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LOCATIVE NP'S, LOCATIVE SUFFIXES,
AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

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0. Introduction. This paper discusses certain aspects of the behavior of locative noun phrases in the OluTsootso dialect of (Olu)Luyia, a Bantu language of Kenya. Locative NP's in this language are capable of bearing grammatical relations to verbs, and their status as grammatical terms provides some interesting insights into areas of relational grammar. In the first sections of this paper, I discuss the behavior of locative NP's with respect to various syntactic rules, including passive, tough-movement, A-raising, cleft-question-formation, and others. In certain cases, a verbal locative suffix appears, while in others, the suffix does not appear. A general proposal for predicting the appearance of the locative suffix is offered. In later sections I briefly discuss some implications for the theory of relational grammar that are raised by the data and analyses.

1. Morphology and Syntax. Some preliminary remarks on OluTsootso morphology and syntax are needed before an examination of the various syntactic processes can proceed. The morphology of nouns consists of class prefixes (usually listed in numbered pairs denoting singular and plural) preceding roots. For the purposes of this paper, locative noun phrases (henceforth LOC NP's) consist of one of three locative prefixes₁ (henceforth LOC pfx'es) preceding the regular noun class prefix₂, followed by the root. Verbal markers include subject and object markers, derivational, passive, and tense/aspectual (henceforth T/A) suffixes, and locative suffixes (henceforth LOC sfx'es). The subject and object prefixes (as well as the LOC sfx'es) must "agree" with the corresponding NP's which are subjects or objects of verbs. Subject prefixes precede object prefixes.

LOC NP's govern verbal and certain concordial agreement processes, and can participate in most relativization phenomena. In many cases, LOC NP's are moved by rules which also affect non-LOC NP's. LOC NP's can bear the grammatical relations of 'subject of' and 'object of' to verbs. In each of these cases, LOC NP's differ from prepositional phrases, which are more restricted in movement and relativization, govern no agreement processes, and bear no grammatical relations to verbs. OluTsootso sharply distinguishes LOC NP's from prepositional phrases.

2. Syntactic rules. We may now turn to a discussion of the various syntactic phenomena in which LOC NP's may participate. In some cases I shall introduce the syntactic processes involved with data involving non-LOC NP's, and then discuss the behavior of LOC NP's for each process. I shall be interested here mainly in predicting the occurrence of the LOC sfx in certain of these constructions.

2.1. Passive. The first syntactic process described will be passive (henceforth PSV). Below are examples of underlying active and corresponding PSV sentences involving non-LOC NP's:

- (1a) Ombooko a--lol--aanga³ in---zu
 O. cl.1-see-T/A cl.9-house
 'Ombooko sees the house'
- (1b) → In---zu yi-lol--uungwa neende Ombooko
 cl.9-house cl.9-see-PSV,T/A by O.
 'The house is seen by Ombooko'

Note that in sentence (1b), the derived subject inzu (class9), 'house', governs (class 9) subject agreement on the verb. The logical subject Ombooko becomes the object of the preposition neende, 'by'.

Similar results obtain when LOC NP's become subjects of passivized verbs. Note that some verbs allowing PSV to apply might traditionally be considered, "intransitive", while others are indisputably "transitive".⁴ As in the above, the (b) sentences are the PSV counterparts of the corresponding active (a) sentences:

- (2a) aBa--xasi Ba--tsiits-aanga ha--mu--chela
 cl.2-woman cl.2-go-T/A LOC-cl.3-river
 'The women go near the river'
- (2b) → Ha--mu--chela ha--tsii-Buungwa--ho neende aBaxasi
 LOC-cl.3-river LOC-go-PSV,T/A-LOC sfx by women
 'Near the river is gone by the women'
- (3a) esie en-deer-aanga eshi-taBo mu-shi--iro
 I I-bring-T/A cl.7-book LOC-cl.7-market
 'I bring the book in the market'
- (3b) → Mu--shi--iro mu--leer-uungwa--mwo eshitaBo neende esie
 LOC-cl.7-market LOC-bring-PSV-LOC sfx book by I
 'In the market is brought book: by me'

Passivized sentences similar to the above in which the LOC subject prefix and/or LOC sfx do not agree with the subject LOC NP are ungrammatical, as are sentences without the LOC sfx. 2.2. Tough-movement. The Tough-movement rule (henceforth TGH) in OluTsotso moves objects of embedded verbs to subjects of higher verbs, as in the following example:

- (4a) Oxu--leera eshi--taBo ni oxw---aangu
 cl.15-bring cl.7-book be cl.15-easy
 'To bring a book is easy'
- (4b) → Eshi-taBo ni eshi--angu shi--oxu--leera
 cl.7-book be cl.7-easy cl.7-cl.15-bring
 'A book is easy to bring'

LOC NP's can also be moved by TGH, as in the following examples with /angu/, 'easy', and /tinu/'hard':

- (5a) Oxu--tuuxa haa--n-zu ni oxw-aangu
 cl.15-arrive LOC-cl.9-house be cl.15-easy
 'To arrive near the house is easy'

- (5b) → Haa-n-zu ni aha-angu ho--oxu-tuuxa---ho
 LOC-cl.9-house be LOC-easy LOC-cl.15-arrive-LOC sfx
 'Near the house is easy to arrive'
- (6a) Oxu-leera eshitaBo muu-n-zu ni oxu-tinu
 cl.15-bring book LOC-cl.9-house be cl.15-hard
 'To bring a book in the house is hard'
- (6b) → Muu-n-zu ni omu-tinu mw-ooxu--leera-mwo eshitaBo
 LOC-cl.9-house be LOC-hard LOC-cl.15-bring-LOC sfx book
 'In the house is hard to bring a book'

Notice that again the LOC prefixes and sfx'es must agree with the LOC NP. Sentences without agreement, and (b) sentences without the LOC sfx'es, are ungrammatical.

2.3. Dislocation. The rule of dislocation (henceforth DISL), moves NP's to the left and leaves an agreement element, the object prefix, on the verb. The dislocated noun is often followed by a demonstrative adjective, as in the following:

- (7a) Keeya a-lol--aanga aBa--saatsa
 K. cl.1.1-see-T/A cl.2-man
 'Keeya sees the men'
- (7b) → aBa--saatsa yaaBo Keeya a--Ba--lol--aanga
 cl.2-man dem. K. cl.1.1-cl.2-see-T/A
 'Those men, Keeya sees(them)'

When LOC NP's are dislocated, LOC object prefixes and LOC sfx'es appear:

- (8a) Lii-nōni li-pulushil-aanga xu--mu--saala
 cl.5-bird cl.5-fly-T/A LOC-cl.3-tree
 'The bird flies on-to the tree'
- (8b) → Xu--mu--saala yuxwo lii-nōni li--xu-pulushil-aanga-xwo
LOC-cl.3-tree dem. cl.5-bird cl.5-LOC-fly-T/A-LOC sfx
 'On to the tree on-there, the bird flies on-to(there)'

2.4. Movement and LOC-be-shift. Rather than merely listing the rules which condition the appearance of the LOC sfx, it might be proposed that the LOC sfx appears whenever the LOC NP is moved. This hypothesis would be confirmed by the evidence from a rule of LOC-be-shift, in which a LOC NP following the locational verb 'to be' becomes the subject:

- (9a) aBa--saatsa Ba--li xu--mu-saala
 cl.2-man cl.2-be LOC-cl.3-tree
 'The men are on the tree'
- (9b) → Xu---mu--saala xu--li---xwo aBa--saatsa
 LOC--cl.3-tree LOC-be-LOC sfx cl.2-man
 'On the tree are the men'

Verbal subject agreement must be with the LOC NP in the (b) sentence, and the LOC sfx must appear.

2.5. Against movement alone. Data from three additional syntactic processes will be used to argue against the claim that mere movement of the LOC NP conditions the appearance of the LOC sfx.

2.5.1. Focus movement. There is a rule which moves post-verbal LOC NP's within a clause under circumstances involved with emphasis or focus. The LOC NP can be moved from its unmarked position after object NP's to a position immediately after the verb:

- (10a) a-leer-aanga eshitaBo muu-n--zu
 cl.1-bring-T/A book LOC-cl.9-house
 'He brings a book in the house'
- (10b) → a-leer--aanga muu--n-zu eshitaBo
 cl.1-bring-T/A LOC-cl.9-house book
 'He brings in the house a book'
- (11a) em-bax---aanga Keeya ama-fuura muu--n--zu
 I-smear-T/A K. cl.6-oil LOC-cl.9-house
 'I smear Keeya with oil in the house'
- (11b) → em--bax-aanga muu--n--zu Keeya ama-fuura
 I-smear-T/A LOC-cl.9-house K. cl.6-oil
 'I smear in the house Keeya with oil.'

These data disprove the claim that the LOC sfx appears whenever a LOC NP is moved, since no LOC sfx may appear in the (b) sentences above.

2.5.2. Cleft-question formation. A second type of movement rule which does not condition the appearance of the LOC sfx is a cleft-question formation rule (henceforth CQF). From the more basic question-formation sentence like (12a), sentence (12b), a CQF sentence may be formed:

- (12a) Keeya a-tsiits--aanga he--ena (</ha--ina/)
 K. cl.1--go--T/A LOC--which (<LOC-which)
 'Keeya goes where?'
- (12b) → Ni he--ena aha Keeya a-tsiits--aanga
 be LOC-which LOC,Rel. K. cl.1-go--T/A
 'It is where _Q where _{Rel.} Keeya goes?'

Note that the LOC NP has been moved in this CQF sentence (12b), but that no LOC sfx appears on the verb.

2.5.3. A third case involving movement of a LOC NP is A-raising. In the following example, the non-LOC NP aBasaatsa, 'men', is raised to subject position from the underlying semantic representation of (13a):

- (13a)

aBa-saatsa	-kwa	-tsiililil-
cl.2-man	-fall	-continue-
- (13b) → aBa-saatsa Ba--tsiililil--aanga oxu--kwa
 cl.2-man cl.2-continue-T/A cl.15-fall
 'The men continue to fall'

When LOC NP's are moved by A-raising, no LOC sfx appears:

(14a)

Muu--n--zu	_____	-Bala	_____	-tsiililil-	_____
LOC-cl.9-house	_____	-be warm-	_____	-continue-	_____

(14b) → Muu--n--zu mu--tsiililil--aanga oxu---Bala
 LOC-cl.9-house LOC-continue-T/A cl.15-be warm
 'In the house continues to be warm'

The LOC sfx does not appear after the underlyingly embedded verb /Bal/, 'be warm', although the LOC NP has been moved by the rule of A-raising.

These facts about A-raising, combined with the data from focus-movement and CQF, provide counter-evidence to the claim that the LOC sfx appears on a verb whenever the LOC NP is moved. 2.6. Grammatical status change. To summarize, we have seen that the rules of PSV, TGH, DISL, and LOC-be-shift condition the appearance of the LOC sfx, whereas the rules of focus-movement, CQF, and A-raising do not. A crucial distinction between these two sets of rules involves changes in the grammatical status of the LOC NP's involved. The rules of PSV, TGH, DISL, and LOC-be-shift have the effect of promoting the LOC NP's to a higher grammatical status. PSV, TGH, and LOC-be-shift promote LOC NP's to subject, while DISL has the effect of promoting a LOC NP to direct object (I shall return to this point below). In contrast, the rules of focus-shift, CQF, and A-raising do not affect the grammatical status of the LOC NP, but simply move the NP. Therefore, rules which promote the grammatical status of a LOC NP condition the appearance of the LOC sfx, but movement rules which do not affect the grammatical status of a LOC NP do not condition the insertion of the LOC sfx.

3. Some Implications for Relational Grammar. In this section, I shall discuss some implications for the theory of relational grammar that are raised by the behavior and the analysis of LOC NP's in OluTsootso.

3.1. Relation-changing problems. In the theory of relational grammar proposed by Johnson (1974), rules are distinguished in terms of relation-changing (Rc) and non-relation changing (non-Rc). Specifically, cyclic rules are Rc and non-cyclic rules are non-Rc. There is, however, evidence from OluTsootso LOC NP's that suggests that DISL, usually considered non-cyclic, is in fact Rc. This is demonstrated by the following. Consider first that true direct objects (both underlying and derived) govern object agreement when they are pronominalized (pronominalization involves a feature-copying and deletion process). Compare sentence (15a) with the pronominalized sentence of (15b):

(15a) John a----lol-----aanga in----zu
 J. cl.1---see---T/A cl.9-house
 'John sees the house'

- (15b) → John a---yi---lol---aanga
 J. cl.1-cl.9-see--T/A
 'John sees it'

If an NP is not an object, it may not be pronominalized with feature copying, object prefix, and deletion. In sentence (16a), ama-fuura, 'oil', is not the object, and cannot be pronominalized as in (16b):

- (16a) esie em--bax--aanga Keeya ama---fuura
 I I-smear-T/A K. cl.6-oil
 'I smear Keeya with oil'
 (16b) → *esie en---ga---Bax---aanga Keeya.
 I I--cl.6--smear-T/A K.
 'I smear Keeya with it'

Similarly, when post-verbal LOC NP's are pronominalized and deleted, an object prefix agreeing with the entire LOC NP does not appear:

- (17a) Keeya a--tsiits--aanga ha--shi--iro
 K. cl.1-go--T/A LOC-cl.7-market
 'Keeya goes near the market'
 (17b) → *Keeya a--ha--tsiits--aanga--ho
 K. cl.1-LOC-go--T/A---LOC sfx
 'Keeya goes near--there'

A sentence similar to (17b) without the LOC object prefix would be grammatical: Keeya a--tsiits--aanga--ho, 'Keeya goes near--there'. Thus, the failure of the LOC object prefix to appear in pronominalized sentences like (17b) is evidence that the LOC NP, much like the NP amafuura in sentence (16a-b), is not a direct object of the verb.

But now recall that, as in sentence (8b), the LOC object prefix does appear when the underlying post-verbal LOC NP undergoes DISL. The conclusion is that the LOC NP bears a new grammatical relation (of direct object) to a verb when DISL applies, and that therefore DISL is a relation-changing rule.

It should also be pointed out that it is impossible to distinguish rules which condition the appearance of the LOC sfx on the basis of relational change. As the analysis and data of previous sections show, a change in the grammatical status, but not a change in grammatical relation, of a LOC NP conditions the appearance of the LOC sfx. This can be shown by considering that A-raising is a rule which changes grammatical relations, but since it is not a rule which changes the grammatical status of a LOC NP, it does not condition the appearance of the LOC sfx. Thus, there may be some advantage and insight to be gained by a dichotomy of syntactic processes along the parameter of relation-change, but the overlapping (but non-congruent) distinction in terms of status-changing rules must still be incorporated into an explanatory theory of grammar.

3.2. LOC underlying subjects. It has been claimed that LOC NP's which surface as subjects of active verbs are represented in underlying structure as 'objects' (or non-subjects) of verbs. This would mean that something like the following would underlie sentence (18b) in OluTsootso:

- (18a) _____ -Bal- _____ muu--n---zu
 -be warm- LOC-cl.9-house
 (18b) → Muu--n--zu mu--Bal--aanga
 LOC-cl.9-house LOC-be warm-T/A
 'In the house is warm'

Notice that this proposal would claim that LOC NP's change their grammatical status from non-subject to subject. But as we have seen, rules which change the grammatical status of LOC NP's also condition the appearance of the LOC sfx. Therefore, the absence of the LOC sfx in examples like (18b) should be taken as evidence that no change in the status of the LOC NP takes place. This in turn seriously weakens the case for a semantic representation like (18a), and for the proposed rule which would move the LOC NP into subject position. And in fact there is no evidence in OluTsootso suggesting that the correct underlying representation of sentence (18b) is anything which differs greatly from its surface form. These considerations argue against deriving sentences like (18b) from semantic representations like (18a).

3.3. Extraction. Some examples in which the noun of the LOC NP is extracted from the locative expression are given below. For convenience, these (c) sentences correspond to previous examples in which the entire LOC NP underwent the rule in question:

- (2c) → Omu--chela ku--tsii--Buungwa--ho neende aBa-xasi
 cl.3-river cl.3-go-PSV,T/A-LOC sfx by cl.2-woman
 'The river is gone near by the women'
 (3c) → Eshi--iro shi--leer--uungwa--mwo eshitaBo neende esie
 cl.7-market cl.7-bring-PSV,T/A-LOC sfx book by I
 'The market is brought-in the book by me'
 (5c) → In--zu ni in---aangu yi--oxu--tuuxa--ho
 cl.9-house be cl.9-easy cl.9-cl.15-arrive-LOC sfx
 'The house is easy to arrive near'
 (6c) → In---zu ni in--dinu yi--oxu--leera--mwo eshitaBo
 cl.9-house be cl.9-hard cl.9-cl.15-bring-LOC sfx book
 'The house is hard to bring in book.'
 (8c) → Omu--saala yukwo lii--noñi li--ku--pulushil--aanga---xwo
 cl.3-tree dem. cl.5-bird cl.5-cl.3-fly--T/A ---LOC sfx
 'That tree, the bird flies onto(it)'

It seems reasonable to claim that when the noun of the LOC NP is moved out of the LOC NP, the LOC prefix cliticizes on to the verb as the LOC sfx. But there is also some evidence to suggest that

when a noun is extracted from a locative expression, there is promotion of that extracted noun. The evidence for this comes from a consideration of the following sentences involving pronominalization:

- (19a) Keeya a---tsiits---aanga ha---shi--iro
 K. cl.1-go----T/A LOC--cl.7--market
 'Keeya goes near the market'
 (19b)→ Keeya a---shi---tsiits---aanga---ho
 K. cl.1--cl.7--go-----T/A----LOC sfx
 'Keeya goes near-it'

The class 7 object prefix shi may optionally appear on the verb when the LOC NP has been pronominalized (the LOC sfx must appear). Since, as we have seen, only objects may govern object agreement, it would seem that an optional rule promoting the noun eshi-iro, 'market' to object status applies, followed by normal object pronominalization (feature copying and deletion) which inserts the class 7 object prefix -shi- before the verb. The LOC prefix ha- again cliticizes onto the verb as the LOC sfx.

If it is true that extraction cum promotion of a noun of a LOC NP is a possible rule, it might be used to account for the limited cases in English where intransitive verbs are passivized:

- (20) This bed has been slept in by royalty.
 (21) The bridge was just flown under by the Red Baron.

From underlying representations in which the entire LOC NP follows the verb, an extraction cum promotion rule would make the extracted nouns objects, after which passive could apply. And there is some intuitive appeal to extraction cum promotion, since once the noun is extracted from the locative preposition in English, the noun no longer carries evidence of its prior status as a non-term.

4. Summary and Conclusion. In conclusion, it has been demonstrated that LOC NP's in OluTsotso can undergo the syntactic processes of PSV, TGH, DISL, LOC-be-shift, A-raising, CQF, and focus-shift. Certain of these processes involved the appearance of the LOC sfx. It has been claimed that whenever the status of the LOC NP is promoted by rule, the LOC sfx appears. The notion of 'status' change cross-cuts the distinction maintained in relational grammar between relation-changing and non-relation-changing rules, since a rule may affect a grammatical relation but not affect grammatical status. (as in A-raising). Evidence has been adduced to show that DISL is a relation-changing rule in OluTsotso, because non-object LOC NP's are promoted to objects. The claim that LOC NP's which are subjects of active verbs are derived from a representation like (18a) has been weakened by the discussion of section 3.2. Finally, there is evidence that the extraction of nouns from locative expressions may involve a concomitant promotion, which may in turn be useful in accounting for some English data as well as for certain pronominalization facts of OluTsotso.

NOTES

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²The regular class prefix is reduced when the LOC pfx precedes: /eshi/--> -shi-; /iN/--> -N- ; /omu/--> -mu-. Cf. Dalgish (1976a) and (1975).

³The continuous/habitual marker /ngV/ conditions vowel copy and vowel lengthening processes. See Dalgish (1976a) and (1975) for further discussions of the vocalic phenomena illustrated but not discussed in examples of this paper.

⁴Some discussion of the notion of transitivity is found in Dalgish (1976b), as well as a more complete discussion of passivized locatives.

⁵The LOC sfx does appear on the lower verb if PSV applies on the lower copy prior to A-raising:

Tsiisiimba	_____	-injl-	_____	muunzu	_____	-tsiililil-	_____
lions	_____	-enter-	_____	in house	_____	-continue-	_____
(PSV) →							
Muunzu	_____	-injl-u-	_____	neende tsiisiimba	_____	-tsiililil-	_____
in house	_____	-enter-PSV-	_____	by lions	_____	-continues-	_____
(A-raising)							
→ Muunzu mu--tsiililil--aanga oxw-iinjl-u-a neende tsi-							
siimba							
in house LOC-continue-T/A cl.15-enter-PSV-T/A by lions							
'In the house continues to be entered(in) by the lions'							

⁶It might still be maintained that (18a) underlies (18b), but that the rule inserting the LOC sfx is not sensitive to the rule which moves the post-verbal LOC NP to subject (perhaps the latter rule is quite abstract). My point is that there is no evidence in favor of such a proposal.

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