sū
he Pr2 be at:cl.6-eyes
 'he is in front'
- b. tímí í-bām°
stand at:cl.5-behind
 'stand behind'

- (8)c. tí mí á ngùn fèkà'
stand at cl.9:proximity tree
'Stand near the tree!'
- d. ndù á ndièn nyás
go at cl.9:distance quickly
'Go far away, quickly!'
- e. zí á ntēynà à tēyn
enter at cl.9:inside Prep there
'Enter right in!'

In (8)a and (8)b they are used nominally. In (8)c, the locative phrase is used prepositionally being followed by a noun, in (8)d by an adverb and in (8)e by a locative adverbial phrase (cf. 3.2).

2. ā|ê 'PLACE'

As it turns out, there does not seem to be any trace of the Proto-Bantu indefinite noun stem *júmà in Kom. The term for 'place' is ā|ê and the term for 'thing' is āfó. Both nouns belong to class 7.

3. ADVERBS (ADVERBIAL PHRASES) AND LOCATIVE INTENSIFIERS

3.1 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

There are two sets of locative adverbial phrases in Kom. One set indicates general location while the other set indicates specific location. Each of them shows a three-way distinction: near speaker, near addressee (hearer) and away from both speaker and hearer. Examples in (9) and (10) below illustrate the use of the adverbial phrases (underscored). Each of the a, b and c examples indicates one of the distinctions.

- (9)a. ngàm nùn fêl ā yāyn
Ngam Pr2 work Prep here
'Ngam works here' (location near speaker)
- b. ngàm nùn fêl ā yê
'Ngam works there' (location near hearer)
- c. ngàm nùn fêl ā yé
'Ngam works there' (location away)
- (10)a. ngàm nùn fêl ā fēyn
'Ngam works here' (spec. loc. near speaker)

- (10)b. ngàm nùn fêl ā fî
'Ngam works there' (spec. loc. near hearer)

- c. ngàm nùn fêl ā fí
'Ngam works there' (spec. loc. away)

In examples (9) the set of adverbial phrases ā yâyn, ā yê, ā yé refers to *general* location: in (9)a, proximate location where the speaker is situated, in (9)b, proximate location where the person spoken to is, and in (9)c location away from both speaker and hearer. In example (10), the set of adverbial phrases ā fêyn, ā fî, and ā fí indicates *specific* location with similar distinctions. Notice that these locative adverbial phrases obligatorily begin with the locative preposition ā, and they go together in pairs corresponding in spatial location as follows:

TABLE 1

general	specific	
<u>ā yâyn</u>	<u>ā fêyn</u>	'proximate to speaker'
<u>ā yê</u>	<u>ā fî</u>	'proximate to hearer'
<u>ā yé</u>	<u>ā fí</u>	'distant from speaker and hearer'

The patterning of data on locative adverbial phrases shown in (9), (10) and table (I) permits one to hypothesize that f- indicates specific location and y- characterizes general location. Furthermore, the f- and y- are probably relics of Proto-Bantu *pa and *ku, prefixes of classes 16 and 17 respectively. This is sketched below:

- (11) Proto-Bantu Kom
- | | | | |
|-------|-----|---|---|
| cl.16 | *pa | > | f |
| cl.17 | *ku | > | y |

In this process *p became f and *k changed to fricative y in Kom. The *p to f correspondence is supported by the following data.⁴

- (12) *-pi > fê- class 19 prefix and concord.
 *-pá > fú 'to give'

*-pépò	> fuóí	'wind'
*-pé	> fú	'to burn'
*-pèngó	> fū	'fetish'

The *k to y change is more problematic as seen in (13) below:

(13)	*kú	kfú	'death'
	*kúpà	vúf	'bone'
	*kútà	vúl	'oil'
	*k	k	'prefix of class 7'
	*kádá	kém	'crab'
	*kám	kám	'squeeze'
	*káng	káŋ	'fry'

According to (13), there are two (or three) phonologically conditioned reflexes of *k: kf or v in front of reflexes of *u and *y, and k elsewhere. Note that only one lexical example illustrating a reflex of *k in front of *u has been found, which is not enough to prove any thing. On the other hand, the initial w in wu, a locative pronoun (cf. 4.0) and in wo 'where?' (cf. 6.2.) may be a reflex of *k. Note that even though the phonological correspondence is problematic, k > y is not implausible, and the *semantic* correspondence between *ku and the y of the adverbial phrases in Kom is *not* problematic.

One question we may ask is whether there is a link between adverbial phrases and demonstratives. Consider table (2).

Table 2: DEMONSTRATIVES ACCORDING TO NOUN CLASS

NC1	<u>this</u>	<u>that 1.</u>	<u>that 2.</u>
	<u>Prox. to speaker</u>	<u>Prox. to hearer</u>	<u>Distal</u>
1.	wèn	vɪ	vɪɪ
2.	yèn	yɪ	yɪɪ
3.	wèn	vɪ	vɪɪ
4.	yènɪ	zɪ	zɪɪ
5.	yènɪ	zɪ	zɪɪ
6.	kèn	kɪ	kɪɪ
6a.	mèn	mɪ	mɪɪ
7.	kèn	kɪ	kɪɪ

8.	wèn	vɿ̃	vɿ̃ɿ̃
9.	yèn	zɿ̃	zɿ̃ɿ̃
10.	sèn	sɿ̃	sɿ̃ɿ̃
13.	tèn	tɿ̃	tɿ̃ɿ̃
19.	fèn	fɿ̃	fɿ̃ɿ̃

Notice first of all that each noun class has a set of demonstrative markers that correspond to this, that 1 (near hearer) and that 2 (away from both speaker and hearer). (The forms for that 1 are also used anaphorically). Semantically therefore, there is a link between the adverbial forms and the demonstratives since we find in both the same three-way distinction.

The root for demonstrative 'this' is -èn(i), while we have (ā γ)-âyn 'here (general)' and (ā f)-êyn 'here (specific)'. The root for demonstrative 'that 1' is -î or -ɿ̃ (i and ɿ̃ may be conditioned variants of one vowel (i?) but the conditioning factor remains unclear), on the other hand, we have (ā γ)-ê 'there 1 (general)' and (ā f)-î 'there 1 (specific)'. The root for demonstrative 'that 2' is -íí or -íí̃ while we have (ā γ)-é 'there 2 (general)' and (ā f)-í 'there 2 (specific)'. The tonal difference between the adverbial phrases and the demonstratives is no problem: the HL (falling tone) on the "adverbs" can be accounted for by the presence of the mid-tone (probably underlying high) on ā. We have the feeling that, in spite of the vowel differences, the adverbial and the demonstrative roots are the same but represent different stages of the history of the language. These differences might be traces of previous prefix vowels. If this is true, adverbial phrases would be made up of ā + (ancient) locative demonstratives (cf. 5.2.1 also).

3.2 INTENSIFIERS: tèyn, tì, tí

The intensifiers have two uses: either as adverbial phrases in which case they are preceded by locative ā (cf. (14)a and b) or they can combine with the other adverbial phrases (ā yâyn etc., ā fêyn etc.) in which case they directly follow the adverbial phrase (cf. (14)c and d):

- (14)a. zí á ntēynè à tēyn⁵
enter Prep inside Prep there
 'Enter right in!'

- b. lèm á-tū è tébɿ̃! à tēyn
put at:cl7-head cl.7:AM table Prep there
 'Put it right on the table!'

- (14)c. $\bar{a}$ fêyn tèyn 'here!'
 $\bar{a}$ fî tì 'there!'
 $\bar{a}$ fí tí ''there!'
- d. $\bar{a}$ yâyn tèyn 'here!'
 $\bar{a}$ yê tì 'there!'
 $\bar{a}$ yé tí 'there!'

These forms in (14)b and c are used to intensify the locative (indicated by the exclamation mark). Besides being used along with adverbial phrases, these intensifiers can coöccur with demonstratives:

- (15) fú sê wùl $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} wèn \quad tèyn \\ vî \quad tì \\ vîí \quad tí \end{array} \right\}$
- give to person DEM INT*
- 'give it to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this} \\ \text{that 1} \\ \text{that 2} \end{array} \right\}$ person $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{here} \\ \text{there 1} \\ \text{there 2} \end{array} \right\} !'$

Finally, the intensifiers can be used simultaneously with both demonstratives and adverbial phrases. In that case, they can occur either following the demonstrative or following the adverbial phrase:

- (16)a. fú sê wùl wèn $\bar{a}$ yâyn tèyn
 give to person this Prep here Int
 'give it to this person around here!'
- b. fú sê wùl wèn tèyn $\bar{a}$ yâyn
 give to person this Int Prep here
 'give it to this person around here.'

In (16)a the emphasis is on the adverbial phrase but shifts to the 'person' in (16)b. Notice in example (16)a that the demonstrative, adverbial and intensifier can be used simultaneously *-en*, *-ayn*, *-eyn* provided they agree in distance from the speaker. It should also be noted that unlike demonstratives, intensifiers cannot directly follow a noun:

- (17) wùl $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} wèn \quad (\text{Dem.}) \\ *tèyn \quad (\text{Int.}) \end{array} \right\}$
- 'This person'

in (18)a, and the class 9 pronoun nyēn substitutes for the class 9 noun ngò' in (18)b.

When we come to examples (18)c through (18)e, the pronouns in the second clause are locative pronouns: they are preceded by the locative preposition ā, and they do not agree with the class of the nouns for which they substitute. In (18)d, fú is used instead of nyēn of class 5 which is the expected pronoun substituting for ibzī-ndō 'corner of house'. Note by contrast that wú is used in (18)c in place of the pronoun nyēn of class 9 to which the noun 'Bamenda' belongs. Furthermore note that wú in (18)c, again underlying the fact that the f- form fú is not permitted in (18)d, nor fú in (18)c, again underlying the fact that the f- form fú refers only to specific location (e.g. 'a corner of a house') and the w-form, wú to general location (e.g. a town like 'Bamenda').

As illustrated in (18)e tēyn can also occur in the same slot as fú and wú. In fact, tēyn is the only possibility in (18)e just as wu in (18)c and fu in (18)d are the only possibilities in those sentences. The question is what is distinctive in the use of tēyn in (18)e? In (18)e the notion of contact (e.g. 'on', 'in', etc.) seems to distinguish tēyn from the other pronouns in the sense that Tom actually enters into the house. Note that this notion of contact also holds with an expression like 'on (top of)' as attested in (19) below (cf. (14)b also):

- (19) mà tí ndù ā téb!l è tòmm ābán $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{a} \text{ tēyn} \\ * \bar{a} \text{ fú} \\ * \bar{a} \text{ wú} \end{array} \right\}$

I P3 go Prep table and put food Prep Pro
'I went to the table and set food on it.'

Before proceeding, it should also be noted that: 1) a locative pronoun can substitute for a place which is known though not previously mentioned in text:

- (20) wù nèn kía wī wúl vìā mà tí yèn á wú
he Pr2 know NEG person REL I P3 see Prep Pro
'He does not know the person whom I saw there'

2) locative pronouns are used even if the nouns they substitute for do not have a locative function in the first clause:

- (21) wù nèn kía wī ndō zìā mà nì zí ā tēyn
he Pr2 know NEG house REL I P2 enter Prep Pro
'He does not know the house into which I entered'

Tonally and segmentally the forms $(\bar{a})fú$ and $(\bar{a})wú$ they are (locative) prefixes used pronominally (with should be noted here also that the t- forms are different do not find $*\bar{a}tú$ but $\bar{a}t-eŷn$ (e.g. (18)e). Thus used both adverbially (cf. 3.2) and pronominally, being used as what we called intensifiers.

5. REGULAR CONCORDS AND LOCATIVE CONCORDS

5.1 CONCORD SYSTEM

Concord prefixes vary from one construction to another, nevertheless we can extract from these prefixes what is specific to each class. These prefixes are given in (22).

(22) Kom NC1. Consonant ConCORDS and Tone.

1. w`	7. k'
2. ɣ'	8. w'
3. w'	9. ɣ'
4. ɣ'	10. s'
5. k'	13. t'
6. m`	19. f'
6a. m`	

5.2 LOCATIVE CONCORDS

5.2.1 *Demonstratives*: The only demonstratives which with a noun preceded by the locative $\bar{a}$ is a set of demonstratives with the general locative $\underline{\gamma}$:

- (23)a. $mà\ lù\ \bar{a}\ nd\bar{o}\ \gamma\grave{a}yn$
I Pr1:come from cl.9-house cl.17-Loc
 'I am from this house.'
- b. $mà\ lù\ \bar{a}\ nd\bar{o}\ \gamma\grave{e}$
I Pr1:come from cl.9-house cl.17-Loc
 'I am from that (1) house.'
- c. $mà\ lù\ \bar{a}\ nd\bar{o}\ \gamma\acute{e}$
I Pr1:come from cl.9-house cl.17-Loc
 'I am from that (2) house.'

We notice in (23) that the demonstrative does not agree with the noun it modifies. They all start with the prefix γ which as indicated earlier may be the reflex of Proto-

(cf. 3.1). On the other hand these demonstratives are not immediately preceded by the locative $\bar{a}$, so they are not locative adverbs but rather locative demonstratives. There is no equivalent series where the specific locative with $\bar{f}$ is used. In such cases only the adverbial phrases are appropriate.

- (24) $z\acute{i} \acute{a} nd\bar{o} \begin{Bmatrix} \bar{a} f\acute{e}yn \\ * f\acute{e}yn \end{Bmatrix}$
enter Prep house $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Prep here} \\ \text{here} \end{Bmatrix}$
 'enter this house'

5.3 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

When the head noun of the relative clause is preceded by locative preposition, the relative locative pronoun is invariably $y\bar{e}\bar{a}$, whatever the noun class. Compare (25)a with (25)b to (25)e below:

- (25)a. $\bar{e}g\bar{e}n \ n\bar{u}n \ y\acute{u} \ nd\bar{o} \begin{Bmatrix} *y\bar{e}\bar{a} \\ zia \end{Bmatrix} \ m\acute{a} \ t\acute{i} \ y\bar{u} \ n$
Dem Pr2 cop house Rel I P3 buy
 'This is the house which I bought.'
- b. $w\bar{u} \ \grave{n} \ c\acute{i} \ \bar{a} \ nd\bar{o} \begin{Bmatrix} y\bar{e}\bar{a} \\ *zia \end{Bmatrix} \ m\acute{a} \ t\acute{i} \ y\bar{u}in$
he Pr2 live Prep cl.19:house Rel I P3 buy
 'He lives in the house which I bought.'
- c. $\grave{a}n\acute{a} \ n\bar{u}n \ c\acute{i} \ \bar{a} \ nd\bar{o}-s\bar{e} \begin{Bmatrix} y\bar{e}\bar{a} \\ *sia \end{Bmatrix} \ m\acute{a} \ t\acute{i} \ y\bar{u}in$
they Pr2 live Prep houses-cl.10 Rel I P3 buy
 'They live in the houses which I bought.'
- d. $ng\acute{a}m \ n\bar{u}n \ y\acute{u} \ \bar{a} \ nd\bar{o} \ \bar{a} \ f\acute{e}yn \ y\bar{e}\bar{a} \ m\acute{a} \ t\acute{i} \ b\grave{a}?\bar{l}\grave{e}$
Ngam Pr2 Cop Prep cl.9:house Prep here Rel I P3 build
 'Ngam is in the house which I built here.'
- e. $w\bar{u} \ l\bar{u} \ \bar{a}-b\bar{e} \ y\acute{a}yn \ y\bar{e}\bar{a} \ w\acute{a} \ l\grave{e}m\acute{a} \ \acute{a} \ t\bar{e}yn$
he Pr1:come at:cl.7-compound Dem Rel you grow Prep Pro
 'He comes from this compound in which you were raised.'

It is the same yèā which is used after a locative pronoun.

- (26) wù lù ā wú yèā cù nè límā wī
he Pr1:come Prep Pro Rel sun Pr2 quench Neg.
 'he comes from where the sun never sets'

In (25)a where no locative phrase occurs in the main sentence, only the class-specific relative pronoun is permitted. By contrast, only yèā is allowed in the rest of the sentences. Notice that this relative pronoun yèā is different from the relative pronoun of class 2 which is yīā.

5.4 ASSOCIATIVE CONCORDS

The construction to mark possession or relation between two nouns takes the form: N1 + AM + N2. Using the restricted set of nouns given earlier (cf. 1.2) we obtain the following examples of this construction:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| (27) ā-cfâ ā wûl | 'mouth of person' |
| ā-cfâ ā ndō | 'mouth/door of house' |
| ā-sú ā wûl | 'eyes of person' |
| ā-sú ā bzi | 'eyes of goat' |
| ā-tú ā wûl | 'head of person' |
| ā-tú ā ndō | 'head/roof of house' |
| ī-sás ī wûl | 'bottom of person' |
| ī-sás ī ndō | 'bottom of house' |

In the above construction the associative marker agrees with the class of N1. The locative expressions formed from these same items involve the use of the general locative preposition plus the associative noun phrase. If however, the N2 is [+animate] the class associative marker is replaced by nè. (28) illustrates this:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (28) ā tū nè wûl | 'on a person' ⁶ |
| ā sū nè wûl | 'in front of a person' |
| ī sāś nè {wûl
bzi} | 'under a person/goat' |

If N2 is [-animate], the regular associative markers are used. nè would be ungrammatical.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| (29) ā tū { *nè
ā } | cù 'on a chair' |
|------------------------|-----------------|

- (29) $\bar{a}$ tū $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} *n\grave{e} \\ \grave{e} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ kùn 'on a bed'
- $\bar{a}$ tū $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} *n\grave{e} \\ \grave{e} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ mù 'on water'

In an alternative construction to that in (28), the N1 exchanges positions with N2 but without change of meaning. The rule can be formulated as follows:

- (29) Loc [N1 + AM + N2] $\rightarrow$ [Loc + N2] + [Loc + N1]

The examples in 30 are of this new construction.

- (30) $\bar{a}$ wùl $\bar{a}$ tū 'on a person'
- $\bar{a}$ wùl $\bar{a}$ s̄ 'in front of a person'
- $\bar{a}$ wùl ī sās 'under a person'

However, it seems that by fronting N2, emphatic focus is placed on it. Note also that the associative nè which occurs in (28) disappears in (30) by virtue of rule (29).

To come back to the inherently locative nouns (cf. 1.2), if these items are placed in the same associative construction as in (28) the following locative expressions are the result:

- (31) ī-bām° nè wùl 'behind a person'
- ī-bām° í $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nd\bar{o} \\ f\acute{e}-k\grave{a} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 'behind a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{house} \\ \text{tree} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ '
- $\bar{a}$ ntēynè $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nd\bar{o} \\ f\grave{e}-k\grave{a} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 'inside/in a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{house} \\ \text{tree} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ '
- $\bar{a}$ ngùn $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nd\bar{o} \\ f\grave{e}-k\grave{a} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 'near a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{house} \\ \text{tree} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ '
- $\bar{a}$ mfāylè $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nd\bar{o} \\ f\grave{e}-k\grave{a} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 'between $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{houses} \\ \text{trees} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ '

The patterning of data here, to say the least, is complicated. In the first example, the presence of an N2 [+animate] induces the occurrence of nè. The morpheme i in the second example is a class 5 associative concord prefix and in the remaining examples we have the class 9 associative marker, a floating low tone which does not surface in these cases.

5.5 OTHER CONCORDS

Locative constructions with other concord types do not reveal any special agreement when compared with the non-locative. In

the examples below, (32)a is non-locative, (32)b and (32)c are locative.

(32) Concord with "CERTAIN"

- a. ndō ì-ìtēyn 'a certain house'
cl.9:house 9-certain
- b. ā ndō ì-ìtēyn 'in a certain house'
Prep cl.9:house 9-certain
- c. ā ndō-sē ìtēyn 'in certain houses'
Prep house-cl.10
cl.10:certain

(33) Concord with "WHICH"

- a. Ī-lá' ì-kà 'which country?'
5-country 5-which
- b. Ī-lā' ì-kà 'in which country?'
in:5-country 5-which
- c. ā té-lā' tēkà 'in which countries?'
Prep 13-country 13-which

(34) Concord with "ADJECTIVES"

- a. ā-fó ā-fímná 'a black thing'
7-thing 7-black
- b. ā-fō ā-fímná 'on a black thing'
on:7-thing 7-black
- c. ēfwō ē-fímná 'on black things'
on:8-thing 8-black

(35) Concord with "ALL"

- a. ndō ì-jēm 'all the house'
cl.9:house 9-all
- b. ā ndō ì-jēm 'in all the house'
Prep cl.9:house 9-all
- c. ā ndō-sē jēm 'in all the houses'
Prep house-cl.10-all

(36) Concord with "NUMERALS"

- a. ndō-sè bò 'two houses'
house-cl.10 two
- b. ā ndō-sè bò 'in two houses'
Prep house-cl.10 two

It will be noted in the above examples that the locative preposition ā is used without restriction whether the noun is singular or plural. Notice also the operation of the locative a- deletion rule (4) in examples (33)b and (34)c. Secondly, if determined by a relative clause all the locative cases above must be followed by the locative pronoun yea as a relative since the immediate referent in each is a locative noun phrase.

6. LOCATIVE QUESTIONS

When asking questions about the location of a person or thing, two specific locative question words are used: ba and wo.

6.1 THE INTERROGATIVE PREDICATIVE ba

This particle ba occurs finally in simple questions of the form N + QH. Example (37) is illustrative.

- (37)a. ngón bā 'Where is Ngong?'
Ngong QH
- b. wù bà 'Where is he?'
he QH
- c. *wù {nī} bà 'Where (will he be)
{tí} was he?'
he {F2} QH
{P3}

Examples (37)a and (37)b show that the tone on ba can be influenced by that on the preceding noun. In (37)c ba is disallowed in the future and past tenses while it is grammatical with present tense meaning in (37)a and b. There is therefore evidence in (37) that the interrogative ba is locative, predicative and only used when time reference is to the present.

6.2 THE INTERROGATIVE wō

Unlike ba, wō occurs in the construction with the form

N + { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{verb} \\ \text{cop} \end{smallmatrix}$ } + QH. The tone of wo is influenced by the preceding tone:

- (38)a. $\text{ngón n\grave{e}n y\acute{u} \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{w}\bar{o} \\ *b\bar{a} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}}$ 'Where is Ngong?'
Ngong Pr2 Cop QH
- b. $\text{ngón nd\grave{u} w\bar{o}}$ 'Where has Ngong gone to?'
Ngong Pr1:go QH
- c. $\text{ng\grave{a}m y\grave{u}n \bar{a}-k\acute{u}n}$ 'Where has Ngam bought
Ngam Pr1:buy cl.6-beans beans?'
 $\text{w\bar{o}o}$
QH

The above examples show that wó 'where?' can be used with the copula yú 'to be' or any verb. In such constructions wó 'where?' takes the place of a locative prepositional phrase. We notice that in (37)c wó 'where?' appears with a long vowel. In fact we can have either (ā)wó, ā wóá or ā wóo. The initial ā may be the locative a. As for the final ā (or the lengthening of the vowel o) it may be a question particle. (39) below illustrates another use of the question particle a:

- (39)a. $\text{ng\grave{a}m y\grave{u} n w\acute{o} \bar{a}-k\acute{u}n-\bar{a}}$ 'Where has Ngam
Ngam Pr1:buy where bought beans?'
cl.6-beans-QH:Part
- b. $\text{ng\grave{a}m y\acute{u}n m\bar{e}n \grave{a}-k\acute{u}n-\bar{a}}$ 'Has Ngam bought beans?'
Ngam Pr1:buy Comp cl.6-beans-QH:Part

6.3 DEMONSTRATIVES IN ANSWERS TO LOCATIVE QUESTIONS⁸

Answers to the locative questions indicated in section 6.1 above reveal an interesting pattern of locative expressions in Kom. Thus a question such as (40)a elicits typically the response in (40)b.

- (40)a. $\text{ngón b\bar{a}}$ 'Where is Ngong?'
Ngong where
- b. $\text{ngón w\grave{e}n}$ 'Here is Ngong'
Ngong Dem ('This is Ngong')

In (40)b wèn, which follows the subject NP, is the noun class 1 demonstrative. Since wèn in (40)b patterns in the same way as ba in (40)a, which was analyzed earlier (6.1) as a predicate, the demonstrative marker wèn can also be analyzed as predicative. All Kom *noun class* demonstratives fit into this construction (N + Dem)⁹. By contrast, locative adverbial phrases or the locative demonstratives are unacceptable in this construction as seen in (41).

- (41)a. *ngón ā fêyn 'Here is Ngong.'
 Ngong Prep here
- b. *ngón yàyn 'Here is Ngong.'
 Ngong Dem

Instead, locative adverbs require the copula yú, as seen in (42).

- (42) ngón nùŋ yú ā fêyn 'Ngong is here.'
 Ngong Pr2 be Prep here

By contrast, demonstratives whether locative or non-locative are not allowed after the copula yú (43).

- (43) *ngón nùŋ yú wèn 'Ngong is this.'
 Ngong Pr2 be cl.1: this

7. CONCLUSION

In conclusion we can say that there are traces of Proto-Bantu locative classes in the adverbial phrases, the locative pronouns and in the concords of some constructions such as the demonstrative and the relative constructions.

FOOTNOTES

¹ I am grateful to J. Leroy and J. Watters for kindly reading through earlier drafts of this paper. Their suggestions have been very useful.

² The transcription in this paper follows the IPA. Tone is represented as follows: high (´), mid (˘), low mid (˘˘), low (`), rising (ˆ), and falling (ˋ). Abbreviations: tenses include: P1 = Past tense 1, P2 = Past tense 2, P3 = Past tense 3, P4 = Past tense 4, Pr1 = Present tense 1, Pr2 = Present tense 2, F1 = Future tense 1, F2 = Future tense 2 (Chia 1982); others are: NCl = Noun Class, N = Noun, Prep = Preposition, Loc = Locative, AM = Associative Marker, Dem = Demonstrative, Pro = Pronoun, Rel = Relative Pronoun, DPro = Dummy Pronoun, QH = Question, Cop = Copula, Int = Intensifier, Part = Particle, Comp = Complementation.

³ This preposition carries a mid tone which, most probably is an underlying high: [ā]+/á/. When this preposition follows a verb in the imperative mood, it takes the floating high tone of imperative utterances:

(a) zí á ndō
 enter Prep house
 'enter the house!'

(b) ndù á ndō
 go Prep house
 'go to the house!'

⁴ The data indicated here with asterisks come from Guthrie (1971) and Meeussen (1969).

⁵ There is a clear semantic and syntactic relation between àntēynè and tēyn.

⁶ These pronoun forms, except for purposes of emphasis, may be omitted in surface structure.

⁷ The expressions in (28) could have the literal meaning, for example: 'on the head of a person' etc.

⁸ yū 'to be' is also used for identification, description, and for predicating existence: à nūh yū mà 'it is me', ngóh nūh yū wūl jūh 'Ngong is a nice person', fèyìnlífè nūh yū 'God is'.

⁹ As pointed out to me by J. Leroy, demonstratives are used in the same way in Mankon.