

EXPRESSIONS OF LOCATION IN KOOZIME

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In this article I describe expressions of location in Koozime (A-84). First of all, I describe the verb "to be" in locative expressions. Then I identify the "place", among them sùm which seems to contain a connexion with the Class 17 locative prefix. Next I describe the prepositions with locative meaning and the nouns used where other languages might use prepositions. I also describe locative adverbs, interrogative words and the phrase "the house of...". Some connexions between Proto-Koozime are suggested.

Dans cet article je décris les expressions de localisation en Koozime (A-84). Je décris premièrement le verbe "être" dans les expressions de localisation. Ensuite les noms ayant le sens de "endroit". Parmi eux il y en a un, sùm, qui renferme une trace du préfixe de la classe 17. J'identifie ensuite les prépositions locatives et les substantifs qui s'emploient là où d'autres langues utilisent des prépositions. Je décris aussi les adverbes locatifs, les mots interrogatifs et le mot ayant le sens de "la maison de...". Quelques rapprochements entre le proto-bantou et le Koozime sont proposés.

0. INTRODUCTION

The question this paper addresses is "How is the location expressed in Koozime, a northwest Bantu language?" It sheds new light on the "locative classes" which are present in all Bantu. Since the orientation of the paper is semantic, I have chosen a representative cross-section of the parts of speech since locative expressions make use of them all. An attempt is made to describe exhaustively the locative expressions in Koozime.

Koozime has been referred to by Guthrie (1967) as "Njem" and in 1970, as "Njem". In the later volume he identified it in the Maka-Njem group. Koozime is spoken by about 50,000 people as a first language. Native speakers are found in the sub-divisions of Abong Mbang, Lomié, and

lie within the Division of Upper Nyong, in the Eastern Province of the United Republic of Cameroon. A small number of speakers of Kɔɔzime are in northern Congo, as well. The data in this paper represents the Nzime dialect of Kɔɔzime which is spoken around Lomié.

The organization of this paper emphasizes the form of the locative expression. First to be mentioned will be the copula, followed by nouns used in referring to places, nouns with a prepositional effect, adjectives, adverbs, interrogative words and *chez*, 'at the house of'.

1. THE COPULA

The copula and auxiliary verb in Kɔɔzime is *-be*, which is a reflex of the Proto-Bantu stem **-bá* (Meeussen, 1969:16). As the main verb of a sentence, the copula can be used to express location, identity², possession, existence and attributes. It does not display any special characteristics when used in expressing location. This may be seen by comparing the locative construction in (1) with the identity construction in (2).

- (1) $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ -e á be ó ' +³ e-beɛɛ⁴ → / $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ á be ó ébeɛɛ/
cl.1-3p. PST be FOCUS in/at cl.5-courtyard
 'He was in the courtyard.'
- (2) $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ -e á be ó n-gbe |
cl.1-3p PST be FOCUS cl.1-hunter
 'He was a hunter.'

The copula has variants in the present time. They are:

dí, in subject-focus constructions (ex.(3)),
mû, in relative and main clauses (ex. (4-5)), and
 \emptyset , in main clauses (affirmative polarity ex. (4)).

- (3) $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ -e ó dí ' + e-beɛɛ → / $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ ó dí ébeɛɛ/
cl.1-3rd FOCUS be in/at cl.5-courtyard
 'It is he who is in the courtyard.'
- (4) $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ -e (mû/ \emptyset) ó ' + é-beɛɛ → / $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ (mû) ó ébeɛɛ/
cl.1-3rd be FOCUS in/at cl.5-courtyard
 'He is in the courtyard.'
- (5) e-beɛɛ ' + $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ -e mû tîk | -í
cl.5-courtyard SUB cl.1-3rd be there cl.5-this:RC
 → /ebeɛɛ $\bar{n}\bar{e}$ mû tîk | í/
 'the courtyard he is in'

The copula be is clearly related to an invariable demonstrative, meaning 'there is'. The item referred to must always be in sight. The demonstrative, be, occurs following the item referred to, as is seen in (6).

- (6) a. mw-ân w'-âm bê → /mwân wăm bê/
cl.1-child cl.1-my there:is
 'There's my child.'
- b. bw-ân b'-âm bê → /bwân bâm bê/
cl.2-children cl.2-my there:are
 'There are my children.'

2. NOUNS MEANING 'PLACE'

A discussion of the nouns which mean 'place' should be preceded by a brief description of the noun class system.

Nouns are grouped together in 12 noun classes. Membership in a class is indicated by the type of prefix on the noun. In certain cases, such as that of cl.3 and cl.7, the noun class prefixes are identical or nearly so. In those cases one employs the concords for contrasting the noun classes. The class labels 9/10 and 11/14 indicate that two classes in Proto-Bantu have merged, forming a single class. Classes connected by hyphens to other classes (such as "4(-3)") are those which are added to a class prefix, rather than replacing it.

(7) Noun Class Prefixes in Koozime

<u>Cl.</u>	<u>Sg., Pl. or neut.</u>	<u>Noun prefix</u>	<u>Concord prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>
1	sg.	m(w)/__v	w' / ñ	mw-ân 'child'
				m-ud 'person'
		N- / __C (VD derived stop)		m-be-l 'farmer'
		∅ / __ (elsewhere)		∅-lûl 'blacksmith'
				∅-kwis 'creator'
				∅-gbak 'chimpanzee'
1a	sg.	á-	w' / ñ	á-dwam 'farmers'

2	pl.	b(w)/__V	b'
		o-/__C	
2a(-1a)	pl.	ba-	b'
3	sg.	Ṽ-/__C (VD derived stop) `/___ (elsewhere)	w'
4(-3)	pl.	mi-	my'
5	sg.	e-/_ {C S}	l'
		d(w)-/__V	
6	pl.	me-/_ {C S}	m'
		m(w)-/__V	
7	sg.	`-	y'
8	pl.	bi-	by'

9/10	sg., pl. neut.	N- ⁵ /___C (VD stop from cl.7)	ñ`	N-bumó /mpumó/ 'fruits'
		∅___ (elsewhere)		∅-mpisa 'ears of corn'
				∅-boó 'brain(s)'
11/14	sg., neut.	o-	w'	o-lũñ 'ladder'

There are four nouns which have the meaning 'place':

- (8) `-gúmo 'place' (cl.7), or `-súm 'place' (cl.7)
 `-pák⁶ 'side, part, place, between' (cl.3)
 `-nkǒ 'place, toward, where?' (cl.7)

All of these words may be related to words or morphemes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. The clearest reflex is -pák: *-pak-a, 'limit, separation' (Meeussen, 1969:17; 1980:21). It is possible that both -gúmo and -súm are reflexes of -(j)úma, 'some or other (thing, place)'. Of the two, -súm seems to be the more probable candidate in view of the likelihood that the stem *-(j)úma had the locative prefix of cl. 17, ku-, prior to its transformation to the present form. There is strong support for a *k:k correspondence, and some suggestive support for a *k:s correspondence, but there is no evidence for a *k:g correspondence. The following correspondences are suggestive, but only suggestive, of a possible *k:s correspondence, and thus a possible derivation: *ku-(j)úma → *ku-úma → *kúma → *kúm → súm.

- (9) *-kú → -súá
 'handle' 'handle'
 *-kukut → -swas
 'become dry, hard' '(same meaning)'
 *-kipá → -sisé
 'tendon (cl.3)' '(same meaning (cl.3))'

Note that if gúmo, were to be a reflex of *pa-(j)úma it would be the only case, that I know of, exhibiting a *p:g correspondence (but see also wak 'here' in (38a) where we may have a *p:w correspondence).

As for -nkǒ, it is possible to view it as a reflex of the cl.17 locative form, ku-. The regular correspondence *k:k rules for this, as well as the similarity in their meanings. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain how a noun in Koozime can be related to a

prefix in Proto-Bantu. How could the prefix *ku- acquire a nasal and tonal prefix? How could it be interpreted as a word without any accompanying stem? If it is related to Proto-Bantu *ku-, the most plausible hypothesis seems to be to propose an original noun root *ku with a meaning related to those given in (8). This root then underwent two different changes. First, as a noun it was prefixed with a homorganic nasal which was later incorporated in the root, giving the present day Koozime form '-nkö. Secondly, in another process the noun root came to function as a preposition *ku which then became reinterpreted as a noun class prefix. How valid such a hypothesis is remains an open question.

The words 'gúmo, 'súm and 'pâk are clearly nouns, since they have plural forms as seen in (10) and govern agreement in modifiers as seen in (11).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (10) | <u>'gúmo</u> , <u>bigúmo</u> | 'place(s)' |
| | <u>'súm</u> , <u>bisúm</u> | 'place(s)' |
| | <u>'pâk</u> , <u>mípâk</u> | 'place(s), side(s), part(s)' |
-
- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (11) | <u>yáa</u> 'gúmo ⁷ | <u>byáa</u> bigúmo |
| | 'which(cl.7) place?' | 'which(cl.8) places?' |
| | <u>yáa</u> 'súm | <u>byáa</u> bisúm |
| | 'which(cl.7) place?' | 'which(cl.8) places?' |
| | <u>wáa</u> 'pâk | <u>myáa</u> mípâk |
| | 'which(cl.3) place?' | 'which(cl.4) places?' |

In this respect, there is no difference between these nouns and the majority of other nouns. This is not the case, however, with the word 'nkö, which has no plural form (cf. (12)), is never modified (cf. (13)) apart from the relative clause article (cf. (18)), and frequently is translated by prepositions (cf. (14)).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (12) | *bi-nkö | 'places' |
| (13) | *yáa 'nkö | 'which place?' |
| (14) | '-nkö | ' + e-bese → /'nkö ébese/ |
| | <i>cl.7-toward AM(cl.7)</i> | <i>cl.5-courtyard</i> |
| | 'toward the courtyard' | |

It can be demonstrated however, that 'nkö has an initial floating low tone. This fact leads one to conclude that it is a noun of either cl.3 or cl.7, since only nouns are preceded by floating low tones.⁸ The presence of the low tone is evident in the context of a preceding floating high tone. Such tones are the last component of certain verbal constructions.⁹ One is present in (15), which spreads to the right, changing an immediately following low tone to a high tone.¹⁰

- (15) a. mé a-de'+ N-bumó → /mé ade mpúmó/
 I:NEG not-eat cl.9/10-fruits
 'I don't eat fruit.'
- b. mé a-de'+ ø- nkǔ → /mé ade nkú/
 I:NEG not-eat cl.1-pig
 'I don't eat pork.'

However, if the high tone is followed by a floating low tone, it is blocked from spreading to the following noun. The high tone is then manifested on the preceding syllable, together with the tone(s) of that syllable, as is seen in (16).

- (16) mé a-de'+ `-tab → [máadě tab]
 I:NEG not-eat cl.7-goat *[máade táb]
 'I don't eat goat meat.'

One can observe in (17) that `nkǔ acts tonally like `tab, 'goat' (cl.7) (and not like nkǔ 'pig' (15b)), since the floating high tone is followed by a floating low tone prefix and not (as it was in (15b)) by a low stem tone.

- (17) go |ɛ e-duso'+ `-nkǔ →
 you(sg.) at to-exit cl.7-whence?
 [go |ɛ edusǔ nkǔ] 'Whence are you coming?'
 *[go |ɛ eduso nkó]

The basis for deciding that `nkǔ is in cl.7 and not cl.3 is that it governs agreement in the relative clause article, causing it to have the cl.7 prefix y-. This is seen in (18).

- (18) mé a-gúá'+ `-nkǔ '+ go-`
 I:NEG not-know cl.7-place SUB you(sg.)-P1
 duso y-ɛ
 exit cl.7-this:RC

→ [mé agúá nkǔ gô duso yɛ]
 'I don't know where you have come from (today).'

Also evident in (18) is the fact that `nkǔ is the head of a relative clause, behaving as any other noun in class 7:

- (19) `-tab '+ go á jû y-ɛ
 cl.7-goat SUB you PST kill cl.7-this:RC
 'the goat you killed'

Additional support for the fact that `nkǔ is a noun is found in associative constructions. Though it is there glossed 'toward', it is followed by a high tone associative marker, such as would normally follow a noun of class 7. This can be seen in (14).

Unlike some nouns which are used to express spatial relationships, 'nkõ is never denominalized. That is, it is always in associative relationship with the following noun. More on this subject will be said in the next section.

3. THE LOCATIVE PREPOSITION AND NOUNS WITH DENOMINAL USES

Prepositional phrases and associative noun phrases are in clear contrast due to the absence of any associative marker in the former. The associative markers are shown in (20).

(20)

Associative Markers

<u>Class of first noun</u>	<u>Generalized forms of AM</u>	<u>Actual realizations of AM:</u>		
		<u>before</u> <u>∅- or -</u>	<u>before</u> <u>V-</u>	<u>before</u> <u>CV-</u>
1, 1a, 9/10	'	'	'	'
2, 2a	bó	ó	b'	ó
3, 7	'	'	'	'
4	mí	mí	my'	'
5	lé	é	l'	é
6	mé	mé	m'	'
8	bí	bí	by'	'
11/14	wó	ó	w'	ó

There is a locative preposition, í, which has a wide range of meaning. It is possibly a reflex of the locative cl.25 prefix *i.¹¹ This preposition is either preceded or followed by l before a vowel. In the dialect which is used for this paper, the Nzime dialect, the l precedes í, as is seen in (21). Note that there is no associative marker in this construction, nor is there any tonal alteration.

- (21) l'í e-bɛsɛ (*l'í ébɛsɛ)
in cl.5-courtyard
 'in the courtyard'

The locative preposition never triggers any change in agreement, as is seen in (22). Note that the same concord is present in the locative construction in (22b) as in the non-locative construction in (22a).

- (22) a. me-kwád m'-i-m-êS
 cl.6-villages cl.6-all
 'all the villages'
- b. í me-kwád m'-i-m-êS
 in cl.6-villages cl.6-all
 'in all the villages'

A certain class of nouns permits the use of a variant of the locative preposition: namely, a floating high tone. These nouns are all places, such as 'city', 'path', 'village', 'stream', 'field', 'house', 'road' and 'forest'. A low-to-high tone change in these words corresponds to the added meaning component, 'in' or 'at', as is seen in (23).

- (23) a. $\begin{array}{l} \text{' +} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ d-omo \rightarrow /dómo/
cl.5-area:behind:house
 'in the area behind the house'
- b. $\begin{array}{l} \text{' +} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ \emptyset -Npas \rightarrow /mpâs/
cl.9/10-sleeping:house
 'in the sleeping house'
- c. $\begin{array}{l} \text{' +} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ e-bεεε \rightarrow /éβεεε/
cl.5-courtyard
 'in the courtyard'

Note that nouns not having the semantic component [+place] may not occur with the tonal variant of 'in, at', as is seen in (24).

- (24) a. $\begin{array}{l} \text{' +} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ me-de \rightarrow */méde/
cl.6-food
 'in the food'
- b. $\begin{array}{l} \text{' +} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ ñ-bô \rightarrow */mbô/
cl.3-hand
 'in the hand'

These nouns must be accompanied by the *segmental* variant of the preposition, as is seen in (25).

- (25) a. $\begin{array}{l} \text{ɛ} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ me-de
cl.6-food
 'in the food'
- b. $\begin{array}{l} \text{ɛ} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ ñ-bô
cl.3-hand
 'in the hand'

Sentences having no definite subject use a dummy subject from cl.7. This is the case in sentences predicating existence or identity. The same dummy subject is used following a locative prepositional phrase, as is seen in (26).

- (26) $\begin{array}{l} \text{ɛ} \\ \text{in} \end{array}$ ñ-mbĕd γ' -e l' ɛ e-sâ' e-jwóo
cl.3-house cl.7-3rd at to-do cl.5-coldness
 'In the house it is cold.'

The γ' - in γ' -e, though synchronically of cl.7, may be, in the context of a locative, a reflex of cl.25 prefix. (Grégoire: per-

sonal communication). Note also that in (26) the l'f locative marker is used with infinitives, and the infinitives in such a construction have an imperfective sense.

In addition to f, there seem to be five other locative prepositions. However, these may all represent denominal uses of nouns. The prepositions 'above' and 'below' are not in associative relationship with the nouns that follow, nor are they necessarily coupled with the locative preposition, as is seen in (27).

- (27) a. -kú e-cøk
cl.7-high:place cl.5-hill
 'on top of the hill' or 'above the hill'
- b. l'f e-cøk -kú
in/at cl.5-hill cl.7-high:place
 'on top of the hill'
- c. -sí bi-lf
cl.7-earth cl.8-trees
 'below the trees' or 'beneath the trees'
- d. f bi-lf -sí
in/at cl.8-trees cl.7-earth
 'below the trees' or 'beneath the trees'

They are, however, clearly nominal in other contexts, such as the sentence in (28) and the associative phrase in (29).

- (28) -nsyēm á si kuso -kú
cl.7-God PST PFTV created cl.7-high:place
 'God created the heavens
 e -sí
with cl.7-earth
 and the earth.'
- (29) -sí¹² ' + bi-jwín → /'sí bíjwín/
cl.7-land AM(cl.7) cl.8-black:people
 'the land of the black people'

The noun e-píse 'back (place or position)' is seen in a nominal use in (30). It has a denominal use, involving minor phonological alterations, as in (31). Note that it is not in associative relationship with the following noun.

- (30) b-ud bét e-píse → /bud béépíse/
cl.2-people AM(2) cl.5-last one
 'the last people'
- (31) a. píe b-ud
behind cl.2-people
 'behind the people'

- (31) b. $\frac{f}{\text{in/at}}$ b-wd $\frac{p'ise}{\text{behind}}$
in/at cl.2-people behind
 'behind the people'

Another preposition exists that means 'inside'. There is no clear nominal use of this word, however, in the knowledge of the author. Note that it is not in associative relation with the word it follows. Note as well that it may be used in addition to the locative preposition to express the same meaning.

- (32) a. $\frac{t'ũñi'ũ}{\text{inside}}$ bi-wólo
inside cl.8-boxes
 'inside the boxes'
- b. $\frac{f}{\text{in}}$ bi-wólo $\frac{t'ũñi'ũ}{\text{inside}}$
in cl.8-boxes inside
 'inside the boxes'

The fifth preposition which illustrates denominalization is 'between'. This is the denominalized noun 'side, place' which was discussed in the preceding section. It is not followed by the associative marker when conveying the idea 'between', as is seen in (33).

- (33) $\frac{-p'ak}{\text{cl.3-side}}$ mi-mběd e mi-mběd
cl.3-side cl.4-houses with cl.4-houses
 'between the houses'

Other nouns are used to convey information about spatial orientation without losing any nominal properties. Such is the case of $\frac{nk'õ}{\text{side}}$, as was illustrated in (14). These nouns are in associative relationship with the nouns that either precede or follow them. A sub-group of nouns are like $\frac{nk'õ}{\text{side}}$ and can be used without an accompanying locative preposition. Apart from this sub-group represented by $\frac{nk'õ}{\text{side}}$, nouns used for spatial orientation must always be used with the locative preposition $\frac{f}{\text{in}}$.

One noun which must be used with $\frac{f}{\text{in}}$ is $\frac{-mpas}{\text{side}}$ 'side' (cl.7). It may also be in cl.5, $\frac{e-mpas}{\text{side}}$, with no different meaning. It may be employed either before or after the noun it accompanies, as is seen in (34). However, note that in (34b) the construction is no longer an associative one but one of apposition.

- (34) a. $1'f$ $\frac{e-mpas}{\text{side}}$ ét $\frac{-mběd}{\text{house}}$ → /lémpas é mběd/
in/at cl.5-side AM(5) cl.3-house
 'at the side of the house' or 'beside the house'
- b. $\frac{f}{\text{in}}$ $\frac{-mběd}{\text{house}}$ $1'f$ $\frac{e-mpas}{\text{side}}$
in/at cl.3-house at cl.5-side
 'beside the house'

Another noun of this kind is mpõm 'face (cl.9/10)'. In connection with the locative preposition it acquires the meaning 'before' or 'in front of', as is seen in (35).

- (35) a. $\frac{f}{i}$ õ-mpõm `+ ` -mběd
in/at cl.9/10-face AM(9/10) cl.3-house
 'in front of the house' or 'before the house'
- b. $\frac{f}{i}$ ` -mběd ` -nkõ `+ õ-mpõm
in/at cl.3-house cl.7-place AM(?) cl.9/10-face
- / $\frac{f}{i}$ mběd ñkõ mpõm/
 'in front of the house'

In (35b) the two phrases 'at the house' and 'the place of the face' stand in apposition to each other.

4.0 ADJECTIVES OF LOCATION

There are two demonstrative adjectives, 'this/these' and 'that/those'. As in their English counterparts, the point of difference between them is distance from the speaker. These words may occur following the head noun in non-emphatic position, or they may be shifted to the left of the noun, so as to give them contrastive emphasis. The shapes of the stems vary according to the position of the adjective relative to the noun. The stem for 'this/these' also varies according to the class of the head noun. For classes 1, 1a, 2, 2a and 6 the stem is -â(k). It is -î(k) for the other classes. Note that word-medial /y/ and /i/ coalesce, forming /i/. These facts are shown in the table in (36).

(36) Demonstratives

Class of head noun	'this/these'		'that/those'		
	<u>+emphasis</u>	<u>-emphasis</u>	<u>+emphasis</u>	<u>-emphasis</u>	
1, 1a	ñ-âk /ñâk/	/ñâ(k)/	ñ-îñî /ñîñî/	/ñîñî/	/ 'nî/
2, 2a	b-âk /bâk/	/bâ(k)/	b-îñî /bîñî/	/óñî/	
3,11/14	w-îk /wîk/	/wî(k)/	w-îñî /wîñî/	/ 'nî/	
4	my-îk /mîk/	/mî(k)/	my-îñî /mîñî/	/mîñî/	
5	l-îk /lîk/	/lî(k)/	l-îñî /lîñî/	/éñî/	
6	m-âk /mâk/	/mâ(k)/	m-îñî /mîñî/	/méñî/	
7	y-îk /yîk/	/yî(k)/	y-îñî /yîñî/	/ 'nî/	
8	by-îk /bîk/	/bî(k)/	by-îñî /bîñî/	/bîñî/	
9/10	ñ-îk /ñîk/	/ñî(k)/	ñ-îñî /ñîñî/	/ 'nî/	

It should be noted that the non-emphatic form of 'that/those' in classes 1,3,7, and 9/10 has a floating high tone. This is the

residue of the first syllable, which was deleted. This floating tone is heard after spreading left, as is seen in (37).

- (37) m-ud ϕ -'nǎ [mǎr nǎ]
 cl.1-person cl.1-that
 'that person'

5. ADVERBS OF LOCATION

There are five adverbs of location, two being translated frequently by 'here'. These differ in meaning, however, as is seen in (38).

- (38) a. \tilde{n} -e ϕ \acute{o} wâ(k)
 cl.1-3rd be FOCUS here:specific
 'He/she/it is here (specific location).'
- b. \tilde{n} -e ϕ \acute{o} kâ(k)
 cl. 1-3rd be FOCUS here:general
 'He/she/it is here (general location).'

The words having the basic meaning 'there' are distinguished by their degree of distance from the speaker, as is seen in (39).

- (39) a. \tilde{n} -e ϕ \acute{o} náa/tína
 cl.1-3rd be FOCUS there:specific
 'He/she/it is just over there.'
- b. \tilde{n} -e ϕ \acute{o} gû(k)
 cl.1-3rd be FOCUS there:specific
 'He/she/it is (way) over there.'
- c. \tilde{n} -e ϕ \acute{o} ká(ká)
 cl.1-3rd be FOCUS there:general
 'He/she/it is (way) over there.'

The adverbs of location wâ(k), kâ(k), and gû(k) have two forms, one with and one without a final velar phoneme, which is there realised as a glottal stop. There seems to be no semantic element to the final velar consonant. The reduplication of ká, however, seems to add the notion of even greater distance from the speaker.

These adverbs may be used in the associative construction, as is seen in (40).

- (40) a. b-ud \acute{o} wâ(k)
 cl.2-people AM(cl.2) here:specific
 'the people here'

- (40) b. b-ud ó kâ(k)
 cl.2-people AM(cl.2) here:general
 'the people around here'

One possible explanation for the similarity between the forms and meanings of wâ(k), 'here (specific location)' and kâ(k), 'here (general location)' is that both are reflexes of the demonstrative stem -a(k)/-i(k) 'this' (cf.36), which was affixed by the locative prefixes of classes 16 *pa and 17 *ku-. The form *ku-âk is clearly similar to the contemporary kâ(k). There is a less straight-forward relationship between *pa-âk and wâk, but a possible derivation could be *pa-âk → *pwâk → *fwâk → wâk. Although the exact derivation for wâk is not clear, it seems likely that both of these forms derive from a locative prefix and a demonstrative stem, a widespread phenomenon in the northwestern region of Bantu (cf. Grégoire 1975:118; and other studies in this volume).

Another adverbial exists for replacing locative prepositional phrases. It is tî(k), which may be glossed as 'there', in the sense of 'in the previously-mentioned place'. It is also used as a resumptive pronoun form in locative-relative clauses, as in (41a). Note, however, its absence in RC's relativizing a noun meaning 'place', as is illustrated by (41b).

- (41) a. `-mběd ' + me á be tî(k) w-í
 cl.3-house SUB I PST be there cl.3-this:RC
 'the house where I was (there)'
- b. `-sûm ' + me á be (*tî(k)) y-í
 cl.7-place SUB I PST be cl.7-this:RC
 'the place where I was (*there)'

One may perhaps be justified in saying that the nouns meaning 'place' must advance to direct object. Having done so, they behave like other DO's, which are not replaced by a pronominal form when they become heads of relative clauses.

The word tî(k) may also occur in the second part of an associative construction. It places the noun with which it is joined in some relation with a previously-mentioned topic. For example, if one has spoken of a house, the constructions in (42) would refer to it.

- (42) a. m-ud ' tî(k)
 cl.1-person AM(cl.1) there
 probably 'the owner of (the house)',
 but perhaps also 'an occupant of (the house)'
 or 'the builder of (the house)'

- (42) b. me-bê mé+ tî(k)
cl.6-doors AM(cl.6) there
 'the doors of (the house)'

This word is also used together with an independent pronoun and mú, 13 'person', or bud, 'people', to form the emphatic pronoun construction, such as 'I myself'.

- (43) a. me mú ` tî(k)
I cl.1:person AM(cl.1) there
 'I myself'
- b. go mú ` tî(k)
 'you (sg.) yourself'
- c. ñe mú ` tî(k)
 'he/she/it him-/her-/it-self'
- d. miná bud ó tî(k)
 'we(incl.) ourselves'
- e. b̄is bud ó tî(k)
 'we(excl.) ourselves'
- f. b̄in bud ó tî(k)
 'you(pl.) yourselves'
- g. bé bud ó tî(k)
 'they themselves'

6. INTERROGATIVES AND CHEZ

One may ask 'where?' in a number of ways. If there is no verb of motion in the context, one uses the locative preposition í and any of the words meaning place. The nouns gúmo, sùm, and pák must also be modified by 'which?' as seen in (44a-c). However, this is ungrammatical with nkö as is seen in (44d).

- (44) a. í y-áa ` -gúmo
in cl.7-which? cl.7-place
 'Where?'
- b. í y-áa ` -sùm
in cl.7-which? cl.7-place
 'Where?'
- c. í w-áa ` -pák
in cl.3-which? cl.3-side
 'Where?'

- (44) d. *f yáa `-nko
 in (cl.7-which?) cl.7-place
 'Where?'

One may also ask 'where?' by using the locative preposition and wó, 'where?', as is seen in (45).

- (45) f wó
 'Where?'

As was seen in section 5.0, there appears to be a possible *p:w correspondence between the Proto-Bantu class 16 prefix and the locative adverb wá(k) in Koozime. Perhaps the question word wó is another example of this correspondence, the wó deriving from class 16 *pá-f 'where?' (Meeussen 1967:103), although the Koozime vowel suggests instead *pá-ó.

If a verb of motion such as 'go' or 'come' is either expressed or implied, one will use either nkö or wó to ask 'where?'

Besides these interrogative expressions for 'where?', there is an expression for saying 'at x's house'. This expression makes use of kwá, a class 1 noun, followed by either a noun phrase or a possessive pronoun which refer to a human being, as is seen in (46).

- (46) a. me á si tô kwá (mé/ø) Mpomo
 I PST PFTV went chez AM Proper name
 'I went to Mpomo' or 'I went to Mpomo's house.'
- b. me á si tô kwá w-é
 I PST PFTV went chez cl.1-his/her
 'I went to him' or 'I went to his house.'

Note in (46a) that kwá is linked by the associative marker (AM) to the following noun. The alternate form of the AM, namely, mé, is similar to the class 6 AM, but it is actually a form which is more general than that of class 6 in that it can replace any AM when the second noun is [+human]. However, since the other variant of the AM with kwá is from class 1, and all of the possessive pronouns which may co-occur with kwá are also from class 1, as shown in (47), kwá is considered a class 1 noun.

- (47) kwá wám/me 'at my house', 'to/from me'
 kwá gö 'at your house', 'to/from you'
 kwá wé 'at his/her house', 'to/from him/her'
 kwá wíná 'at our (incl.) house', 'to/from us (incl.)'
 kwá wís 'at our (excl.) house', 'to/from you (pl.)'
 kwá wóó 'at their house', 'to/from them'

Constructions employing kwá acquire the secondary meanings, 'from' and 'to', in the context of certain verbs. Kwá is used to express 'from' in the context of verbs such as -nua 'get', -bi 'receive', -duso 'come from', -gwám 'ask for', and -sáa 'look for'. This use of kwá is illustrated in (48).

(48) a. ñ`-e á si nua me-de kwá w`-ám
cl.1-3rd PST PFTV take cl.6-food chez cl.1-my
 'He got some food from me.'

b. ñ`-e á si bi me-de kwá mé
cl.1-3rd PST PFTV receive cl.6-food chez AM

ø-sóñ w`-ám →
cl.1-father cl.1-my

/ñe á si bi mede kwá mé sóñ wám/

'He received some food from my father.'

Kwá is used to indicate 'to' in the context of the verbs -cyen 'send (a person or thing)' and -lómo 'send (a person) on an errand'. This use is seen in (49).

(49) a. ñ`-e á si cyen me-de kwá w`-ám
cl.1-3rd PST PFTV send cl.6-food chez cl.1-my
 'He sent food to me.'

b. ñ`-e á si lómo m-wân kwá w`-ám
cl.1-3rd PST PFTV send cl.1-child chez cl.1-my
 'He sent a child to me.'

Kwá is a reflex of the Proto-Bantu *kúá, 'chez'. *kúá consists of the locative class 17 prefix ku- and the associative marker (or "connective") *a. This word has been reanalyzed in Koozime, being treated as a noun of class 1.

FOOTNOTES

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²Identifying can be done with a nonverbal sentence, consisting of the subject noun, the focus marker, and the demonstrative adjectives 'this' or 'that'. The demonstrative adjective 'this' agrees in class with the noun, as in the following examples:

- (i) e-bák ó |-í 'This is a knife.'
 cl.5-knives FOCUS cl.5-this
- (ii) me-bák ó m-â 'These are knives.'
 cl.6-knives FOCUS cl.6-these

Identifying something to which definite reference has already been made is done by means of 'nĩ', 'that'. The word 'that', in this anaphoric function, is non-agreeing, as is seen in the following:

- (iii) e-bák ó 'nĩ 'That's the knife
 cl.5-knive FOCUS that (we've been discussing).'
- (iv) me-bák ó 'nĩ 'Those are the knives
 cl.6-knives FOCUS those (that we've been discussing).'

³This tonal morpheme indicates 'located at'. It is a variant of \underline{f} , the locative preposition, which is discussed in section 3.

⁴There are 12 different qualities of vowels in Kɔɔzime, which are written according to the practical orthography. The correspondence between the linguistic symbol and the practical orthography is seen below, where " " means 'written orthographically as':

- /i/ - "i" high front unrounded vowel
- /I/ - "ĩ" high-mid front unrounded vowel
- /e/ - "e" mid front unrounded vowel
- /ɛ/ - "ɛ" low front unrounded vowel
- /ü/ - "wi" high front rounded vowel
- /w̃/ - "ø" high-mid front rounded vowel
- /ö/ - "œ" mid front rounded vowel
- /u/ - "u" high back rounded vowel
- /w/ - "w" high-mid back rounded vowel
- /o/ - "o" mid back rounded vowel
- /ɔ/ - "ɔ" low back rounded vowel
- /a/ - "a" low central unrounded vowel

Data will reflect underlying morphemes. When morphophonemic changes take place, an additional phonemic transcription will be provided, enclosed in diagonal slashes ("/.../"). When it is needed, a third, phonetic transcription will be provided, enclosed in square braces ("[...]").

Grammatical tones are present in the underlying representation of certain constructions. Some grammatical tones spread to adjacent tones, replacing them, as is seen in the following:

(v) ' + d-omo → /dómo/ 'in the field behind the house'
in/at cl. 5-field

Note that "' + " means "spreads right, replacing with a high tone any immediately adjacent low tone."

A floating high tone not accompanied by the plus mark is heard on the preceding syllable, in addition to the tone(s) of the that syllable, as in the following:

(vi) m-ud 'nĩ → /mũd nĩ/, 'that person'

Finally, the following abbreviations are used in the examples of this paper: # 'internal morpheme boundary', [+] "having the stated property", [-] "not having the stated property", AM "associative marker", C "consonant", cl. "noun class", excl. "exclusive", incl. "inclusive", NEG "negation", neut. "neutral with regard to the singular-plural opposition", no. "number", P1 "recent past tense (referring to events of the same day)", pl. "plural", PST "general past marker (referring to events occurring yesterday or earlier)", R.ART. "relative clause article indicating that some thing exists which satisfies the description of the relative clause", RC "relative clause", S "semivowel", sg. "singular", SUB "relative clause subordinator", V "vowel", VD "voiced".

⁵The cl. 9/10 prefix N- causes devoicing in /b/ and /d/. It causes /g/ to become /pw/ and /j/ (a voiced palatal stop) to become /py/.

⁶The form of this noun stem might better be represented by -pâK, where a capital K represents a velar archiphoneme. This is due to the fact that the opposition /g:/k/ exists only at the beginning of stems, not in the middle or at the ends. In these positions, only the glottal stop is attested.

⁷The tone of the noun prefixes in this data is high, which reflects the influence of the preceding modifier. It, as well as all other noun modifiers, causes an initial low tone on a noun to become high.

⁸The sole exception to this seems to be 'nĩ, 'that', which is discussed in section 4.

⁹Verbal constructions not including ' + as the final element are the hortative constructions and the general past affirmative independent perfective construction.

¹⁰The one word which is known to escape all tonal alteration is e, 'with, to'. It never becomes */é/.

¹¹Discussed as class 24 by Meeussen (1967, p.104).

¹²This noun is in class 1 in the Badjué dialect of Koozime, probably reflecting the fact that it was formerly in cl. 9/10 in that dialect. All nouns of cl. 9/10 have subsequently been transferred to cl.1 in the Badjué dialect.

¹³This is a shortened form of the word m-ud 'person'.