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Locative Constructions in South African Setswana

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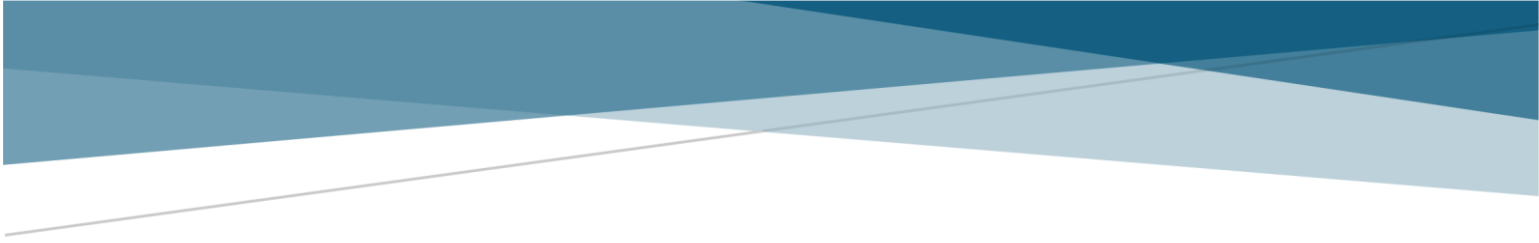
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Locative Constructions in South African Setswana

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List of Abbreviations

APPL	—	applicative
ASS	—	associative
AUX	—	auxiliary
CONJ	—	conjoint
COP	—	copula
DEM	—	demonstrative
DISJ	—	disjoint
FUT	—	future
FV	—	final vowel
IMP	—	imperative
LOC	—	locative
NC	—	noun class
O	—	object
PL	—	plural
POSS	—	possessive
PST	—	past
Q	—	question
S	—	subject marker
SAS	—	South African Setswana
SG	—	singular
SSJ	—	Southern Setswana from Johannesburg
X	—	class X/ unnamed class
**	—	an ungrammatical construction

1. Introduction

This thesis is a description of the status and use of locative demonstratives in locative phrases and constructions in the Southern Bantu language Setswana. Languages use many methods of expressing location, for instance, via syntax or morphology. In Bantu locative literature the focus often lies on locative inversion strategies. While my inspiration to research locatives in Setswana originated with an interest in

this area, the research process led to an interest in Setswana locative demonstratives and their functions instead.

This thesis will first describe the locative demonstratives and their status in Setswana literature and compare them to the Southern Setswana from Johannesburg (SSJ) variety. After which, the most common constructions of locative demonstrative phrases will be presented during which there will be a discussion of the applicative marker. The last major section of the thesis is dedicated to locative markers which are used in locative phrases where class X, the associative marker *χá* and *ká* marker are discussed.

2. Setswana Research Background/ Literature Review

2.1 History of Setswana Research

Setswana sometimes called Tswana and historically called Sechuana or Chwana, is classified as S31 according to the Guthrie classification system in the Sotho-Tswana group. It is spoken by 13,745,730 speakers in Botswana, South Africa and parts of Namibia (Eberhard et. al 2025). Speakers are called Batswana, and are often multilingual, speaking other languages such as Sesotho (S33) and Sepedi (S32) (Krüger 2013). These languages are also closely related to Setswana, and they are all part of the Sotho-Tswana sub-branch of Bantu languages. Sesotho and Setswana share roughly 86% of their lexicon with each other (Gunnink 2025).

Research conducted on languages in Southern Africa, including Setswana, already began in the 1800s with a few listed words of Setswana (Cole 1955). The first linguistic grammar of Setswana was written by James Archbell in 1836, and more research ensued through other missionaries and missionary groups as they created dictionaries, wrote grammars on other varieties of Setswana and orthographies until the 1900s (Cole 1955; Krüger 2006: 4-5). An official orthography was instated in Johannesburg in April 1937 (Krüger 2006: 4).

In 1955, Desmond Cole published his grammar using this orthography. Researchers have since extensively researched and written about Setswana, created in-depth dictionaries, and created teaching materials for how to teach Setswana in schools.

Other recent notable researchers working on Setswana include Herman Batibo, Andy Chebane, Denis Creissels, Naledi Kgolo, Caspar Krüger, Joyce Mathangwane, and Sheila Mmusi. Many of these researchers have also conducted research on other languages in the area which helps provide particular insight into how Setswana compares with other Bantu languages especially within southern Africa.

2.2 Background to Setswana Locatives

Locatives are morphemes or syntactic structures by which a (deictic) location is expressed. In many Bantu languages locatives are often expressed using locative noun class markers from classes 16, 17, and 18. Most Bantu languages allow either the addition of a locative class marker to the pre-existing noun class marker on a noun, a phenomenon called ‘stacking’, or the locative class marker replaces the original noun class. In the Zulu example below, the locative class 25 is ‘stacked’ onto the pre-existing noun class 3 marker. In this example there is also the locative suffix *-eni*. Locative marking with suffixes is common in Southern Bantu with the suffix **-ini* argued to have come from ‘liver’ to refer to “interior location” and which later grammaticalized into a locative marker (Samson & Schadeberg 1994).

- (1) e-m-bhéd-eni
 LOC25-3-bed-LOC
 ‘in bed’ Zulu (Van der Spuy 2014b: 69)

The replacement method, also called prefix deletion (Guérois 2015) is demonstrated in the Cuwabo example below.

- (2) ñ-ttólo
 NC5-well
 ‘well’
- (3) o-ttólô=ni ókúle
 NC17-well=LOC NC17.DEM.III
 ‘at the well’ (Guérois 2015: 54, 171)

In example (3), the class 5 prefix ñ- of the base -ttólo ‘well’ is replaced by the locative class 17 prefix o- and class 17 concord spreads to the demonstrative.

The SSJ variety of Setswana does not use either strategy, instead the locative expression is marked by a “locative demonstrative”¹ and the final -ǀ such as in the phrase:

- (4) kó mú-tsè-ǀ
 NC17.LOC.DEM1 NC3-village-LOC
 ‘at the village’ (1/11/2022)

In this phrase, the location *mùtsi* takes the locative marker -ǀ resulting in the lowering of the preceding vowel from [i] to [e]. The -ǀ suffix can be attached to a location or the target of direction to express that the event is happening ‘at’ or ‘to’ that location. The locative marker -ǀ in Setswana is the equivalent of the -eni locative marker in Zulu seen in example (1) and is also derived from *-ini ‘liver’. This marker usually co-occurs with a demonstrative that takes locative class marking.

In Setswana, the locative classes are classes 16 *fā*- ‘here’, 17 *χò*- ‘there’, and 18 *mò*- ‘inside’ but they are no longer productive as locative markers. There is a limited set of words with classes 16, 17, and 18 but otherwise the locative prefixes cannot be added to another nominal base that is not included in this set. The existence of this set of nouns with these classes is also debated because they display a lack of specific class concord and tonal patterns of the noun class system. Words which appear to have locative classes such as *godimo* ‘top’ or *fatshe* ‘down’ and appear to display class 17 *go*- and 16 *fā*- agreement marking respectively, often take additional noun class marking (Creissels 2011). However, SSJ nouns cannot stack class markers meaning that, for example, **li-fā-tshe* ‘earth; floor; soil’ would be ungrammatical. Therefore, the base must be *-fatshe* rather than *-tshe* to form *lifatshe* ‘earth; floor; soil’. Historically speaking, *-tshe* may have been the original base but based on its current behaviour and lack of locative class agreement in SSJ, *-fatshe* and *-godimo* will be considered bases within this thesis. This thesis will hence follow Creissels’ (2011: 37) adverbial analysis, thus treating words such as *fatshe* and *godimo* as adverbs.

There are two other unproductive noun classes associated with locatives as well. The first is considered nameless (Poulos and Louwrens 1994:47) or otherwise called Class X (Lombard, van Wyk, &

¹ For now, this is called a demonstrative as it is called in the literature, however, its status will be further discussed in section 4.

Mokgong 1985:50, Krüger 2006: 95) and is found in a limited set of nouns (Krüger 2006: 95). The other class has the forms *in- or *N- and is either also nameless (Poulos and Louwrens 1994:47) or called Class Y (Lombard, van Wyk, & Mokgokong 1985: 50). Class Y does not appear in the SSJ dataset, however Class X is relevant with regard to its concord using the associative *χá* marker and the few nouns that belong to this class.

The only examples of class 16, 17, and 18 are visible through the demonstrative system. Otherwise, there are few if any examples of productive class 16 or 18 marking in nouns. Class 15/17 have a few more examples, but this is likely due to their fusion rather than demonstrating productive class 17 marking. Locative phrases with these demonstratives in larger clauses have also been studied especially in consideration of subject inversion strategies. In those cases, Demuth & Mmusi (1997) for example, show that locative phrases in Setswana do not have locative noun class agreement when they occur before the verb.

Like in most Bantu languages, verbal infinitives in Setswana use the class 15 prefix to indicate their infinitive nominal status. In Setswana this class has, to some extent, merged with class 17 and it is therefore sometimes unclear whether the locative class 17 is present or whether it is the class 15 marker due to their similar appearance in concord patterns such as *ku-* (Creissels 2011: 36). The infinitive class 15 *χò-* is the most visible on verbs in isolation such as *χòbérékà* ‘to work’. The ambiguity between class 15 and 17 is most apparent in examples like the phrase *mô go-tlhoke-ng* ‘to be in poverty’ (see discussion later in section 5.1.2, example (66)). In this example it is unclear whether *go-* is an infinitival marker or a locative marker as arguments could be made for either prefix. If it is the class 15 infinitive, then the phrase would have been built up of the stative verb *go-tlhoka* ‘to be poor’ and turned into a phrase with the *mô-place-ŋ* construction. However, this would be the only example in my dataset where an infinitive verb can take the locative *-ŋ*, as otherwise verbs can only take a relative clause marker *-ŋ*. If it is the class 17 locative marker, the argument that the interpretation of ‘poverty’ as a place would be stronger. However, this would also question the necessity of the *go-* prefix since all other examples with the *mô-place-ŋ* construction do not have the *go-* prefix. It also raises the question of whether this prefix can be placed on other verb bases and yield a ‘to be in (stative)’ reading. More research is needed to know with more certainty. However, for the purpose of this thesis, in ambiguous cases, such as this one, they will be glossed as class 15/17.

In the elicitation sessions I carried out, the most common locative constructions were created with either the demonstrative and the locative *-ŋ* marker or with the *χá* marker. These will therefore be the focus of this thesis. The purpose of this thesis is therefore to provide a description of locative demonstratives with particular attention to *kó* and *kwá*. I mentioned briefly that while in the introduction they are called demonstratives, it will be shown that their behaviour is unlike Setswana demonstratives. This thesis thus seeks to answer the following questions: Are locative demonstratives in SSJ truly demonstratives? How do locative demonstratives function in locative phrases? And to provide a broader overview of locative marking in SSJ, the thesis also tackles the question: what other markers are used to mark locatives in SSJ? This thesis thus aims to provide an overview of locative demonstratives, locative demonstrative phrases and other locative markers as used in locative constructions.

2.3 Locative Research

As noted earlier locatives in Bantu languages are typically expressed with noun classes 16 **pà-*, 17 **kù-*, and 18 **mù-* (Marten 2010: 251). In languages that have retained these classes, locative marked nouns show agreement with the verb and other nominal dependents (Riedel and Marten 2012: 289). Therefore, they can display agreement throughout a clause as shown in the following Bemba example where class 18 agreement appears on each word.

- (5) mù-ngándá mw-à-bá-kàfúndíshà ù-mú-súmà
 18-9.house 18-POSS-2-teacher AUG-18-beautiful
 ‘in the beautiful house of the teachers’ (Marten 2010: 252)

Similarly, in the following locative phrase in Swahili, the noun dependent takes locative agreement (Marten 2010: 260).

- (6) m-oyo-ni mw-angu/*w-angu
 3-heart-LOC 18-my/3-my
 ‘in my heart’ (Marten 2010: 260)

This agreement is however language specific, as some Bantu languages do not allow this or else have restrictions on the order of locative class agreement. The classification of locatives also differs as they are noun phrases in some languages, but prepositions or adjuncts in others such as siSwati (Marten 2010: 257). Marten (2010) has called this the Great Locative Shift in which Bantu languages, such as siSwati, which used to use noun classes for locative marking, have now changed to using prepositional phrases. While Setswana appears to use prepositional phrases as well, Creissels argues that in fact they are locative agreement prefixes rather than noun class markers (Creissels 2009, Marten 2010: 265).

By far the most discussed topic in relation to locatives in Bantu linguistics is locative inversion strategies. This is when locative phrases are moved from post-verbal to pre-verbal position and through this inversion, they gain subject status (Creissels 2011: 34) shown by their controlling agreement on the verb. This is evident in languages such as Chichewa (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989). Another type of locative inversion is semantic locative inversion (Buell 2007) where the semantics of the subject creates the locative interpretation rather than an explicit locative marker (Zeller 2013: 1107). An overarching typological study in van der Wal and Marten (2014) shows further types of subject inversions and their relationships and co-occurrences restrictions.

The existence of locative inversion in Setswana has been deeply debated. Creissels argues that it is not locative inversion because the locative is not a subject due to the lack of agreement as well as that ‘nouns’ with apparent locative class marking are in fact adverbs instead (Creissels 2011: 44-45). These adverbs do not display locative class marking despite their similarity to the locative class markers 16-18 due to their tonal patterns and lack of agreement (Creissels 2011: 44-45), as well as the fact that the ‘locative subject’ is an adjunct (Creissels 2011: 50). Thus, for Setswana the existence of locative inversion is not supported and hence the focus here on locative demonstrative constrictions.

3. Methodology

For this study I am using data from a collection of recordings made in 2022 and 2023 from a Descriptive Linguistics field methods course at Leiden University eliciting and collecting data with a speaker of Setswana. These sessions were mostly based on elicitation, but the language consultant did provide a children’s song that teaches children the parts of the body. Two separate data collection sessions were carried out in 2024 in Leiden University with the same speaker of Setswana called Francis. These sessions were elicitation-based as well.

The language consultant did not wish to stay anonymous but as this thesis will share some detailed background information, further identifiable information will be omitted. Francis is from Johannesburg Soweto and her family is from Rustenburg and Brits. Thus, growing up she spent a lot of time in Limpopo, Northwest, and Johannesburg. She moved away from South Africa in 2019 and since then mainly uses

Setswana when calling family members several times a week. Her family identifies as Bakgatla, however, Francis speaks the Southern variety but does not know the specific name of it due to living in a large city and her time spent in various regions in South Africa. Hence in this thesis it is called “Southern Setswana from Johannesburg” and abbreviated as SSJ. She also speaks Sesotho and Xitsonga. Given the shared lexicon of both Sesotho and Setswana, she has also provided valuable insight into which forms she considers more Setswana than Sesotho and vice versa.

The data presented in this thesis will be drawn from the data collection sessions and be supplemented with data from publications in which case they will be cited accordingly. The data collected from the sessions in 2022-2024 will be compared to the existing Setswana literature and analyses will be largely based on the data from Francis, or in combination with analyses of other closely related varieties with similar constructions.

In various literature, examples are written entirely in the official orthography of Setswana which does not include tone marking. In these examples, the relevant morphological markers under discussion and their tones will be written in IPA, with the rest of the form given in the official orthography to retain consistency of presentation of the analysis given by the author. The original glosses will be maintained where applicable.

4. Locative Demonstratives

Demonstratives are defined as parts of speech that “indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation” (Diessel 2013). In Setswana there are three supposed locative demonstratives which are classified as proximal, medial, and distal. These respectively take the forms *-ǎ/-á*, *-óú/-áú*, and *-ólè/-álè*. I say “supposed” because *kó* in particular has lost some of its demonstrative value, and its functions and classification will be discussed further in section 4.1. The proximal will be referred to as demonstrative 1, the medial as demonstrative 2, and the distal as demonstrative 3. If there are multiple variants of a demonstrative they will be referred to with a number and letter, e.g. demonstrative 1b will be a variant of demonstrative 1.

Locative demonstratives take either class 16 *fǎ*, 17 *kwá*, or 18 *mó* class marking. For each locative class the locative demonstrative is made up of the class marker for the proximal and a high-tone *-á* or *-ǎ*; the class marker and *-ó* for the medial; and the class marker with *-lè* or *-là* for the distal. The proximal and medial locative demonstratives are high-toned while the distal forms are High-Low.

An example of the class 16 locative demonstrative paradigm is presented below showing the proximal (7), medial (8) and the distal (9):

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------|
| (7) | ì | fǎ |
| | 3SG | NC16.DEM1B |
| | ‘it is here; it is in here’ | |
| | | |
| (8) | ì | fóú |
| | 3SG | NC16.DEM2 |
| | ‘it is there’ | |
| | | |
| (9) | ì | fálè |
| | 3SG | NC16.DEM3 |
| | ‘that there’ | |

In this paradigm, the alternative variant, *fǃ*, of the first demonstrative, *fá*, is used. The proximal, medial, and distal demonstratives can have up to three possible forms for each demonstrative. These forms are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. The SSJ dataset lacks *fá*, the first variant of the first demonstrative. The difference between the two markers is more idiolectal as there are no semantic nor structural differences based on the use of either.

Consider the locative class 16 examples with a paradigm of typical Class 7 demonstratives. These are also phrase final. In non-locative demonstrative marking, there is no locative class marker present.

- (10) *sè-tǃhàrì* *sé*
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM1
 ‘this tree’
- (11) *sè-tǃhàrì* *séu*
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM2
 ‘that tree’
- (12) *sè-tǃhàrì* *sélà*
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM3
 ‘that tree (further away)’

In Cole’s 1955 grammar, the locative demonstratives were confused for the locative classes and were assumed to be prefixes. The locative demonstratives are different from the locative classes—namely that the locative classes historically have low tones. As tones in Setswana are typically stable, we can argue that these morphemes in the table are in fact the locative demonstratives and not the locative prefixes since they are high-toned and do not prefix to a noun (Creissels 2011). Creissels argues that the locative demonstratives contain a locative class prefix which attaches to the demonstrative base (Creissels 2009, Marten 2010: 265). In Setswana demonstratives, only the initial consonant of the class is used to display agreement thus the low-tone of the class prefix is not visible in the demonstratives. Based on the paradigm of demonstratives in both Table 1 and Table 2, I support the argument that *fá*, *mó*, and *kó* are not noun classes, the direct etymological descendants of the Proto-Bantu **pà-*, **kù-*, and **mù-* classes themselves, but they are demonstratives that show locative agreement to these classes.

For a different variety of Setswana, Krüger (2006: 132) gives the forms in Table 1 below as demonstratives. Unfortunately, this variety is not named in Krüger’s publication and thus for this thesis it will be referred to as SAS which is an abbreviation of South African Setswana. The demonstratives have high tones as is the case with SSJ and there are two options of demonstratives for the proximal, two for the class 16 medial, and one form for the distal.

Table 1: Krüger’s SAS Locative Demonstrative List (Krüger 2006: 132)

	f- (16)	kwá*-	m- (18)
Dem1a	fa	kwá	mó
Dem1b	fano	kwáno	môno
Dem2a	fôo	kôô	môo
Dem2b	fao		
Dem3	falê	kwálê	mólê

According to Krüger's analysis, *kwá* is the prototypical locative demonstrative (Krüger 2006: 98). This differs from my data where *kwá* is used far less often than *kó*, meanwhile the other first demonstrative forms like *fá* and *mó* are used to a similar extent in comparison to other Setswana varieties and thus far do not appear to have other variants in their proximal forms. There is a split in functions of the locative demonstratives, as these forms occur in locative constructions without a demonstrative meaning, which I will call locative phrase markers.

In the SSJ chart of 'locative demonstratives', the supposed demonstratives of the SSJ variety are presented. As with the previous table, the demonstratives here are all high-toned as the non-locative demonstratives are. Another reason for this classification for these forms is that almost all of these demonstratives can occur after the noun, which is typical of Bantu demonstratives. Only the *kó* form cannot occur after, and this will be discussed further below. The locative classes are not active in locative concord throughout a clause however they create a locative interpretation when present. The presence of the locative 'demonstrative' does not indicate that the locative marker will behave as a locative demonstrative in any given structure—it can behave as a locative phrasal marker and a demonstrative separately to create a locative interpretation.

Table 2: Southern Setswana from Johannesburg 'Locative Demonstratives' in IPA

	f- (16)	k- (17?)	m- (18)
Dem1(a)	fá 'here'	(kó 'at' / kó)	mó 'here'
Dem1(b)	f5	kwá 'there'	
Dem1(c)		kwánò 'here'	
Dem2	fóo	kóo 'there'	móo
Dem3(a)	fólè	<u>kwálè</u> 'there'	mólè
Dem3(b)	fólà		

The distal demonstrative of class 17 is underlined in the table as its form is often confused for a verb *χòkwàlè* 'to close' and this will be further discussed at the end of this section in examples (23) – (27).

The discussion of their behaviour will begin with their demonstrative behaviour and then their locative behaviour afterward. The paradigm below displays the proximal locative demonstratives where the reading and function is only demonstrative. In these examples, the 'locative demonstratives' are behaving as typical demonstratives such as those in the earlier examples (10) - (12). Meaning that the locative meanings of the locative classes are not considered, and the interpretation of each of the examples in this paradigm is deictic in nature.

- (13) i tlá fá
 2SG FUT NC16.DEM1
 'come here!' (29/11/2022)
- (14) i tlá mó
 2SG FUT NC18.DEM1
 'come here!' (29/11/2022)
- (15) i tlá kwánò
 2SG FUT NC17.DEM1C
 'you should come here' (29/11/2022)

This table of demonstratives does not drastically differ from other varieties of Setswana, however, there are a few notable differences especially when comparing to Krüger’s research (2006: 132). Krüger writes that there are some proximal demonstrative forms which end in *-no* [nò] or *-na*, but *-na* forms are more typical in Sesotho (Krüger 2006: 133) and are rarely used in SSJ. The SSJ language consultant provided one of these forms in SSJ: *kwánò* ‘here’ in example 15, however, throughout my dataset this only occurs once in this example and due to the lack of additional data with other noun classes it is unclear whether this form fully integrated into the Setswana demonstrative system due to its rarity or if it is only a borrowing. The medial forms *fóu*, *kóu*, and *móu* were used the least often in the SSJ dataset. The exact reason for their rarity is unclear as these forms behave grammatically the same as *fá* and *mó*.

The language consultant provided a few examples which are not in Krüger’s paradigm of locative demonstratives. These are the forms *fólà* and *fólè* for the class 16 distal demonstrative meaning ‘there; far’. Krüger writes that for the locative demonstratives 16, 18, and 17 using *-la* as a suffix is extremely rare, even noting that this *-la* cannot be used for specific classes (Krüger 2006: 133). Comparing *fole* from SSJ speech data to Krüger’s *falè*, SSJ forms the distal using the base *fó* from the second demonstrative [*fóu*] *fôo* however, in Krüger’s dataset the distal for all three locative classes is formed from the base of the proximal demonstrative thus *fá-*, *kwá-*, and *mó-*. Another interesting point that must be mentioned is that Krüger writes this class as separate from class 17 as Krüger did not yet consider two classes as being merged. In the 2006 publication Krüger writes that it is class 19 but, in a later publication, Krüger chooses not to allocate a class to this (2013a: 20). This is another sign that perhaps the class 17 ‘demonstrative’ is in fact something else—such as a locative which can be used in specific locative phrases.

The use of these locatives is required in most locative phrases, and the phrasal structure reveals the status of the locative ‘demonstrative’ whether it behaves as a demonstrative or as a locative. In some rare instances the locative can be omitted as can be seen in example (16) below and thus the status of this marker must first be addressed here. The marker *mó* does not have a demonstrative meaning in the example. Even though class 18 typically denotes semantics such as ‘in; inside’, *mó* does not denote this in this case. Instead, the addition of *mó* makes the locative phrase more specific about the exact location of the writing—it occurs on top of the table rather than near it or under it. This does not have anything to do with relative distance to a speech participant as would be expected for a demonstrative thus *mó* behaves as a locative in example (17). The locative phrasal marker also creates a degree of separation between the location and the action. The table itself is not being written on, but there is something in between on which the writing is occurring. The separation is unexpected given the semantics of class 18 which specifically means ‘in’ or ‘inside of’ something. This separation appears to be limited to class 18 demonstratives since none of the other demonstrative examples in the dataset from SSJ have separation that is caused by the use of the locative marker.

- (16) *kí-kwál-á* *táfùlè*
 1SG-write-FV NC9.table
 ‘I write on the table’ (7/2/2023)
- (17) *kí-kwál-á* *mó* *táfùlè*
 1SG-write-FV NC18.LOC NC9.table
 ‘I write (on something) on the table’ (7/2/2023)

The specified locative meaning of *mó* is thus created through context. Class 18 has an overarching meaning of ‘in; inside’, but this interpretation is not present in example (17). While the form is clearly visually related to class 18 and the demonstrative system, it does not necessarily take the meaning from either component.

The class 18 reading does occur in one specific locative phrase, provided in example (18). This meaning is due to the structure of the phrase with the locative *-ŋ*. But using the class 18 locative is not common to explain that something occurs ‘in’ a place.

- (18) ...ká mó ñtù-ŋ
 LOC.by NC18.LOC NC9.house-LOC
 ‘in the house’ (7/2/2023)

When asked to say a phrase describing an object inside a place, the language consultant often used the locative adverb construction *χàrì χá* ‘inside’ rather than using *mó* to denote the same meaning, despite the fact that *mó* can be used in this way. This is telling as it shows that these locatives such as *mó* that have the specific inherent locative meaning in question are no longer preferred by speakers. The explanation for this shift in use may be that while locatives such as *mó* are clearly locative in nature, the fact that they can behave as demonstratives as well prevents them from being treated as plain locatives with only locative class meaning.

When locative ‘demonstratives’ such as *mó* are discussed in isolation, the meaning is not as locative in nature. Based on the set of proximal demonstrative examples in the SSJ Table 2 and their similar demonstrative-like meanings regardless of noun class, I would argue that these markers in isolation are viewed as demonstratives rather than as locatives. Demonstratives as a category have an inherent locative interpretation to them based on their definition alone. However, their interpretation in isolation does not have to do with the Bantu locative class marking. Therefore, while they can be used in both demonstrative and locative ways—their locative nature is restricted by the presence of the demonstrative.

When true demonstratives show concord for nonlocative nouns such as *sèt^hàrì* we get the following paradigm as also presented earlier in (10) - (12):

- (19) sèt^hàrì sé
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM1
 ‘this tree’
- (20) sèt^hàrì séu
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM2
 ‘that tree’
- (21) sèt^hàrì sélà
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM3
 ‘that tree (even further away)’

In an adjectival demonstrative phrase, it would look like the following example. In which there is class concord throughout the phrase:

- (22) sèt^hàrì sé sí-pâní
 NC7-tree NC7.DEM1 NC7-small
 ‘this small tree’ (1/11/2022)

The adjectival phrase shows that when demonstratives are used in phrases, the meaning of the demonstrative remains the same. However, when we have examples of locative demonstratives, the meanings fluctuate depending on context. For instance, in the SSJ demonstrative table, *fá* in isolation can be translated as ‘here’, *kó* is ‘by’ or ‘at’, and *mó* is also ‘here’. When comparing these isolated definitions, to the phrase shown in example (23), the demonstrative meaning changes to a more locative interpretation.

The language consultant also translated *kwá* as something like ‘there’, this particle will be discussed further in the next chapter especially regarding how it compares to *kó*. This, however, shows that the semantics of the locative demonstratives appear to be less stable and has more variation.

Occasionally when the demonstrative occurs there will be the locative particle *ká* before it. This is double locative marking as the *ká* denotes a locative and the following locative phrase also has a locative meaning. In the following example, the *ká* marker occurs before the phrase and while tonally it appears to be a demonstrative as it is high-toned, it is unrelated, and it will be discussed in further detail in section 6.3. Note that in the following example, *kwálá* is unrelated to the demonstrative class system and instead is from the class 15/17 *χùkwálà* ‘to write’.

- (23) *kì-kwál-á* *ká* *mó* *ntlù-ŋ*
 1SG-write-FV LOC.by NC18.LOC NC9.house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house’ (7/2/2023)

When adding the locative *-ŋ* ‘at’ at the end of the locative phrase, depending on the rest of the sentence the locative meaning does not necessarily stay as ‘at’ and instead the semantic meaning bleaches and it only acts as a grammatical marker denoting location. The semantics have more to do with the demonstrative and the full context of the sentence. On the word-level, the entire utterance has three locative markers including *ká*. However, the *mó ntlùŋ* is a locative phrase thus on the phrasal level the locative is marked twice—once with the phrase and once more with the *ká* marker. However, note that this multiple locative marking is not obligatory, as in the following example there is no *ká* before the locative phrase. In the dataset *ká* was most often paired with the demonstrative *mó* in these constructions.

- (24) *kí-kwál-á* *mǒ* *bòkêi-ŋ*
 1SG-write-FV NC18.LOC NC9.book-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the book’ (7/2/2023)

Example (24), appears to have the distal class 17 demonstrative *kwale* however, in this instance due to the subject marking and final vowel marking which occurs on verbs this is not the case. This brings up the reason for the underlining of the distal form of the class 17 demonstratives. It occurs rarely in the SSJ dataset and based on appearance it can be easily mistaken for other verbs. In other literature for other Setswana varieties the form *kwálè* is attested as the distal class 17 marker and in my data, this demonstrative occurs only once in example (25) below.

- (25) *ì-já* *kwálè*
 2SG-go-FV NC17.DEM3
 ‘go there’ (29/11/2022)

Despite its rarity in this dataset, this is not a typically rare demonstrative to find in Setswana as a whole as it has been written about in Krüger’s and Creissels’ respective works on multiple Setswana varieties. It is crucial to pay attention to the tones of the locative demonstratives as well. In this variety of Setswana, there is a verb which is distinguishable from the demonstrative via its tonal patterns and the subject marking. The forms *kwàlà* and *kwálé* are attested as variants of the verb ‘to close’ *χòkwàlà* and are presented below. In example (26), the subject is marked on the verb and in Setswana they can only be marked on the verb. In example (27), the tones are low-toned, while the demonstrative *kwálè* has a High-Low pattern.

- (26) *kì-kùp-à* *xùrì* *ú-kwál-é* *fèstèrè*
 1sg-beg.request-FV that 2SG-close-FV NC9.window
 Polite: ‘Could you close the window?’ (11/4/2023)

- (27) kwàl-à fèstèrè
close-FV window
Rude/impolite ‘close the window’ (11/4/2023)

4.1 Kó vs Kwá

This section is designated to understanding the distribution, usage, and meanings of the supposed first demonstrative *kó* and *kwá* in SSJ, which appear to be different from the varieties which are most often described and analysed in the literature.

In Section 4 above the following example with a distal demonstrative was presented:

- (28) ì-já kwálè
2SG-go-FV NC17.DEM3
‘go there’ (11/29/2022)

In eliciting this example, the form *ijá kwá* ‘go there’ was initially offered and explained as the shorter way of saying *kwálè*, the distal demonstrative in this sentence. However, in other varieties *kwá* is the proximal demonstrative of class 17, not the distal one as is used here. This shows that the meaning of this exact demonstrative form differs across varieties. This could suggest that the proximal *kwá* from other varieties was perhaps derived from the proximal *kó*, but by contrast in the SSJ variety *kwá* was derived from the distal *kwále* and hence it retained its distal identity. However, this does not explain the fact that *kwá* also has proximal uses/interpretations in SSJ as shown in examples (29) - (32). In examples (29-32) *kwá* acts as more of a locative phrasal marker in which the distal identity is less salient, meanwhile in example (28) *kwá* functions as a true demonstrative based on the definition of marking relative to a speech participant (*kwálè* ‘there’ is far from the speaker).

In the following examples, there are two phrases which are only differentiated by their use of *kó* and *kwá*.

- (29) bòkà í kwá p^hábúsi-ṛ
NC9-book NC9.it NC17.LOC NC9.room-LOC
‘the book that is in the room’ (13/12/2024)
- (30) bòkà í kó p^hábúsi-ṛ
NC9-book NC9.it NC17.LOC NC9.room-LOC
‘the book that is in the room’ (13/12/2024)
- (31) bòkà í kó χà-rì χá p^hábúsi
NC9-book NC9.it NC17.LOC NCX-inside NCX.ASS NC9.room
‘The book that is IN the room’ (13/12/2024)
- (32) **bòkà í kwá χà-rì χá p^hábúsi
NC9-book NC9.it NC17.DEM1 NCX-inside NCX.ASS NC9.room
** ‘the book that is in the room’ (13/12/2024)

In examples (29-30), both *kó* and *kwá* can be used in the formation of the locative phrase, but in (31) only *kó* is possible. This is because *kó* is used more often to form locative phrases and thus is more

limited to fixed positions rather than demonstrative positions. Meanwhile *kwá* can be used in both locative phrasal marking and as a demonstrative. Furthermore, *kwá* is used most often as a demonstrative rather than in a locative phrase. While it can still occur in a locative phrase, it is rarely used as a locative phrase marker in the SSJ dataset, and *kó* is almost exclusively used as a locative phrase marker. When these examples were elicited, however, there was a specific phrase that was ungrammatical, which was *kwá* *χàrì* *χá*. Interestingly, *kwá* *χàrì* is grammatical. This also shows that when there is a separate locative marker, such as *χá*, before the location in a phrase, *kwá* cannot be used.

Cole (1955) mentions that *kó* does exist, but almost all of the locative demonstrative examples from his dataset are with *kwá*. Similarly, in another description, a master's thesis from 1995, there is no mention of *kó*, only *kwá* (Moyane 1995). It is also striking that although the language consultant used for this study has Bakgatla background and in the literature dedicated to the Kgatla variety *kwá* is used more often than *kó* (Krüger 2013), SSJ still emerges with *kó* occurring far more often than *kwá*.

According to Krüger (2006: 98) *kwá* is the demonstrative form, not *kó*. We expect *kó* to be the first demonstrative form in alignment with the demonstrative paradigm, since the second demonstrative is *kóv*.

But *kó* is also structurally an outlier compared to other demonstratives because *kó* cannot be placed after the head in nonlocative demonstrative phrases while other demonstratives can occur in this position. Consider in the demonstrative paradigms below where the other demonstratives are able to follow the head.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (33) | sè-t ^h àrì
NC7-tree
'this/ that/ that (far) tree' | sé / se-ú / sé-là
NC7.DEM1 / NC7.DEM2 / NC7.DEM3 |
| (34) | bà-n:à
NC2-man
'this/ that/ that (far) man' | bá / bá-ú / bá-lè
NC2.DEM1 / NC2.DEM2 / NC2.DEM3 |
| (35) | li-rù
NC5-cloud
'this/ that/ that (far) cloud' | lé / lé-ú / lé-lè , lé-là
NC5.DEM1 / NC5.DEM2 / NC5.DEM3 NC5.DEM3 |

By comparing to the rest of the SSJ noun class demonstrative system, see Table 3, the medial form is based on the form of the proximal with the addition of *-ú*. In contrast to this, the SSJ variety has the paradigm in (36), instead of the expected (37):

- | | |
|------|---|
| (36) | 1. <i>kó</i> / 2. <i>koó</i> / 3. <i>kwálè</i> |
| (37) | 1. <i>kwá</i> / 2. <i>koó</i> / 3. <i>kwálè</i> |

While this analysis results in the distal not conforming to the typical agreement patterns, there is more variation in the distal forms in SSJ speech than in the proximal or medial demonstratives. For instance, in the distal demonstratives there is often variation with the final vowel which can be seen in *lélà* and *lélè*. Hence, the variation or forms in the distal of the class 17 demonstrative is anticipated and thus it is more likely for the distal to formally vary rather than the medial—which would be the case if *kwá* would be the underlying proximal form and thus the base of the formation of the medial.

This analysis does not explain the form of the class 16 medial *fóv*. Based on the rules and analyses provided in this section it should be ***fáv* since the medial is usually formed from the proximal. The exact reason for this difference is unclear. However, it is likely the result of a regularization of an infrequent form. Consider the Setswana demonstrative paradigm in Table 3:

Table 3: Table of SSJ Demonstratives

	Example Noun	Dem1	Dem2	Dem3a	Dem3b	Translation with the example noun
1	mōnnà	ó	óu	ólè	ólà	‘this/that/that (far) man’
2	bànnà	bá	báu	bálè		‘these/those/those (far) men’
3	mùnwàrà	ó	óu	ólè	ólà	‘this/that/that (far) finger’
4	mìnwàrà	é	éu	élè		‘these/those/those (far) fingers’
5	lìrù	lé	léu	lélè	lélà	‘this/that/that (far) cloud’
6	màrù	á	áu	álè		‘these/those/those (far) clouds’
7	sìt ^h àrì	sé	séu		sélà	‘this/that/that (far) tree’
8	dìt ^h àrì	tsé	tséu		tsélà	‘these/those/those (far) trees’
9	ntlù	é	éu	élè		‘this/that/that (far) house’
10	dìntlù	tsé	tséu	tsélè		‘these/those/those (far) houses’
11	lùsíkà	ló	lóu	lélè		‘this/that/that (far) family’
14	bòláo	bó	bóu	bólè	bólà	‘this/that/that (far) bed’

Most medial demonstratives in Setswana are formed via the bases *-éu* or *-óu*, with the exception of the class 2 medial demonstrative *báu*. Thus, there was likely a regularizing rule in which most demonstratives became formed with *-éu* or *-óu*, however, *báu* is not impacted by the rule due to its frequent use.

Recall the discussion earlier about the semantic meanings of the demonstratives. *Kó* also has an underlying meaning ‘at’ according to the literature meanwhile *kwá* means something similar to ‘there’. While Bantu languages do not have fixed translations for class 17 as it is very semantically varied (Zeller to appear: 320), I mention this as a reminder that despite their overlapping functions there is still a salient differentiation between these two morphemes. The fact that in this variety one form is preferred over the other in similar instances also demonstrates that they do cause a different and specified meaning within context especially in different constructions.

- (38) ó-ñ-á kwá
 3SG-sit.stay.FV NC17.DEM1
 ‘she stays there’ (6/12/2024)

- (39) **ñ-à kó
 sit.IMP-FV NC17.DEM1
 intended: ‘sit there’ (6/12/2024)

- (40) ó-ñ-à kwá kó kḡákàlà
 3SG-sit.stay.FV NC17.DEM1 NC17.LOC far
 ‘she stays there, far!’ (6/12/2024)

Kó requires another element afterward such as *kḡákàlà* ‘far’ meanwhile *kwá* does not. The imperative does not affect the *kó* marking, because imperatives do not affect demonstratives. Therefore, *kó* does not behave as a demonstrative but rather a locative phrase marker. Thus, *kó* is restricted to occur with an adjectival word like *kḡákàlà* or in locative phrases such as in *kó síkòlòḡ* ‘to school’ with the word-final *-ḡ*. *Kwá* is able to be used as both a locative phrase marker and a demonstrative as was initially discussed with examples (29) - (32). In example (38), *kwá* behaves more as a demonstrative.

Example (39) is an incomplete and ungrammatical phrase due to the word order and lack of locative referent to make the locative phrase, whereas example (38) has the correct order and a locative referent. For example (39) to be grammatical, *kó* must be replaced by *kwá* after the verb thus resulting in *ṇà kwá* ‘sit there’. Example (40) in particular appears to have double locative marking, however, in this example the locative phrase is an adjunct phrase. In this example, the locative phrase acts more as a further specification to explain that *kwá* ‘there’ is farther than the hearer may anticipate. In example (40) the *kwá* can either be at the end of the clause or be followed by another locative phrase—in this case the *kó* locative phrase.

In another example from a previous publication analysing Sengwaketse and Sengwato, presented below in example (41), instead of *kwá* occurring at the end of the clause, it is *kó*.

- (41) u-tsw-a ko [kó]
 3SG-come-FV NC17.DEM1
 ‘s/he comes from there’ (Creissels 1997: 77).

This clause demonstrates that there is some interesting grammatical variation between varieties of Setswana. In the SSJ variety, this would be ungrammatical as demonstrated in the preceding examples and in the example below where *kwá* or *kwánò* at the end of the phrase is permitted rather than *kó*. However, in the Sengwaketse and Sengwato varieties of Setswana, the opposite is true; *kó* at the end of the phrase is grammatical. While Creissels does not include the *kwá* equivalent in this paper it still demonstrates the differences between these two varieties: that *kó* can be phrase final in Sengwaketse and Sengwato but not in the SSJ variety. It essentially appears to be the exact opposite of what is happening in SSJ Setswana below.

- (42) i tlá kwánò
 2SG FUT NC17.DEM1b
 ‘you should come here’ (29/11/2022)

The comparison between these three can be summarized into the following table:

Table 4: Demonstrative vs. Locative Marker across Creissels’ Dataset and the SSJ Dataset

Variety	Phrase-Final/ Demonstrative	Locative Phrase Initial/ Locative Marker
Sengwaketse/ Sengwato	<i>kó</i>	<i>kwá</i>
SSJ	<i>kwá</i>	<i>kó</i>

This demonstrates that *kó* is a demonstrative in other varieties of Setswana and in the SSJ variety *kwá* functions as both a demonstrative and occasionally as a locative phrase marker.

When comparing to other locative and non-locative demonstratives such as in the following examples below, there is no restriction in allowing the demonstrative to occur at the end of the clause or after the location.

- (43) kó sí-kòlò-ṇ s’é/s’éó/s’élè
 LOC NC7-school-LOC NC7.DEM1/NC7.DEM2/NC7.DEM3
 ‘at this/that school’ (6/12/2024)

- (44) *kí* *mú-kxútswàní* *fá/mó*
 1SG NC3-short NC16.DEM1/NC18.DEM1
 ‘I am short here/there’ (6/12/2024)²

Therefore, if there is no restriction in the placement of other demonstratives at the end of a phrase or end of the clause, it must mean that the restriction of *kwá* and *kó* in the SSJ variety indicates something else. Thus, *kó* and *kwá* have lost some of the demonstrative value, while retaining the locative value, and as a result are restricted in their placement in specific locative phrases and clauses. I hypothesize that this developed from some of the common fixed locative structures which require *kó* to occur with a location and the locative final *-ŋ*. Creissels (1998: 75) also came to this conclusion about a different variety of Setswana where *kó* has also further developed its locative interpretation to be more tied to the location within any given construction rather than by the semantics of its previous purely demonstrative function.

The case with *kwá* is interesting since it is less limited to certain forms and placements and can be used as a locative demonstrative in constructions similar to example (44). It exists as both a locative demonstrative and a locative phrasal marker. Due to the frequency of its demonstrative function, it is still mostly visible in its demonstrative setting and less frequently in its locative phrasal use.

The locative ‘demonstratives’ of the fixed construction also occurs with *mó*, as seen in the previously presented example below. The class 18 *mó* demonstrative also has the same function since it can be used in the fixed locative phrase with the locative phrasal construction with *-ŋ* similarly to *kwá*.

- (45) *kí-kwál-á* *mó* *bòkêi-ŋ*
 1SG-write-FV NC18.LOC NC9.book-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the book’ (7/2/2023)

Due to the phrasal restrictions and locative interpretations of *kó*, and partial phrasal restrictions of *kwá* and *mó* as reflected in their use in specific locative phrases. Both *kwá* and *mó* are instead used on the higher phrasal structural level and are not part of the demonstrative system despite appearing so in these instances. In isolation all of these locative forms are considered demonstrative in nature. Although, *kwá* and *mó* however, can also be considered to be part of the demonstrative system due to similar behaviour with their non-locative demonstrative counterparts.

5. Locative Demonstrative Constructions

This section is an overview of how some of the most common locative clauses are formed within Setswana based on the data gathered within my dataset. Section 5.1 is organized based on the sentence and phrase construction types.

5.1 Locative Demonstrative Clause and Phrase Types

5.1.1 Construction using the locative phrasal marker and *chá*

This construction was the most common method of expressing where an object is in relation to another in the SSJ dataset. The *kó* and *mó* locative phrasal markers are the most common, however, *fá* is also used. *Kó*

² This adjectival construction is given with the context that the person speaking has moved to a place where everyone is much taller than them even though they are not a short person. Thus, they are considered ‘short’ in one place but not in another.

or *mó* usually occur after the subject marker or the past tense auxiliary markers but *χά* usually occurs either after *gare* [χàrì] or another locative word. Three examples of this structure can be seen below. In structures such as these, *kó* and *χά* commonly occur within the same locative phrase and using other locatives such as *fá* in this type of construction is much rarer.

- (46) kàtsí í mó pílí χά li-pòkósò
 NC9.cat NC9.S NC18.LOC in.front NCX.ASS NC5-box
 ‘the cat is in front of the box’ (29/11/2022)
- (47) kàtsí inè ílí mó pílí χά
 NC9.cat PST.AUX PST.AUX NC18.LOC in.front NCX.ASS
 li-pòkósò
 NC5-box
 ‘the cat was in front of the box’ (29/11/2022)
- (48) kátsi í kó mòràgò χά li-pòkósò
 NC9-cat NC9.S NC17.LOC behind NCX.ASS NC5-box
 ‘The cat is behind the box’ (29/11/2022)

There is no locative noun class concord throughout the locative phrases and the locative phrasal markers do not show class concord throughout the locative phrase nor in the clause. If there was concord marked by the locative there would be a class 17 marker on the associative. However, the associative marker displays class X marking instead and in locative constructions the associative always retains the class X concord.³ In these constructions, *kó* and *mó* are used as locative phrase markers rather than as demonstratives—*kó* cannot in most cases function as a locative demonstrative. The locatives *kó* and *mó* in these clauses have lost their demonstrative function such that they no longer retain the original demonstrative meaning. In the rest of the locative phrase *χά* does not show concord to either noun. There is little to no evidence of locative concord in Setswana due to the strict locative phrase structures and lack of locative class nouns and thus the original locative classes are rarely recognized.

5.1.2 Verbal construction using the locative phrasal marker and -ḡ

This is an alternative way to express a location without the use of the *χά* marker, this construction uses a verb that indicates direction or location of the verb. In example (49), there is a directional interpretation. In example (50) the locative phrase expresses the location of the verb. In these two examples the only difference is the verb. Thus, the interpretation of directionality is not necessarily dependent on the semantics of the locative phrase. The presence of the -ḡ⁴ marker in combination with *kó* creates the locative phrase structure and thus there is no demonstrative interpretation such as ‘I go there, to the school’.

- (49) kí-já kó sí-kòlò-ḡ
 1SG-go-FV NC17.LOC NC7-school-LOC
 ‘I go to school’ (11/10/2022)

³ Class X will be discussed in section 6.

⁴ There is another word-final -ḡ marker which denotes relative clauses; however, it suffixes to the verb while the locative -ḡ as used here suffixes to a location instead. How this relative marker compares with the locative -ḡ is not discussed as it is outside of the scope of this thesis.

- (50) rì-bàlà kó sí-kòlò-ṛ
 1PL-read-FV NC17.LOC NC7-school-LOC
 ‘we read/study at school’ (6/12/2024)

The class of the location noun does not affect the class marking of *kó* in either construction and the class 17 marking on *kó* does not affect the class marking of *kó*. This is because *kó* does not behave as a demonstrative and thus is not marked as one either. For example, in the following example (51), the class 4 marking *mì-* does not affect the agreement with the locative phrase marker *kó* either. Thus, if there is plural location marking the locative phrase marker *kó* will not change to show agreement. Even if a different locative such as *mó* or *fá* was used in its place, the noun class marking would not change the marking of the locatives. The only locative marking which occurs after the use of a locative phrase marker, is the final *-ṛ* on the location.

- (51) kó mì-ts’i-ṛ j-ṣt^hè
 NC17.LOC NC4-village-LOC NC4-all
 ‘in all villages’ (1/11/2022)

Example (51) also demonstrates an alternative placement of the locative phrase *kó mìts’iṛ* in the larger clause. In this example, the phrase is moved to the beginning. In the SSJ variety of Setswana, the most neutral position of the locative phrase is at the end of the sentence such as in example (52) below ‘we study at the school’. However, this does not mean that the locative phrase cannot occur elsewhere in the sentence—such as in examples (51), (53), and (54) where the locative phrase occurs in the beginning and in between the subject and verb.

- (52) rì-bàlà kó sí-kòlò-ṛ
 1PL-read-FV NC17.LOC NC7-school-LOC
 ‘we read/study at school’ (6/12/2024)
- (53) kó sí-kḵwê-ṛ mò-ṇṇà wá-bérék-à
 NC17.LOC NC7-field-LOC NC1-man NC1.S.DISJ-work-FV
 ‘lit. in the field the man works’ (9/5/2023)
- (54) mò-ṇṇà kó sí-kḵwê-ṛ wá-bérék-à
 NC1-man NC17.LOC NC7-field-LOC NC1.S.DISJ-work-FV
 ‘lit. the man in the field works’ (9/5/2023)

While these examples require more context and may not be as natural, it does reveal something about the placement of locative phrases. Namely that the locative phrase is free to be placed anywhere within a sentence without change in marking. In other Bantu languages, such as Swahili (Marten & van der Wal 2014: 18), example (53) would be a locative inversion structure and change the class 7 marking from *sí-kḵwêṛ* into class 17 which hypothetically looks like ***ḵòkḵwêṛ* in Setswana if this was permitted.

The locative phrase can occur before or after the subject and verb, with no change in noun class concord. When the verb with the subject marker is at the end of the clause, the disjoint subject marker for class 1 *wá-* is used.

The examples with the locative phrase marker/demonstrative and the word final *-ṛ*, do not have an associative *ḵá* marker. These are mutually exclusive constructions as the *ḵá* cannot co-occur in the same clause as the final locative *-ṛ*. For instance, in the following example, *ká* occurs before the demonstrative and not after:

- (55) kǐ-kwál:-èl-á ká mó ñtǎ̀-ǎ̀
 1SG-write-APPL-FV LOC NC18.LOC.DEM1 NC9.house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house.’ (7/2/2023)

When a non-locative noun occurs after the locative phrase marker, the locative phrasal marker is clefted. In these cases, the locative phrase marker does not function as a phrase marker and instead behaves as a locative demonstrative. This results in no locative final -ǎ̀. This occurs in example (56), where there is no word-final -ǎ̀ and the locative functions as the demonstrative syntactically and semantically.

- (56) fá ǎ̀-em-e se-tǎ̀rǎ̀
 NC16.DEM1 NC15-stand-FV NC7-tree
 ‘here, is standing the tree’ (13/12/2024)

The previous example (56) was elicited based upon Demuth & Mmusi’s (1997) data which is presented here below in example (57). When the locative phrase marker and the location are next to each other, this is treated as a phrase and the final -ǎ̀ is thus used. Therefore, the fá acts as a locative phrase marker, instead of the demonstrative.

- (57) fa se-tǎ̀hare-ng go-em-e ba-simane
 NC16.LOC NC7-tree-LOC NC15-stand-FV NC2-boy
 ‘by the tree stand the boys (Demuth & Mmusi 1997)⁵

The locative marker is not always necessary, but it requires context. For instance, it can be omitted in response to a question. In the following example, the question ‘where are you going?’ is posed, and in response the shortened response *sikólò* is acceptable.

- (58) ú-j-á kái? sì-kòlò-ǎ̀
 2SG-go-FV where.Q NC7-school-LOC
 ‘Where are you going? To school.’ (6/12/2024)

The full response to the question would be:

- (59) kǐ-j-á kó sí-kòlò-ǎ̀
 1SG-go-FV NC17.LOC NC7-school-LOC
 ‘I go to school’ (11/10/2022)

In this example, the high tone of *kó* has spread to the following syllable. In the shortened version, the original tonal pattern of *sikólò* is retained. In the shortened form, the final -ǎ̀ is used thus it is implied to be part of a larger phrase with the locative phrase marker, in this case *kó*.

5.1.3 Locative person marking

In Batswana culture, people are usually named after something or a concept, such as Lethabo ‘happiness’ or Kenosi ‘only child’. The phrase final -ǎ̀ cannot be used after a personal name because it will be interpreted as a location (Krüger 2006: 98).

⁵ While this example comes from a different variety of Setswana, this sentence is also accepted in SSJ.

- (60) ú-ílè kó lé-thàbò
 3SG-PST NC17.LOC NC5-happiness
 ‘she went to Lethabo’ (6/12/2024)
- (61) ú-ílè kó lé-thàbò-ṛ
 3SG-PST NC17.LOC NC5-happiness-LOC
 ‘she went to (a place of) happiness’ (6/12/2024)

There is no associative marker involved in (61), however, the ‘place of’ meaning is still achieved. Adding a final *-ṛ* on the name causes it to be interpreted as a physical location or metaphoric location.

5.1.4 Exceptions

In this section so far, it has been shown that a word-final locative marker *-ṛ* does not co-occur with the associative marker *χá* in the same clause. However, in (62) it attaches to the locative describing adverb and is thus an exception to the previous examples.

- (62) nòpàná í mó mà-χàrèṛ χá bù-kúsù
 NC9.bird NC9.S LOC.DEM1 NC6-between NCX.ASS NC14-box
 ‘the bird is between the boxes’ (29/11/2022)

Another exception is given in example (63) which is the only example in the SSJ dataset in which a non-locative demonstrative is used to convey a locative. Here ‘floor’ lacks the final *-ṛ* and class 7 is modified by a class 7 demonstrative, showing concord. Thus, in this case the demonstrative is a true demonstrative rather than a locative phrase marker contrary to what has been seen thus far. Notice that *mòfàts^hi* ‘floor’ has the class 3 marker *mò-*, but the initial part of the root has an initial *fà*. This may be a former locative that still has an effect on the reading.

- (63) sì-túló sé mó-fàts^hi
 NC7-chair NC7-DEM1 NC3-floor
 ‘the chair on the floor’ (01/11/2022)

This next construction is only attested once in the SSJ dataset and was previously discussed in section 4. It is the only verbal locative construction which does not use the locative final *-ṛ*. Comparing the following two examples, (64) lacks the *mó* resulting in the verb acting directly on or in the location. In this instance, the writing occurs directly on the table. In example (65) with the demonstrative, the verb is less semantically attached to the place. Meaning that the writing occurs on top of something that is on the table, thus not writing directly on the table. In example (64), the locative interpretation purely comes from the location. In example (65) the locative creates the locative phrase thus the entire phrase has created a more locative interpretation. Yet, example (64) still gained a locative meaning despite the lack of all locative marking.

- (64) kí-kwál-á táfùlè
 1SG-write-FV NC9.table
 ‘I write on the table’ (7/2/2023)
- (65) kí-kwál-á mó táfùlè
 1SG-write-FV NC18.LOC NC9.table
 ‘I write on (something on) the table’ (7/2/2023)

There is no phrase-final *-ŋ* on either of these two examples. In this situation it is more complicated to tell whether the *mó* functions as the locative phrase marker due to the lack of the *-ŋ* marker. Since example (65) otherwise appears structurally similar to the phrases discussed in section 5.1.2 and there is no demonstrative meaning nor interpretation, the *mó* acts as the locative phrase marker rather than as the demonstrative in this case. Given that this structure only occurs once in the dataset, it is possible that this example is limited to certain situations such as child directed speech. This requires further investigation.

In comparison to SSJ is unique, in SAS which Krüger describes, the marker has retained some of its class 18 semantics. In the following SAS example (66), the locative phrase *mô gotlhôkêng* ‘in poverty’, *mô* indicates the location as ‘inside’, and the word-final *-ŋ* adds to the locative nature of the phrase. This example demonstrates that in these types of constructions, the place does not have to be a physical space but can also be metaphorical in nature, such as in poverty. Given that this example is from a different variety of Setswana, it is possible that the *mô* in this variety has not fully lost its locative demonstrative function and retained the semantics of class 18 ‘inside’.

- (66) ba-tho ba-le ba-ntsi ba-tshel-a mô
 NC2-person NC2-DEM3 NC2-many NC2-live-FV NC18.LOC.DEM1
 go-tlhôkê-ng
 NC15/17-poverty-LOC
 ‘many people live in poverty (in being poor)’ (Krüger 2006: 93, own glosses).⁶

In another Southern Bantu language isiNdebele, the locative phrase is expressed with a demonstrative as well, but it retains its demonstrative meaning and function. The use of a locative adverb is possible in isiNdebele as seen in (67) marked with the class 16 locative which agrees with the demonstrative.

- (67) kh-ona la-ph-o pha-kathi
 17AGR-it DEM-16AGR-PM 16-inside
 ‘right there inside’ isiNdebele (Dube 2021: 177).

The exceptions noted in this section will be left to be considered in more detail in future research.

5.2 The Applicative in Locative Phrases

In Bantu literature about locatives, the applicative is frequently discussed. Some languages require an applicative before a locative preposition or determiner phrase such as in Kinyarwanda (Zeller, to appear: 329, Jerro 2016: 46).

- (68) Habimana a-ri ku-vug-*(ir)-a mu nzu
 Habimana SM1-be INF-talk-APPL-FV LOC18 9.house
 ‘Habimana is talking in the house.’ (Jerro 2016a:46)

In Bemba the applicative raises the locative to an argument status and puts the locative in focus (Zeller, to appear: 329, Marten & Mous 2017: 8).

⁶ *gotlhôkêng* ‘poverty’ is glossed as noun class 17 reflecting its merged classes 15 and 17.

- (69) n-de-li-il-a mu-mu-putule.
 SM1SG-PRS-eat-APPL-FV NC18-3-room
 ‘I’m eating in the room.’ (Marten & Mous 2017: 8)

In SSJ, the applicative can cause two separate interpretations. It can cause the location to be more in focus and it can indicate that action is occurring at a specified or unspecified location. In the following two examples, example (70) is a spontaneous example that uses the applicative and example (71) is an elicited example.

- (70) kÌ-kwál:-èl-á ká mó ñtù-ṅ
 1SG-write-APPL-FV LOC NC18.LOC NC9.house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house.’ (7/2/2023)
- (71) kÌ-kwál-á ká mó ñtù-ṅ
 1SG-write-FV LOC NC18.LOC NC9.house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house.’ Suggested and somewhat accepted⁷ (7/2/2023)

According to Krüger the applicative can have both dative and directive semantics (Krüger 2006: 232-33). The examples above show the directive semantic value because the applicative can cause a meaning such as the “potential *movement* or *transition* with respect to place or state or condition” (Krüger 2006: 233). While the transition and movement elements are missing in the SSJ interpretation, the state is indeed important. In example (70) above, the applicative has an emphasis on the state that the writing is occurring specifically inside the house rather than at another location such as a library, for instance. This type of emphasis is reminiscent of focus constructions, where the focus is on the location rather than on the person or action. Thus, the constructed example without the applicative, while accepted to an extent, was not ideal because it could not express the intended focus.

Another point of note on the two examples above, is that the *ká* particle is used before the demonstrative. In Section 5 and upcoming 6.3, we see that this marker tends to describe mode or method of movement, or as a raising or introducing marker to a locative phrase. In utterance (72) below, it is demonstrating the mode of movement:

- (72) kÌ-tsámáj-à ká má-òtù
 1SG-walk-FV LOC.by NC6-legs
 ‘I go by foot’ lit. I walk with legs (14/3/2022)

However, in the examples including the applicative—it does not describe a method nor mode of movement. When the applicative is used with the *ká* particle in example (73), the *ká* particle modifies the locative phrase or connects it to the larger clause rather than having it as an adjunct.

- (73) kÌ-kwál:-èl-á ká mó ñtù-ṅ
 1SG-write-APPL-FV LOC NC18.LOC.DEM1 NC9-house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house.’ (7/2/2023)

Returning back to the effect of the applicative, the applicative also indicates that an action is happening at a known or unknown location. In examples (74) and (75), that the applicative creates a locative interpretation of the action as well as changing the form of subject marking from the disjoint *jà* to the conjoint *i*. In SSJ the verb ‘to cry’ *χòlèlá* is used to express the sound a whistle makes which means the

⁷ This is a shorter way of explaining that when this construction was suggested to the language consultant, she said that while it was understandable, another way to express the form would be preferred.

examples below are not poetic in nature. Example (74) is not expected as it abruptly ends with the conjoint-marked applicative verb, when it would be expected for the phrase to continue with a locative.

- (74) p^hàlá í-l-él-à
 NC9.whistle NC9.S.CONJ-cry-APPL-FV
 ‘the whistle is sounding (somewhere)’ (7/2/2023)
- (75) p^hàlá já-l:-à
 NC9.whistle NC9.S.DISJ-cry-FV
 ‘the whistle is sounding’ (7/2/2023)

The applicative in example (74) makes the sentence imply that the whistle is sounding somewhere, such as outside, or on the street, for example, showing that a location is understood. Both examples (74) and (75) are correct grammatical usages. The use of the applicative in example (74) appears to be preferred as long as the emphasis of the clause is on the location or otherwise locative even if not expressed on the surface. Thus, when there is an emphasis on the location or that the action is happening at some unknown location then the applicative is used. This is similar to the initial examples of this section (70) and (71), in which the focus of the utterance lies more on its locative nature.

The applicative also occurs with locative adverbs to extend a locative construction into metaphorical use such as noise-level.

- (76) ó-tshéχ-èl-á kó χódímò
 3SG-laugh-APPL-FV NC17.LOC above
 ‘he is laughing loudly’ (6/12/2022)

This construction is different from the constructions discussed earlier in section 5.1.1 as there is no target of reference or location. Thus, there is no following *χá* marker nor location final *-ŋ* because there is no location.

6. Class X Marking and Other Locative Particles

This chapter consists of 3 short subsections. Section 6.1 will present the background of class X. Section 6.2 will discuss the functions and formation of locatives using the *χá* marker. Section 6.3 discusses the functions of the *ká* marker.

6.1 The Nameless Class/Class X

This nameless class is in the realm of locatives because it has nouns in this class that are all directional or location indicating nouns but are unrelated to locative classes 16-18. Lombard, van Wyk, & Mokgong (1985:50) have named this as class X, Ziervogel (1971) has called it class 24, and Poulos & Louwrens (1994:47) have identified the class but decided not to name it. It is no longer productive in its agreement strategies and is represented mostly by a limited set of nouns with a [*χà*] *ga-* prefix.

Its remaining members in Setswana are the following (Krüger 2006:95):

- (77) ga-re [*χà*-rì]
 NCX-inside
 ‘inside’

- (78) ga-e [χâ-è]
 NCX-home
 ‘at home’
- (79) ga-ufi
 NCX-nearby
 ‘near’

Of these three examples listed by Krüger, examples (77) and (78) are also found in the SSJ variety of Setswana. Noun class markers on nouns are typically low toned in Setswana (Creissels 2011), which is visible in the Class X nouns above. Example (78) is also argued to come from the reconstructed form *kaya ‘home (village)’ by Meinhof and Warmelo (1932:245).

Cole notes that *gare* and *gae* can take the ‘prefix’ *kwá* thus resulting in the forms *kwágare* and *kwágae* respectively (Cole 1955: 347). Cole describes *kwá* as a prefix (1955: 341), but its prefixal status has been refuted by Creissels via the tonal analysis that there is no motivation for *kwá* to have a high tone if it is a prefix (2011).

In the SSJ variety, *gae* and *gare* occur more often with *kó* than with *kwá* as is in line with earlier discussion in section 5.1.1.

6.2 The Associative Marker *ga* [χá]

In Setswana, the [χá] marker, first appearing in Section 5.1.1, is built up of the Bantu associative *-a* and the Class X marker. There is discussion about whether to call *χá* an associative or a possessive marker. The argument is often made that calling the associative a possessive marker does not cover all of its functions, especially in Nguni languages (Güldemann 1999: 158).⁸ It is also problematic to call the *-a* marker a genitive, since that suggests case marking in languages which otherwise do not have case marking (Güldemann 1999: 158). Thus, it is often called the associative marker in Bantu linguistics. In the SSJ dataset, it mostly occurs in possessive constructions but is referred to as the associative marker in the current work.

The associative marker in Setswana is marked by a high-toned *-á* and the noun class concord marker and is used in possessive constructions. It occurs after the possessor and before the possessee. In non-locative examples the possessive phrase looks like in the following example:

- (80) di-mp'já ts-á mót^hò
 NC10-dog NC10-ASS NC1-person
 ‘person’s dog; lit. the dog of the person’ (1/11/2022)

In example (80) the noun class displays concord of class 10, with that of the possessee, instead of the class 1, the class of the possessor. The associative marker *tsá* also spreads the high tone to the first syllable of the following word (Creissels 1998: 182). In this case it is spread to the class prefix of the word *mót^hò* ‘person’ thus resulting in the form *mót^hò*. The *χá* marker is formed in a similar manner with class X and the associative.

According to Zerbian’s analysis, the *ga* marker is a contraction of class 17 *χó-* and the associative *-á* (Zerbian 2011: 259-60). The idea that *χá* came from class 17 concord or ‘fusion’ has since been disproven as cross-linguistic research of the *χá* marker has determined that the marker is unrelated to classes 16-18 and is instead from class X (Güldemann 1999: 166; Ziervogel 1971).

⁸ Thank you to Isaac Eaton (p.c.) for informing me about this article.

The formation of the $\chi\acute{a}$ marker as fusion is also not supported in SSJ since the formation of this marker is no different from any other associative marker in the SSJ variety of Setswana. This is a typical Setswana concord such as the possessive construction in the *dì-mp'já ts-á mó-t^hò* example (80). Güldemann also analyses it as concord, as Güldemann cites Ziervogel's Southern Bantu reconstruction of this marker *ka-a which is composed of the class X marker and the associative marker -a (1971).

In SSJ, it is often used in locative phrases following a locative adverb such as in the following example:

- (81) *kó* *χà-rí* *χá* *mé-ts'i* *j-št^hè*
 NC17.LOC NCX-inside NCX.ASS NC4-village NC4-all.whole
 'in all of the villages' (1/11/2022)

In example (81) the associative occurs after *χàrì*. These two words often occur together and are frequently used instead of the class 18 locative to denote the idea of 'inside'. This is no coincidence; it is a remnant class X concord due to the fact that *χàrì* is one of the few remaining nouns from this class and *χá* also has class X concord. The *ga* [*χá*] marker has been researched to have come from this class by Ziervogel (1971) and Güldemann (1999) and is believed to come from the form *ka-a which consists of the class X prefix and the associative marker (Güldemann 1999: 170).

As mentioned prior, the associative *χá* is not exclusive to Setswana. Güldemann (1999: 178) shows that many Southern Bantu languages such as the Southern Nguni varieties, Tsonga, siSwati, and Zulu also use this marker. In Southern Nguni⁹, similar semantics can be derived from the equivalent marker *ka-*:

- (82) *u-Ntengo* *ka-Jojo*
 1-PROP.N POSS-PROP.N
 Tengo, son [from the place] of Jojo (Doke 1992: 302)

In the Southern Nguni example (82), this makes the possessor Jojo a place (Güldemann 1999: 167). In Southern Nguni the equivalent marker of the Setswana *χá* is *ka-* which is a prefix. While Doke chose to gloss *ka-* as a possessive, Güldemann (1999: 158) considers it problematic as the marker can also be used in different constructions. Cross-linguistically, the Sotho *ka* and Venda *kha* equivalents of this marker do create the interpretation 'place of' (Güldemann 1999: 166).

In example (83), to state something about a possessed subject, the literal meaning of the possessive phrase takes a locative interpretation. This example is from a different variety to SSJ, but it also demonstrates that this extension is not exclusive to SSJ and occurs in multiple Setswana varieties. This lends itself to the idea that this associative marker *ga* or [*χá*] carries a locative meaning with it. This has been shown in Southern Bantu by Ziervogel (1971) and Güldemann (1999), and by Krüger (2006) for Setswana. Example (83) demonstrates that the use of the associative marker not only makes the following constituent the possessor of the previous phrase but also turns the possessor into a location.

- (83) *di-jô* *tsa* *ga* [*χá*] *m-mê* *di* *mo-nate*
 NC10-food NC10.ASS NCX.ASS 1-mother NC10 NC3-nice
 'mother's food is tasty' lit. 'the food of my mother's place is tasty' (Krüger 2006: 151, own glosses)

⁹ In Güldemann's article, the exact variety of Nguni was not specified. Instead, the article conflates several varieties together and calls them southern Nguni due to the fact that in the article these languages all treat *ka* in the same manner.

The $\chi\acute{a}$ marker was initially introduced in section 5.1.1 with the fixed grammatical constructions to express locations as seen in examples (84) and (85). The examples in this section however, such as example (83), are less locative in nature as they are not intended to express a locative meaning, but the grammar uses the locative morpheme $\chi\acute{a}$. This conveys an extension in the system where despite the locative nature of $\chi\acute{a}$, $\chi\acute{a}$ can still be used in both locational and non-locational contexts. While the use of $\chi\acute{a}$ often creates a ‘place of’ interpretation, this is not very salient in SSJ as it is in other varieties of Setswana.

- (84) $k\acute{o}$ $\chi\grave{a}$ -rì $\chi\acute{a}$ $m\acute{o}$ -tsè
 NC17.LOC NCX-inside NCX.ASS NC3-village
 ‘in the village’ lit. inside of the village. (01/11/2022)
- (85) $n\grave{o}p\grave{a}n\grave{a}$ $\acute{i}$ -fùf-á $m\acute{o}$ $\chi\grave{o}d\acute{i}m\grave{u}$ $\chi\acute{a}$ li -pòkòsò
 NC9.bird NC9.S-fly-FV NC18.LOC above NCX.ASS NC5-box
 ‘the bird is flying above the box’ lit. the bird is flying above of the box (29/11/2022)

Considering the cross-linguistic analyses with the examples above, the locative nature of the class X marking must impose semantics onto the associative marker. For typical Setswana locative phrases, this would mean that the ‘possessor’ (of the location word) is the place itself. The Setswana locative constructions with the $\chi\acute{a}$ marker—where only class X concord is possible regardless of the class of the location, direction, or any other potentially locational nor temporal element—reveal that this marker has become less associative than the other associative markers with non-locative class concord. The $\chi\acute{a}$ marker is used almost exclusively in SSJ for locative constructions and imposes locative interpretations onto the ‘possessor’.

6.3. The $K\acute{a}$ Marker

The $k\acute{a}$ marker looks similar to the Southern Bantu ka and even the $\chi\acute{a}$ marker. However, in Setswana the use of this marker is different. It could be that there was a split in the locative system in Setswana which results in the associative $\chi\acute{a}$ and the $k\acute{a}$ markers with their own respective functions. At the moment this is uncertain in SSJ due to the insufficient data.

In previous literature, Krüger called the $k\acute{a}$ marker a locative particle which creates semantic meanings such as “*goes through, over, out of or into*” and are related to motion (Krüger 2006: 148). In Krüger’s later analysis from 2013, he refers to it as an instrumental particle with “relational values of instrument, manner, time or location” from the predicate to the following complement (Krüger 2013a: 209). The semantic analysis, however, did not change from the 2006 and the 2013 work.

In SSJ the functions and semantic effects of $k\acute{a}$ are similar to those Krüger describes. For instance, in the following example, it is used before a nonlocational noun: *matsatsakwani*—analysed as a noun due to its class 6 prefix *ma-*. In example (86), $k\acute{a}$ changes the role of the noun from an object to an adverb which describes the manner of the verb. This is similar to the variety described in Krüger’s works as the particle has to do with manner.

- (86) χο-εμ-α κά ma-tsatsakwani
 NC15-stand-FV LOC NC6-tiptoes
 ‘to stand on tippy toes’ (9/5/2023)¹⁰

In example (87), *ká* behaves as an adverb rather than the particle that introduces the adverb because it describes how the subject is going with the river. This clause has the specific meaning of ‘going with the river’ instead of ‘going by the river’ as the direction of the movement follows the direction of the river.

- (87) ó-j-á κά núkà
 2SG-go-FV LOC.by NC9.river
 ‘you are going with the river’ (14/3/2022)

Examples (88) and (89) appear similar to example (86) with *matsatsakwani*. Meaning that in these examples they introduce a method or mode of movement such as ‘by foot’ *ká máòtò* or ‘by plane’ *ká sífòfàni* rather than a location.

Example (89) demonstrates the difference between the functions of *ká* and other locative markers. The *ká* particle truly has more to do with the motion and the mode of movement, meanwhile the locative phrase markers such as *kó* specify the location or target of direction and the location takes the word-final locative *-ŋ*. The *χά* marker in turn does not describe movement, and while it could be related to *ká* there is a distinct difference in their meanings and functions. The *ká* marker and its complement occur after the locative phrase with the locative phrase marker and the location. The analysis of the form and the syntactic analysis are why this particle is not considered to be related to the locative phrasal marker *kó*. The semantic differences between *ká* and *kó/kwá* are also further evidence against their coincidental similar appearances.

- (88) kì-tsàmàj-à κά má-òtù
 1SG-walk-FV LOC.by NC6-legs
 lit. I walk with legs ‘I go by foot’ (14/3/2022)
- (89) ó-j-á kó mó-tsê-ŋ κά sí-fòfàni
 2SG-go-FV LOC.DEM1 NC3-village-LOC LOC.by NC7-plane
 ‘you go to the village by plane’ (14/3/2022)

The *ká* marker can also occur before the locative phrase such as in example (90). This is different from the previous examples as *ká* does not describe the method or mode of movement in this example but rather occurs before the locative phrase and does not have the ‘by’ meaning. Instead, it occurs before the locative phrase which typically consists of a demonstrative, noun, and the locative final *-ŋ*.

- (90) kì-kwál:-èl-á κά mó ñtù-ŋ
 1SG-write-APPL-FV LOC NC18.LOC NC9-house-LOC
 ‘I am writing in the house.’ (7/2/2023)

The *ká* marker can also occur with temporal phrases. Krüger came to this conclusion for a different variety of Setswana and argues that the particle in both temporal and strictly locative instances is the same and the resulting semantic meaning of the clause is based on the surrounding context (Krüger 2006: 149). Most of the examples in this section from my dataset demonstrate a meaning similar to ‘by a location’ or ‘by a method of movement’, which has then been extended to temporal areas. An example of its temporal

¹⁰ Unfortunately, due to an error in the data collection process the recording and tonal transcription of this utterance is missing. Thus, a further tonal analysis is not possible. However, based on the analysis of locative marker tones in Setswana, the *ká* marker should be high-toned.

use is visible in example (91), as it shows by a specific point in time, *sòntàχà* ‘Sunday’, the cake will have been eaten.

- (91) *kì-tlábè* *kí* *dʒ-ílè* *kúkú* *kâ* *sòntàχà*
 NC9.S-FUT NC9.O eat-PST NC9.cake LOC.by Sunday
 ‘the cake will be eaten by Sunday’ (22/11/2022)

However, as the *ká* marker does not occur frequently in my dataset, the few examples that I have demonstrate that it has a wide range of usage in both locative and temporal constructions, and it may have even more uses, but the ones that have been presented here are the main and most frequent uses especially when comparing the semantics and examples of this marker to previous literature and other varieties.

The semantics of the examples from my own dataset and those of Krüger’s align for the most part with the ‘by’, ‘with’, and ‘along’ semantic values. Another notable point is that while this particle does have a locative nature, it does not cause the word-final locative *-ŋ* to be attached to the following complement. Unless the *ká* marker introduces a locative phrase with a demonstrative and a location noun, the location noun can take the *-ŋ* marker.

7. Limitations and Future Research

The largest limitation of this study comes from the data. Even though the data collection sessions that were conducted by fellow students from the field methods course and myself were incredibly insightful and important, I must admit there were gaps in the data that caused some issues. The data from the years 2022-2023 were collected as an introductory practice for fieldwork and focused on the grammar as a whole rather than only locatives. Therefore, some of the gaps from these sessions were not addressed and due to data management errors during the field methods course, some recordings were inaccessible. In the later recording sessions, the time I had with the language consultant was extremely limited which meant that all of the gaps could not be addressed for this study. This is noticeable in the demonstratives particularly as the medial forms were rarely used and thus the data about them from the SSJ variety is limited. There was a noticeable lack of applicative constructions, more locative examples with *ká*, as well as more locative constructions without demonstratives so that the effect of the demonstrative could be thoroughly assessed.

During the recording sessions in 2024, I was initially interested in locative subject inversion and spent a lot of the data elicitation sessions attempting to explore these constructions. Creissels had already written that in Setswana the locative inversion constructions the locative subject is in fact an impersonal expletive subject and the locative phrase before the verb is in fact an adjunct (Creissels 2011: 44-45). While attempting to research whether this applied for the SSJ variety of Setswana, the constructions were the same to the other varieties and did not yield any further information nor further analyses that Creissels had not already discussed, henceforth this idea was not further discussed in this paper.

Another limitation is that I worked with only one language consultant who speaks this variety of Setswana, and it would have been insightful to discuss with more consultants who could provide their perspectives. Due to the fact that most of the literature is conducted on different varieties than the SSJ variety, the examples from the literature are not fully representative of how these constructions would work in SSJ.

There are two verbs which are locative in nature that were interesting, but which I was unable to research further. These are *gotlha* ‘to come’ and *gofitlha* ‘to arrive’. It would appear that there is an adverbial prefix *fì-* attached. I theorized that this could have been related to the locative noun class 16 and

demonstrated some agreement therefore I tested this with a potential form of class 18, the previous form was *fî-* I hypothesized that perhaps *mi-* would demonstrate this form. This was not recognized and after a brief discussion, it appeared unlikely to be a prefix but rather that these are two words which happen to look similar but are unrelated. Especially considering that there is no attested *fî-* prefix in the literature, it is likely that this is coincidental. This was a setback during the elicitation session planning and its execution.

- (92) $\chi\grave{u}$ -tlh-à
 NC15-come-FV
 ‘to come’ (6/12/2024)
- (93) $\chi\grave{u}$ -fi-tlh-à
 NC15-NC16.LOC?-arrive-FV
 ‘to arrive’ (6/12/2024)

8. Conclusion

This thesis was dedicated to understanding the classification and function of locative demonstratives. Locative demonstratives in SSJ do not show noun class concord markers due to the lack of locative noun class words in Setswana. Therefore, to analyse whether they are demonstrative in nature it is important to compare them to their occurrence in locative phrases. Through this process, it was shown that *kó* cannot occur after the head which all non-locative demonstratives are able to do. Thus, it cannot be considered a demonstrative.

Section 4 was split into another subsection which discussed the functional and semantic differences between *kó* and *kwá*. For example, *kwá* is considered a short form of the distal *kwálè* despite the fact that it can be used in some proximal settings as well. This section discussed how *kó* is mostly used in locative constructions and *kwá* is mainly used as a locative demonstrative. In the SSJ variety of Setswana *kó* does not function as a demonstrative which is why it is restricted in its syntactic placement and does not yield demonstrative meanings. Creissels (1998) claims that the frequency of *kó* in specific locative constructions created this effect. It is called a locative phrase marker instead because it is used with the locative *-ŋ* to create a locative phrase. Whereas *kwá* is less restricted, and while it can occur in a few of the same places as *kó*, it can also occur after the nominal and has thus retained more of its demonstrative functions. Since *kwá* and the other proximal locative demonstratives can still be placed in similar positions to demonstratives, it indicates that there is a split in their functions; the same forms can be used as locative demonstratives and as locative phrasal markers.

In the described locative phrases, there were two separate locative morphemes that deserved to be mentioned due to their behaviour—these were the $\chi\acute{a}$ and *ká* markers. Alongside these markers, the role of the applicative in locative phrases was briefly discussed. In the SSJ variety the applicative also demonstrates some level of focus in its usage, since it adds emphasis onto the locative phrase of the construction. Thus, behaving as a raising marker raises the locative nature of the clause to be more in focus. The appearance of $\chi\acute{a}$ also led to the discussion of Class X and its crosslinguistic appearances.

The Class X section 6.1 shows the limited vocabulary of the section, as well as the fact that the class originated from the Southern Bantu *ka locative. It is the class marker of $\chi\acute{a}$ and may even be related to the *ká* marker. The *ká* marker section also compared the functions of the *ká* marker between the SSJ variety and the SAS variety Krüger describes (2006; 2013a). In the SSJ variety it changes the syntactic role of a noun into an adverbial, despite its nominal appearance. The *ká* marker describes a method of movement

and temporally has a limiting semantic meaning: such as ‘by’ a specific point in time. It can co-occur with other locative phrase markers and is often found in applicative constructions.

9. Bibliography

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