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The word order in Swahili adnominal constructions with locative demonstratives

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the demonstratives of noun classes 16–18, the locative demonstratives, in Swahili. The main focus of the paper is the word order of these demonstratives in adnominal constructions. Corpus research presented in this study shows that the locative demonstratives precede the locative noun that they determine much more frequently than follow, contrary to what is claimed in the literature. In this paper I will demonstrate that the locative demonstrative following the locative noun is the marked word order and I hypothesize that this is the natural focus position of the locative demonstrative. The demonstrative is consequently defocused in the position preceding the noun. This defocus gives a reduction of the demonstrative function in favour of a more prepositional one. It is suggested that this is an on-going grammaticalization process. The article starts with an overview of the form, meaning, function and grammatical distribution of the locative demonstratives, as the information on these specific demonstratives is often sketchy in descriptions of Swahili.

***Keywords**: Swahili, demonstrative, locative, word order, information structure, focus.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that, in the case of adnominal constructions in Swahili with a locative noun and locative demonstrative, the locative demonstrative more frequently precedes the noun, and that the position after the noun is the more marked one, contradicting traditional grammars of Swahili (Ashton 1944; Sacleux 1909; Loogman 1965; Haddon 1955). I suggest that the pre-posed demonstrative has become the unmarked word order, with defocus of the 'specificity' meaning of the demonstrative as provided by the locative noun class used. The post-posed demonstrative – in the natural focus position – then indicates focus on the locative demonstrative. The difference in word order is hence related to information structure and gives the language user the possibility of highlighting certain information.

The following example illustrates the kind of construction analysed in this study. In this specific example, the locative noun[1] *nyumbani* is determined by the

[1] A locative noun is here understood to be a noun denoting place, often derived by means of the suffix *-ni* 'in/at', or a place name.

locative demonstrative of noun class 16, *pale*, and this NP functions as the subject:[2]

1. ***Nyumba-ni pa-le*** *pa- li- fika mgeni*
house- at 16-dist 16SM-TAM-arrive guest
'<u>At that house</u> arrived a guest.' (adapted from Maw 1976)

Throughout the paper, this word order is referred to as <N Dem>, which is short for <Noun Demonstrative>. The word order in this example could be changed to *pale nyumbani*, i.e. the <Dem N> order. Another example of this word order is the following, where the NP *pale majanini* functions as an adverbial:

2. *"Mikono juu" sauti kali ya askari mmoja aliyeibuka* ***pale majanini*** *ilisema.*
'"Hands up" said the fierce voice of a police officer who emerged from <u>there in the bushes</u>.' (Kezilahabi 1981)

This 'free word order' is indeed free in that it does not give a different truth value. However, it does indicate a difference in information structure, as will be argued in this paper.

It is important to note that the current analysis concerns only the locative demonstratives. Interestingly, it appears that the frequency of word orders differs across the noun classes in Swahili (Schadeberg 2006; Mwamzandi 2014).

Data from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS 2004)[3] has been used to determine how common the different orders are. Further analysis of the context, combined with interviews with speakers, has been used in order to find out more regarding meaning and function.

In working with the word order question in locative noun phrases, it became clear that there is no complete account of the Swahili locative demonstratives to be found in the literature which combines their meaning, uses and syntactic

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2 Abbreviations are SM=Subject Marker, OM=Object Marker, TAM=Tense Aspect Mood, NP=Noun Phrase, LOC=locative, PST=past, dist=distant; numbers refer to the relevant noun class. In examples taken from grammars the original glossing has sometimes been adapted, this is indicated following the translation. Other examples are not glossed. A free translation of the sentence (by the author and corrected by Rahma Muhdhar) is taken to suffice for the purpose of this paper, with the locative demonstratives and other relevant parts of each example printed in bold. The corresponding part of the translation is underlined.

3 I would like to express my gratitude to the University of Helsinki and especially Arvi Hurskainen for the use of the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS), as well as the Finnish IT Centre for Science, which hosts the corpus. Furthermore, I thank colleagues at Gothenburg University and at SOAS, as well as participants of the Bantu 3 conference in Tervuren, who have commented on my analysis. Most of all, I thank those who have given me hours of their time to comment on structures in their language: Abdulaziz Lodhi, Farouk Topan, Henry Muzale and Gilbert Mworia. Example sentences from the corpus are given with the reference to the book/newspaper from which the example is taken. Examples from publications on the grammar of the language are not from the HCS.

position. Therefore, the second aim of this paper is to contribute such a literature-based overview, presented in section 2. Section 3 examines in detail the adnominal construction where the demonstrative determines a locative noun. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. Form, Meaning and Function of the Locative Demonstratives in Swahili

Swahili has three demonstratives, here referred to as the proximal, referential and non-proximal demonstrative. The language exhibits a noun class system[4] with 15 agreement classes and has 36 demonstrative forms,[5] exhibiting a wealth of semantic differences and uses, as well as complex morphological structures.

As part of this demonstrative paradigm, we also find the demonstrative forms of noun classes 16 to 18, which function as locational or temporal deictics, here referred to as locative demonstratives. There are nine in total. Like other demonstratives in Swahili, the locative demonstratives are formed with a demonstrative root combined with the agreement morphology of the relevant noun class. In the following table, *Cd* is short for concord, a series of agreement markers different per noun class. The symbol V stands for a vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the following Cd (overview adapted from Schadeberg (1992:18)):

Table 1. *Morphology and meaning of the Swahili locative demonstratives.*

		Proximal	Referential	Non-proximal
Morphology →		***h*V-*Cd***	***h*V-*Cd*-*o***	*Cd*-***le***
	Approximate meaning → ↓	Close to speaker	Close to hearer, referential	Away from speaker/ hearer
16	Definite place, position	***h**a-pa*	***h**a-p-**o***	*pa*-***le***
17	Indefinite place, direction	***h**u-ku*	***h**u-k-**o***	*ku*-***le***
18	Within	***h**u-mu*	***h**u-m-**o***	*m*-***le***

The concord of noun class 16, for example, is *pa*. In the proximal demonstrative the vowel of this concord is copied in the first morpheme, giving *hapa*. The

4 For an explanation of the noun class system in Bantu, see for example Maho (1999) or Katamba (2003). For the Swahili noun classes, see for example Hinnebusch and Mirza (2000).

5 Noun classes 3 and 11 take the same demonstrative forms. The forms of classes 4 and 9, and of classes 15 and 17, are also merged morphologically.

concord of noun class 17 is *ku*, hence the form *huku*, and so on. The referential *-o* replaces the concord vowel, giving *humo* in class 18, for example. For a complete list of Swahili demonstratives, see Schadeberg (1992). An explanation of the approximate meanings and how they combine is given in 2.1.

The locative demonstratives are often referred to as local adverbial demonstratives (Dixon 2003). Although the Swahili locative demonstratives are often used as adverbials, they also occur adnominally together with an NP bearing locative marking.[6] Demonstratives in such a construction are referred to as adnominal demonstratives by Diessel (1999) and nominal demonstratives by Dixon (2003).

In conclusion, the locative demonstratives have exactly the same morphological structure as other demonstratives in the language. They are sometimes used as nominal demonstratives and sometimes as adverbials. This is also the case for the Swahili demonstrative in class 8, *hivi*, which can be used as a nominal demonstrative to a class 8 noun, or as a manner adverbial to mean '(do) like this/in this way'. Dixon (2003) notes that this is a correspondence seen in most languages with manner adverbial demonstratives: when these are morphologically derived from nominal demonstratives, so are the local adverbial demonstratives.

2.1 SEMANTICS OF THE LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

As seen in Table 1, the meaning of the locative demonstratives can be seen as a combination of the three locative classes 16–18 and the three sets of Swahili demonstratives.

2.1.1 The Locative Classes

The semantic distinctions between classes 16, 17 and 18 are based on the specificity or definiteness of the location being referred to. Noun class 16 refers to a place, and needs to be used when the place is specific, a certain spot. Noun class 17 also refers to a place, but that place is less definite. Noun class 18 is the most definite of the three and refers to 'insideness'. I follow Knappert (1999) in analysing class 16 and 17 as differing marginally and depending on context.

The above more or less summarizes the literature on the locative classes in Swahili. Ashton (1944:126) labels *pa-* 'definite place, position'**,** *ku-* 'indefinite place, direction' and *mu-* 'area, "alongness", "withinness"'. Other descriptions follow the same lines (Sacleux 1909; Loogman 1965; Mohammed 2001), adding that the meaning of class 17 is general location (Harries 1977:175) or unspecified

6 For English, the local adverbial demonstrative is best considered to be in apposition with a co-occurring NP bearing local marking, as in *John lives here in the mountains*, according to Dixon (2003).

(Maw 1976). The locative classes have also been described in terms of distance with respect to the referent; nearness, farness and within-ness, respectively (Schadeberg 1992). Haddon (1955:37) analyses *pa-* as indicating a point in area or time. He divides *ku-* in two: firstly a place where one lives, i.e. home, and secondly an area or neighbourhood. Denny (1978) claims that the general or unspecified location of *ku-* in Swahili is only one of its uses. It is, according to him, also used for specific locations as long as they are extended in space. All in all, the notion of specificity is the one adhered to here, but one should be careful not to give too much weight to the semantics contributed by the demonstrative by itself; the context and agreement on other constituents helps determine the meaning that is arrived at.

2.1.2 The Demonstrative Series

The meaning indicated by the locative noun classes is combined with the meaning provided by the demonstrative series. According to Diessel (1999), these deictic features can include information on whether the referent is far, near, visible, out of sight, uphill or downhill, or whether it is moving toward or away from the deictic centre. As is common cross-linguistically (Diessel 1999:35), these features are encoded by the demonstrative roots in Swahili, as listed in Table 1.

Swahili has a three-way distinction in spatial deixis as expressed by the demonstratives. In languages with such a three-way distinction, the middle term either refers to a location in the medial distance relative to the deictic centre (a distance-oriented system), or denotes a referent close to the hearer (a person-oriented system) (Diessel 1999:39). I regard the Swahili system as being primarily person-oriented, following e.g. Barrett-Keach (1980); Leonard (1985); Schadeberg (2005). This means that the proximal demonstrative refers to a location close to the speaker. The referential denotes a referent closer to the hearer, also in the sense ‘you know what/where/when I’m talking about’ (Schadeberg 2005). Hence the referential use. In both distance-oriented and person-oriented systems in the world’s languages, the middle term is often the preferred form for anaphoric reference (Diessel 1999:39). This is also the case in Swahili. The referential demonstrative is not used to refer to something that is still to be introduced in the discourse (Loogman 1965). Lastly the non-proximal demonstrative refers to a referent that is further away from both speaker and hearer. Also here, distance is relative and it all depends very much on the context. This is also why I chose to label the demonstrative *Cd-le* ‘non-proximal’ rather than the commonly used ‘distal’.

This person-oriented analysis in fact builds on the early analysis by Sacleux (1909:127), who gives the following meanings: a. near speaker; b. near hearer or at a short distance from speaker; c. far away. Moreover, he includes the concept of actuality, a. being “..ce qui est actuel, ou ce dont on parle à l’instant”, b. “..ce qui n’est ni actuel ni très ancien” and c. “..ce qui est plus ou moins éloigné, dans l’espace ou dans le temps”. Leonard (1985) apparently follows up on the actuality

mentioned by Sacleux (1909) in his analysis of the relationship between the semantic content and the discourse uses of the demonstratives. He rejects the analysis of *h* (*hV-Cd*) *le* and (*Cd-le*) as having the meaning of proximity and non-proximity (distance-oriented). Rather, the demonstratives indicate a speaker's relative concentration of attention on a referent. I will come back to this in 3.3.1.

Others have analysed the demonstratives in terms of distance (Ashton 1944; Haddon 1955:8–9; Loogman 1965:66). For example, Ashton (1944) gives the following meanings: a. proximity of place or time, b. this/these already mentioned[7] and c. at a distance or non-proximal in place or time, or in a direction away from the speaker.[8]

2.1.3 Locative Classes and Demonstrative Series Combined

The combination of definiteness of space (from less to more definite) combined with distance from speaker (from close to far), gives the nine different locative demonstratives.

When locative demonstratives are presented separately in the literature, they are generally listed with their approximate translations in English, as in the following overview by Haddon (1955:38–40):

Table 2. *Locative demonstratives according to Haddon (1995).*

hapa here where I am	***hapo*** a definite place already mentioned	***pale*** a definite place at a distance
huku this area, home. Not often used, replaced by *huko*	***huko*** aforementioned, also replacing *huku*	***kule*** a distant area
humu this inside	***humo*** aforementioned inside	***mle*** distant inside

These translations are similar to those given by Ashton (1944:127), who calls the locative demonstratives 'adverbial pronouns'. She uses 'this/that spot' for the noun class 16 demonstratives and 'this/that place' for noun class 17. Haddon (1955) notes that *huku* is not used that much anymore, being replaced by *huko*. This is an interesting observation that is corroborated in the present study, as we shall see in 3.2.

Loogman (1965:96) gives meanings which seem to be direct translations of those presented by Sacleux (1909:134). They specify the meaning of class 17 as 'vague indication' and also add 'with motion'. Moreover, they add 'next to you' to the meaning of *hapo* (but not *huko* and *humo*).

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7 Loogman analyses this demonstrative as medial in distance, as expected for a distance-oriented system (Loogman 1965).

8 Haddon (1955) and Loogman (1965) do not include direction for this demonstrative.

2.1.4 Reference to Time

The locative demonstratives can also be used with reference to time rather than to place. For example, *hapo* very often denotes time, like in the expression *hapo ndipo* 'that is/was when', and in examples like the following:

3. *Baada ya* ***hapo*** *bei ilikwenda* ***chini pale*** *ilipojulikana kwamba Marekani, kabla ya kufanya mashambulio, itangojea.*
'After that (time) the price went down (at the point) when it became known that the USA, before attacking, would wait for…' (HCS; Deutsche Welle)

4. ***Hapo zamani*** *paliondoka mtu.*
'Once upon a time there arose a man.' (Ashton 1944:161)

Also used with temporal reference are *hapa* and *pale*. In the temporal use, the three-way demonstrative distinction holds, as pointed out by Sacleux (1909); one can talk about something which is recent or distant in time. Most often, the more definite noun class 16 is used when referring to time. Noun class 18 demonstratives are not used to denote time. Noun class 17 is occasionally used for temporal reference, as with *kule* in *mwanzoni kule* 'in the beginning there'. According to Sacleux (1909:135), *hapo*, *huko* and more rarely *pale*, are used as 'l'indéterminé de temps'. Ashton gives examples of temporal use of all the locative classes, although not necessarily with the demonstratives (Ashton 1944:159–162).

2.2 The Uses of the Locative Demonstratives

After this semantic analysis of the locative demonstratives, we will now have a look at how they are used in the language.

2.2.1 Syntactically

The locative demonstratives often function as adverbials, modifying a verbal action:

5. *Nilitembea kuelekea* ***huko****.*
'I walked towards that place/there.' (HCS; Kezilahabi 1990)

As such, the locative demonstrative often heads a relative clause, which as a whole forms the adverbial:

6. *Utakapofika* ***pale ambapo kila binadamu lazima afike*** *utajua hukukosea;*
'When you will arrive there where every human being must arrive you will know, you cannot miss it;' (HCS; Kezilahabi 1990)

Demonstratives can also replace nouns in Swahili and be used pronominally. The locative demonstratives in these cases replace the locative nouns of classes 16, 17 and 18. As pointed out by Knappert (1999), there are more nouns that inherently belong to the locative class 16 than the traditionally mentioned *mahali* 'place', like for example *pakogea* 'bathroom'. Locative nouns can also be formed by means of a suffix *-ni*, as for example with the noun *kisima* 'well', seen in example 7. This is a noun of noun class 7; the noun class prefix is *ki-*. With the addition of *-ni*, a locative noun is formed: *kisimani* 'in the well'. This noun forms the subject in this example and determines agreement, in the same way as with other noun classes.

7. *Kisima-ni* ***m-*** ***na*** *maji*
well- LOC 18SM-with water
'There is water in the well' (adapted from Ashton 1944:128)

The agreement chosen depends on the specific locative meaning one wishes to achieve (see 2.1.1 for the meanings of the locative classes). Locative agreement can also be used without such a locative noun.

The pronominal locative demonstrative functions in the same way, as it replaces the locative noun:

8. ***Hapa*** *pa- me- kufa simba.*
on.this.spot 16SM-TAM-die lion
'A lion has died here' (adapted from Ashton 1944:128)

There can also be locative object agreement when a locative noun is involved:

9. *Mwivi a- li-* ***ku-*** *kimbilia* ***mto-ni***
thief 1SM-TAM-17OM-run.off river-LOC
'the thief ran off to the river' (adapted from Maw 1976:393)

There is no example in my data of a phrase similar to example 9, but with a locative demonstrative on its own as possible object (i.e. replacing *mtoni* in the example). Not uncommon is an adnominal construction with the locative demonstrative determining the locative noun, in object position and with an object marker on the verb:

*10. Si mke wala mwanae yeyote angeweza ku**pa**gundua **mahali hapo**.*
'Nor his wife nor any of her kids would be able to discover that place.'
(Ramadhani 2001:16)

Locative nouns have been categorized as 'adverbial nouns' by Ashton (1944:126). She calls these nouns 'adverbial subjects' in sentences like example 7. The locative demonstratives replacing them are consequently called 'adverbial pronouns'. The way in which the locatives function as subjects and objects however, as in examples 7 and 10, is used by others as an argument to categorize locative nouns as nouns, and not as adverbials (Knappert 1999; Maho 1999:97; Edenmyr 2000). Therefore, locative nouns are nouns which can also be used as adverbial complements. And locative demonstratives are demonstratives that can be used adverbially. Meinhof (1906:21) already pointed this out in saying that the locative demonstratives are comparable to the other demonstratives, and cannot be seen as adverbials even though they can be used as such.

2.2.2 Pragmatically

All locative demonstratives in Swahili can be used *exophorically*, especially noun class 16 *hapa* 'here, definite place' and *pale* 'there, definite place'. This is when demonstratives focus the hearer's attention on different entities in the surrounding situation, sometimes accompanied by pointing (Diessel 1999). In the case of locative demonstratives, it is a certain location that is being focused on. An example:

*11. **Hapa** pazuri*
'Here it's beautiful.'

Noun class 18 *humu* 'here inside' and *mle* 'there inside' are also commonly exophoric. Noun class 17 is less common in this usage, as it refers to a more indefinite place. Moreover, *huku* has specific pragmatic uses, as will be explained in 2.2.3. The close to hearer/referential locative demonstratives *hapo*, *huko* and *humo* can be used exophorically, and in those cases refer to a location near the hearer or a location at medial distance. The exophoric use of the locative demonstratives is common in direct speech, and not so much used in the texts of the corpus, unless there is reported speech.

Common uses of the locative demonstratives are different kinds of *endophora*. These make reference to something in the text or conversation. As such they also orient the hearer, but in the discourse rather than in the surrounding, physical situation (Diessel 1999:93–114). In the data, we find for example *anaphoric* demonstratives, which are co-referential with a noun or noun phrase in the preceding discourse; i.e. they refer back to it. The choice of demonstrative series has been claimed to relate to anaphoric distance in Swahili; see 3.3.1. The close

to hearer/referential demonstratives *hapo*, *huko* and *humo* are very common as anaphora:

12. Mshahara waliokuwa wakiupata ***huko****, hata waziri* ***hapa*** *hakuugusa.*
'The salary that they earned <u>there</u>, even a minister <u>here</u> cannot make (lit. touch, reach)' (HCS; Macha 1984)

In the discourse preceding this sentence, the narrator discusses Greece, and the amounts of money you can make there as a seaman. The demonstrative *huko* refers back to Greece, which is contrasted with *hapa* 'here', or in this case; 'in this country'. Here we also see how the specificity of noun class 16 depends on the context – it does not refer to a particular spot or a definite location here, but to a general 'here in this country'. Moreover, although *huku* 'here, indefinite place' might be more semantically appropriate, this locative demonstrative has acquired specific uses, which probably accounts for why it is not used here.

Not only the close to hearer/referential demonstratives, but all the other locative demonstratives can also have an anaphorical function, as can demonstratives in general in the language (Ashton 1944:181; Loogman 1965:354; Russell 1996:150).

The locative demonstratives, especially of the referential series, are also commonly used to refer to something that is not already mentioned, but something that the hearer can identify based on assumed familiarity (Prince 1981). The information is new to the discourse, but at the same time old to the hearer. This is called the *recognitional use* by Diessel (1999). In the following example, 'the place' has not been mentioned before in the discourse, but is something that everyone knows about, the place where one grew up:

13. Kila mmoja atakumbuka kuwa wakati ule alikuwa na furaha na shida za namna ya peke yake kabisa na ***pale mahali*** *alipokuwa akikaa palikuwa kama peponi kwa uzuri na wazazi wake walikuwa kama miamba yake.*
'Everyone will remember that at that time, s/he had a special kind of happiness and hardship, and <u>that place</u> where s/he lived was beautiful like heaven, and her/his parents were to rely on.' (HCS; Seme 1972)

Relative clauses, as in the example above, are frequently used together with recognitional demonstratives in the world's languages (Diessel 1999:107).

2.2.3 *Huku* as a Conjunction

The locative demonstrative *huku* has some specific pragmatic uses in the Swahili language. It is very commonly used as a conjunction, translatable as 'while'.

*14. Alikaa ofisini **huku anatazama** saa yake.*
'He sat in the office (while) looking at his watch.' (HCS; Liwenga 1981)

This construction resembles the use of verbal compounds inflected with *-ki-* in the second verb, as in *alikaa huku akitazama saa yake* 'he sat while looking at his watch', where *huku* is often left out: *alikaa akitazama saa yake*, with the same meaning. The use of *huku* as a conjunction – as in example 14 – is so common that this locative demonstrative is rarely used for the exophorical or anaphorical/recognitional reference. It has been pointed out by Haddon (see 2.1) that *huku* is being replaced by *huko* for such uses. *Huku* is also rare in adnominal constructions (see 3.2.).

This use of *huku* can be compared to the use of *huku* as a discourse deictic (Diessel 1999:101–103). Such demonstratives refer to elements of the surrounding discourse, but are not co-referential with a prior NP like the anaphoric ones. Rather, they focus the hearer's attention on aspects of meaning, expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph or an entire story, and establish a link between two propositions. The discourse they refer to can precede or follow the demonstrative. Dixon (2003) refers to these as *textual anaphora* (as opposed to *substitution anaphora*, in this paper referred to simply as anaphora). In Swahili, the demonstrative of noun class 8, which can be used as a manner demonstrative, often functions as a discourse deictic. For example *amesema hivi*: 'he said this:' anticipates upcoming information expressed in the subsequent clause. Of the locative demonstratives, *huku* is the one that occurs as a discourse deictic, as in the following example:

*15. Lakini kimsingi [kama wananchi wengi wa Malawi watapiga kura ya ndiyo kupendelea mfumo wa chama kimoja cha siasa na serikali ikaafikiana nao] basi **huku** kutakuwa ni kuendeleza matatizo ya Malawi…*
'But the bottom line is, [if many citizens of Malawi will vote yes to a system with one political party and the government will comply with them] well then/this would be to promote the problems of Malawi …' (HCS; Afrika Wiki Hii (na Lucas Kisasa), Mzalendo)

Here, *huku* refers back to the whole proposition and links it with what follows. As *huku* in the construction given in example 14 is also used to link two propositions, I propose that these specific constructions stem from the discourse deictic use of *huku* as seen in example 15.[9]

[9] Note that *huku* in example 15 can be replaced by *huko*, which would give the meaning '…then/that would be…' In example 14, however, only *huku* is acceptable (Rahma Muhdhar, pc.).

3. WORD ORDER IN THE LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Published literature on the structure of Swahili cites <N Dem> as the regular word order, e.g. (Sacleux 1909; Ashton 1944; Loogman 1965; Rugemalira 2007), with the addition that the speaker is free to move the demonstrative to prenominal position without apparent change in meaning. A difference in meaning related to emphasis has been suggested for the <Dem N> order. “L’adjectif démonstratif précède bien rarement le substantif. Cette position en avant lui donne quelque chose d’emphatique, dont l’effet semble être de préciser d’avantage l’objet indiqué: *Huu mti wafaa kukatwa*, cet arbre-ci est bon à couper.” (Sacleux 1909). Loogman (1965) argues that the reason for the demonstrative to be ‘shifted from its regular place’ is to indicate a degree of emphasis, however slight (without explaining how). He continues: “Often euphony seems to be the sole reason for the choice of position of the demonstrative” (Loogman 1965:68). The results of the present study contradict these suggestions on word order, at least for noun classes 16–18. However, the authors do note a difference in meaning between the word orders and this is something I want to follow up on, although my findings indicate a different kind of meaning difference.

It has been demonstrated that the variation in word order depends on the noun class membership of the noun in the adnominal construction. The word order for noun class 1 is more frequently <Dem N> (*wale watu* ‘those people’) with the non-proximal demonstrative and more frequently <N Dem> (*watu hawa* ‘these people’) with the proximal demonstrative. When comparing all the demonstratives, the prenominal position is preferred. With noun class 10 the situation is reversed (Schadeberg 2006). In a recent doctoral thesis similar results were presented for noun class 1 (Mwamzandi 2014), also based on the HCS books.

For the locative classes, the <Dem N> word order dominates strongly, as the present study will show, by using a large Swahili corpus. This has been briefly noted by Russell (1996:150): “when words for ‘here’ and ‘there’ such as *hapa*, *pale*, *huku*, etc., are used with adverbial nouns, nouns made into adverbs by the addition of *-ni*, the ‘here’ or ‘there’ word often comes first.” However, no reason for this word order variation was offered. This paper intends to follow up on this observation and provide an analysis of the different possible word orders.

The choice of word order of noun and demonstrative appears to be a matter of some complexity, and is a point for further research. My contribution here is restricted to the word order of nouns with the locative demonstratives.

3.2 LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE OVERWHELMINGLY PRENOMINAL

In order to find out how common the word orders <N Dem> and <Dem N> are with locative demonstratives, the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS) was used. I searched for each locative demonstrative in combination with a locative noun ending in *-ni*. Locative demonstratives determining place names are therefore not included in the following tables (except when the place names end in *-ni*). Thereafter, the examples were screened in order to exclude irrelevant examples (for example a locative noun followed by a locative demonstrative, where the demonstrative actually determines a place name that follows; or where the noun ending in *-ni* is not locative, like *mgeni* 'stranger, visitor').

To go through the whole corpus in this manner would be too time-consuming. Therefore I chose to make use of the section 'books' only. This section still consists of 71 documents and 1,055,425 tokens. The result of these searches is presented with the demonstrative following the noun (N) in Table 3, and with the demonstrative preceding the noun in Table 4:

Table 3. *Number of occurrences and percentages for <N Dem>*[10].

N	*hapa*	**8**	4%	*hapo*	**6**	3%	*pale*	**8**	12%
	huku	**-**	0%	*huko*	**6**	3%	*kule*	**-**	0%
	humu	**6**	17%	*humo*	**10**	16%	*mle*	**3**	38%

Table 4. *Number of occurrences and percentages for <Dem N>*.

hapa	**203**	96%	*hapo*	**231**	97%	*pale*	**60**	88%	**N**
huku	**16**	100%	*huko*	**189**	97%	*kule*	**33**	100%	
humu	**29**	83%	*humo*	**53**	84%	*mle*	**5**	62%	

The result of these searches clearly shows that the most common position for the locative demonstrative in an adnominal construction is preceding the locative noun ending in *-ni* (<Dem N>). It is much less common for the demonstrative to follow the noun. When considering the percentages, note that the locative demonstratives of noun class 18 (*humu, humo, mle*) are the more flexible ones, used after the noun in more than 15% of cases, which is high compared to the ones used preceding the noun. I will come back to this later.

Two of the demonstratives, *huku* and *kule*, do not occur at all following the noun in the data. A wider search shows that *kule* can occasionally appear following *mahali*:

10 The percentages refer to the number of all adnominal constructions with a certain locative demonstrative, for example 4% of occurrences with *hapa* follow the noun and 96% precede the noun.

16. *Ingekuwa si muziki ule safari yetu ingelichukuwa siku mbili au zaidi kufika* ***mahali kule****.*
    'If it wasn't for that music, our journey would have taken two days or more in order to reach that place there.' (HCS; Seme 1972)

The word *mahali* is in general more often followed by the locative demonstrative than other locative words. This is also accounted for within the analysis given here: see 3.3.3.

There is, however, not a single example with *huku* used adnominally following the noun. This is not to say that such constructions do not occur in the language – *huku* can follow locative nouns as in *chuoni huku* 'in this university' (Rahma Muhdhar, pc.) – but such examples are not found in the corpus. As *huku* is very commonly used with an inflected verb to mean 'while (doing something)' and therefore has a specific function in the language (see 2.2.3.), it could be that its use in adnominal constructions is avoided. *Huku* is also not common preceding the noun (16 examples in the whole corpus). In fact Haddon (1955) might be right about his suggestion – referred to also in 2.1.3. – that *huku* is not used that much anymore, being replaced by *huko*.

The data presented in this section shows that it is much more common for the locative demonstratives to *precede* the noun they modify, in contradiction to what is claimed in the literature, although the locative demonstratives are not explicitly included in these claims.

3.3 A Focussed Position for the Locative Demonstrative

In this section, I aim to show that the order of noun and demonstrative is related to information structure, and that the word order change gives the speaker a tool to foreground or background spatial information.

3.3.1 Information Structure and Focus

The order of noun and demonstrative in Swahili has been claimed to be free, as already mentioned in 3.1. Although syntactically free in the case of Swahili demonstratives, I will propose in this section that the variation is determined by principles of discourse. What this means is that the message conveyed can be structured differently depending on the goal of the discourse and the optimizing of information transfer. In the case of word order in Swahili locative adnominal constructions, I suggest that the postnominal demonstrative – traditionally considered the regular position for Swahili demonstratives – is moved to a prenominal position in order to defocus it. The meaning contributed by the demonstrative is highlighted in the <N Dem> order and more backgrounded in

the <Dem N> position. I also propose that this backgrounding results in a more prepositional function and calls for an explanation in terms of grammaticalization.

Information structure refers to the ways in which a message can be packaged depending on what has gone before in the discourse and what other knowledge the speaker assumes that the hearer has, as well as the goal of the discourse (Halliday 1967; Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Kotschi 2006; Krifka 2006). Crucially, the truth value of the message remains unchanged.

There are different aspects to this information structure. One aspect is that the packaging of the message can reflect what has been mentioned previously in the discourse, i.e. what has already been activated and is accessible in the mind of the hearer (Chafe 1976). This kind of packaging is referred to as *referential givenness* (Gundel and Fretheim 2004) or *pragmatic states* (Lambrecht 1994). The choice between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives as anaphora in Swahili has been observed to relate to such packaging. Leonard (1985, 1987) refers to the distinction with the terminology High Concentration of Attention (HCOA) for the proximal demonstrative and Low Concentration of Attention (LCOA) for the non-proximal demonstrative.[11] Wilt (1987) on the other hand uses the notion of referential distance to explain the choice between the proximal demonstrative and the non-proximal demonstrative. According to him, the proximity/non-proximity hypothesis still holds, there are only different kinds of distance to be considered. Firstly, there is spatial and temporal distance in exophoric use. There is also discourse distance: when something is referred to by the narrator; the *le* form is used, but when it is referred to by the character in a story, the *h* form is used. He lastly mentions anaphoric distance: *h* is used when the referent is mentioned earlier in the same paragraph, *le* when it was last mentioned in a previous paragraph.

Apart from the choice of demonstrative, the syntactic position of the demonstrative has also been claimed to depend on referential distance, at least for noun class 1 (Mwamzandi 2014); see further below. However, according to my findings, word order variation with locative adnominal constructions does not depend on the pragmatic state of the referents denoted by the demonstrative.

Another aspect of information structure is the organization of the sentence itself into different parts, depending on topic and focus, referred to as *relational givenness* (Gundel and Fretheim 2004). These are *pragmatic relations*, according to Lambrecht (1994). On the basis of the pragmatic state of a referent, it can have a topic or focus relation to the proposition (van der Wal 2009).

Bantu languages, including Swahili, have been shown to exhibit word order variation related to information structure (e.g.Marten 2007), and specifically pragmatic relations. An example of this is that post-verbal constituents in Swahili can be moved to the front, in topic position, to become defocused, instead of a focused constituent being moved to focus position (Bearth 1999). The example is from Mwachofi (1987), as cited in Bearth (1999):

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11 The referential (*h-o*) demonstrative signals the meaning mid-concentration, but he does not go into details on this demonstrative in the paper in question.

17. Uso wa kutazama watu utakuwa huna.
"You will no longer dare to look into peoples' eyes, you will lose your reputation." (lit.: A face to look at people you will not have.)

The object in this example has been shifted from its normal final position to the front of the sentence, causing the verb complex *utakuwa huna* to stand in the natural focus position.

3.3.2 Focus and Defocus - A Hypothesis

As pointed out by Krifka (2006), constituents of different sizes can be put into focus, like for example demonstratives. The hypothesis I would like to bring forward here is that the locative demonstratives can also be defocused by moving them to the front of the nominal and out of the natural focus position for demonstratives.

The first reason to assume this is the markedness of <N Dem>, as evidenced by the results from the corpus search and demonstrated by the following examples:

*18. Ikawa **mle mkahawani** hamna yeyote anayemshughulikia, kila mtu anafanya mambo yake;*
'So there in the café there was no-one who took notice of him, everyone was busy with their own thing;' (HCS; Kibao 1975)

This is the first mention of the café in this sub-section, although it has been mentioned with another word (*kijimkahawa* 'small café') two sub-sections earlier. The person concerned is in the café looking for someone to do a job for him. Some sentences later on, the café is referred to again, with the same <Dem N> order. The person in question is outside again:

*19. Alipotoka tu akamwona kijana Sudi amekaa kwa unyonge sana, akajua ndiye yule yule aliyeagiziwa **mle mkahawani**.*
'As soon as he came out he saw the boy Sudi sitting there in a humble position, and he knew that he (Sudi) is indeed the boy he was directed to there in the café.' (HCS; Kibao 1975)

In the last mention of the café, which comes in the next paragraph, Sudi, who has been sitting outside because he did not have any money, can finally go inside. In this case, the demonstrative follows the locative noun:

*20. Akaingia **mkahawani mle**, akaagiza chai na vitafunio, akanywa.*
'And he entered into that café, ordered tea and snacks, and drank.' (HCS; Kibao 1975)

This <N Dem> word order occurs only in this one example in the whole book. It is clearly the marked word order, as also concluded from Table 4. After using the demonstrative preceding the noun (<Dem N>) throughout the story, the writer now changes the word order and uses <N Dem>.

My suggestion is that the change in meaning the speaker intends with this word order is related to focus in the sense of indicating a set of alternatives (Zerbian 2006; Krifka 2006). When an item in discourse is focused, the speaker wants to draw the hearer's attention to this item, to show that this is the right item out of a limited set of possible items. I propose that the postnominal position in Swahili is the natural focus position for a locative demonstrative. In this position, the meaning contributed by the locative demonstrative in terms of proximity and definiteness of place is in focus. The protagonist of the story can finally go inside and eat, after having lost all his money and not found anyone to help him.

This interpretation of focusing and highlighting the locative demonstrative has been confirmed to me in interviews with speakers of Swahili.[12]

The hypothesis I would like to pursue here is the following:

<N LocDem>: more marked word order. The locative meaning contributed by the demonstrative is salient and this position is an indicator of focus.

<LocDem N>: more neutral word order. The locative demonstrative is defocused.

3.3.3 Further Evidence for the Hypothesis

Place names denote a specific place and there is less need to focus on the specificity of place contributed by the locative demonstrative. This is possibly in combination with the fact that place names are part of the Common Ground (Krifka 2006), information that is mutually known to be shared without

[12] Variation in the use of Swahili is sometimes related to the different uses of what are actually two different standards of the language. There is Swahili as based on the Kiunguja dialect but developed into the standard used in mainland Tanzania and in schools (*KiSwahili sanifu*), often spoken by people with other language backgrounds, as opposed to the standard developed on Zanzibar (*KiSwahili fasaha* 'original or native Swahili') (Kipacha 2013). However, the use of the different word orders in locative adnominal constructions does not appear to be related to the linguistic background of the authors. A more careful count of examples from a number of books by authors from a *Kiswahili fasaha* background and by authors with a *KiSwahili sanifu* background did not reveal differences. The same author might alternate more between the two word orders in a specific book, and much less in another. As the change in word order is related to differences in focus, this is only to be expected. It depends on the information the author wants to highlight.

necessarily having been previously mentioned. Following this, it can be predicted that locative demonstratives do not often follow the place name, but rather precede it.[13] A search in the corpus for place names in combination with locative demonstratives, presented in the following tables, shows that this prediction is correct:

Table 5. *Place names followed by locative demonstratives*.

Place name	*hapa*	-	*hapo*	-	*pale*	-
	huku	-	*huko*	1	*kule*	-
	humu	-	*humo*	-	*mle*	-

Table 6. *Place names preceded by locative demonstratives.*

hapa	21	*hapo*	25	*pale*	5	**Place name**
huku	-	*huko*	68	*kule*	4	
humu	1	*humo*	1	*mle*	-	

All instances of a place name determined by a locative demonstrative have the word order <Dem N>. In Table 5, there is one example with *huko* listed with word order <N Dem>. In fact, this example includes two locative demonstratives, one preceding and one following the place name.

21. Juzi juzi hapa, dereva mmoja bwana, anatoka sehemu za huko Magomeni huko.
'Just some days ago man, a driver comes from that side Magomeni there.' (HCS; Hussein)

The first instance of *huko* in the example is adnominal. The second, following the place name, is an adverbial in apposition. Such constructions can be left out of the discussion of noun and demonstrative word order, as pointed out by Van de Velde (2005:433).

In the defocused position, the demonstrative function is weakened and there is less focus on the specificity of place. This results in a prepositional function of the locative demonstrative. I propose that this is a step in a grammaticalization process, and will come back to this below.

If place names denote a specific place, the word *mahali* – meaning 'place' – is on the other side of the spectrum, being quite indefinite. It is therefore expected to occur more often with the demonstrative following this noun. This prediction is again correct, with <*mahali* Dem> being the most common word order, as Table 7 and 8 show:

13 I thank Ellen Contini-Morava for suggesting this might be the case.

Table 7. *mahali* followed by locative demonstratives[14].

mahali	*hapa*	4	*hapo*	15	*pale*	4
	huku	-	*huko*	-	*kule*	2
	humu	-	*humo*	-	*mle*	-

Table 8. *mahali* preceded by locative demonstratives.

hapa	-	*hapo*	1	*pale*	5	**mahali**
huku	-	*huko*	-	*kule*	-	
humu	-	*humo*	-	*mle*	-	

An example is the following:

*22. Ah anajua kabisa, hata **mahali pale** munapofanyia mafundisho anapajua.*
"Ah he knows it well, he even knows that place where you do the teachings" (HCS; Hussein 1969)

An unspecified location is not something which is part of the Common Ground without being explicit. In almost all occurrences with the locative demonstrative preceding *mahali*, other modifiers, or a relative clause specifying the 'place', follows, as in this example:

*23. Walipofika **pale mahali** ambapo walikuwa wakitambikia, ..*
'When they arrived at <u>that place</u> where they had made an offering, ..'
(HCS; Seme 1972)

Mahali, being indefinite, needs to be specified in some way. The locative demonstrative therefore follows *mahali*. If something else specifies *mahali*, like the relative construction in 23, the locative demonstrative can precede the noun in order to 'make room' for the other specifier" (Rugemalira 2007).

With this hypothesis it becomes clear why, as we have seen in 3.2, the demonstratives of noun class 18 are more commonly used after the noun they determine than the demonstratives of noun classes 16 and 17 (although they are still more frequently prenominal than postnominal). The locative classes differ in definiteness, 17 being the least definite and 18 the most definite. The speaker chooses class 18 in order to specify the semantic notion of insideness. Its locative demonstrative meaning is focused by using the <N Dem> order. The demonstratives of class 18 are therefore more likely to follow the noun, and the demonstratives of class 17 – which are the least definite – are more likely to precede it. This is exactly what Tables 3 and 4 show us.

[14] What these tables also show, is that the noun *mahali* represents noun class 16 and that agreement is in most cases with this class, although some speakers modify the noun by means of a demonstrative from another class.

3.3.4 Pragmatic States and Word Order?

I now want to come back to the distinction between pragmatic relations that is proposed in this paper to underlie the choice between the different word orders, and the pragmatic states of concepts.

The word order differences <N Dem> and <Dem N> in Swahili have been claimed to depend on the active status or accessibility of the concept (Mwamzandi 2014); however, that study concerned only noun class 1. In this noun class both word orders are used, as in the following example from the thesis:

24. *[Msichana yule]* *a-* *li-* *ingia*
1girl 1D.DEM 1SM-PST-enter
'That girl entered.'

25. *[Yule msichana]* *a-* *li-* *ingia*
1D.DEM 1girl 1SM-PST-enter
'That girl entered'

For noun class 1, the author posits that <Dem N> signals that the intended referent is *activated*, while <N Dem> signals that the referent is *semi-activated* or *inactive*, in the terms of Chafe (1987). *Activated* refers to ideas or concepts that have recently been mentioned in the preceding discourse, or that are physically present at the moment of speech. They are active in the hearer's mind (often referred to as 'given', 'old'). Another concept might have been mentioned long ago, and the speaker reactivates this *semi-active* concept in the mind of the hearer by mentioning it again; it becomes accessible. It can also be a concept which can be inferred from the context, i.e. it belongs to a schema.[15] Lastly, a concept might be *inactive* and brought into the discourse, in which case it is completely new to the hearer (Chafe 1976).

This is, according to Mwamzandi (2014), combined with the effect of the choice of the type of demonstrative, as also suggested by Wilt (1987); the proximal demonstrative is more often used for short referential distance (more accessible) while the non-proximal demonstrative is used for greater referential distance (less accessible).

As mentioned in 3.1., word order frequencies differ across the noun classes in Swahili and I can make no claim regarding noun class 1. However, accessibility does not seem to account for the position of locative demonstratives in adnominal constructions. We have seen that these occur overwhelmingly in prenominal position. In the data, we find examples of nouns that are more or less accessible, both in the <Dem N> and the <N Dem> word order. In the following example,

[15] A schema contains the concepts that become accessible because they are associated with a mentioned concept: for example, when 'lecture' is mentioned, the concepts 'students', 'classroom' etc. will also be semi-activated (Chafe 1987).

the river (*mto*) is mentioned throughout the paragraph and also in the first sentence of the example. It is therefore an activated concept when it is referred to with the <Dem N> order in the third sentence in the example:

26. ***Mto*** *ulikuwa umejaa damu tupu ambayo ilikuwa ikitiririka kwa nguvu. Mzee alikuwa bado hajaniona. Aliendelea kutafuta kile alichokitafuta* ***humo mtoni****.*
'The river was full of blood only that flooded with force. He continued to search for the thing he was searching for there in the river.' (HCS; Kezilahabi 1990)

On the other hand, the <Dem N> order can also be used when introducing new, inactive information, such as 'in this head' in the following example. Just a few clauses later 'in this head' is mentioned again, and can now be regarded as active. The same word order is still used.

27. "Huo mswada uko wapi? Naweza kuusoma?" "Wote umo ***humu kichwani****. Safari hii sitaruhusu mtu yeyote aushike. Umo* ***humu kichwani*** *na nimeuhifadhi vizuri kimaandishi"*
"Where is that manuscript? Can I read it?" "It's all here in the head. This time I will not let anyone touch it. It's here in the head and I have kept it well in writing." (HCS; Kezilahabi 1990)

The same holds for the <N Dem> word order: it can be used for activated, semi-activated or inactive concepts. For this reason, I conclude that neither the <Dem N> nor the <N Dem> word order is more frequent depending on accessibility. The contrast between active, inactive and semi-active concepts is not relevant for the focus distinction (Chafe 1976:35), as the focus can be put on something which is active in the mind of the hearer, or on something which is not.

Mwamzandi (2014:80) in fact also mentions that "both the pre and postnominal demonstratives may be used for (re)activation". The mean referential distance – in terms of finite clauses separating it from the antecedent – of the proximal demonstrative is not significantly different between the prenominal and the postnominal position (5.55 and 5.25 finite clauses, respectively), according to his results. For the non-proximal demonstrative, the difference is a bit more (7.40 and 5.29). Even for noun class 1 therefore, the use of different word orders does not appear to be determined by referential givenness, as claimed by Mwamzandi (2014).

However, as already mentioned, there appear to be differences between the noun classes, as the proximal demonstrative is more commonly postnominal in class 1 and the non-proximal demonstrative more commonly prenominal. For the locative classes, all demonstratives are more commonly prenominal. The higher frequency of the non-proximal demonstrative in the <Dem N> order is likely due to its grammaticalization into a marker of definiteness, not because it is reserved

for referents with low accessibility (it is used for low accessibility, but in both positions). In the following, grammaticalization of the locative demonstratives is discussed.

3.3.5 Grammaticalization Dem N > article/preposititon N

According to Sacleux (1909:130) it is not so common for the demonstrative to precede the noun. As we saw in 3.1., he suggested that the word order <Dem N> indicates emphasis. It is plausible that the use of word orders is changing, as the sources in the corpus are all from the 1970s or after. But if that is the case, what are the reasons for this change? I propose that the prenominal position is an innovation. The order <Dem N> is becoming the more common one, and the demonstrative meaning is becoming bleached, as this is the defocused position.

The development of a demonstrative into an article is a common grammaticalization process (Heine and Kuteva 2002), and one which has been discussed for demonstratives preceding the noun in Swahili. Ashton (1944:181) writes, regarding what she calls the simple forms of the demonstratives (proximal and non-proximal) "When these forms precede the noun, this noun has already been introduced or implied, and their function approximates to that of English *the* in similar circumstances." Both examples are from (Ashton 1944:59):

28. *mtu* ***yule***
'that man (over there)'

29. ***yule*** *mtu*
'the man (away from speaker)'

This view is shared by others, such as Loogman (1965) and Russell (1996), who also notes that this function is more common with the non-proximal demonstrative, but disputed by Mohammed (2001) , who proposes that more research is needed on this matter. Krifka (1995) also considers the prenominal demonstrative as a definite article, and adds that the prenominal position implies a more colloquial style. It should be noted that the authors mentioned discuss the demonstratives in general, and not the locative demonstratives specifically. From Table 4 it can be concluded that the non-proximal locative demonstrative *Cd-le* does not occur preceding the noun more often than the other demonstrative series.

With the specific meanings of the demonstratives of classes 16–18, one can expect them to undergo a grammaticalization process in the direction of prepositions. In the following example, the meaning of *huku maghorofani* would be 'at the highrise buildings', referring to the part of town where people live in apartments.

30. *Sasa* ***huku maghorofani*** *nani ananijua?*
'Now here at the highrise buildings who knows me?' (HCS; Alasiri)

It can be assumed that there is some influence from the English language in this respect, as English uses prepositions to convey meanings like 'at, to, in'. English is an official language in Tanzania alongside Swahili, and code-switching is common, especially among the educated (Legère 2010).

The preposed locative demonstratives do not merely express definiteness, as all three sets of demonstratives occur before the noun. It is quite common for demonstratives to develop into markers of definiteness in the languages of the world, but in those cases, it is *one* of the demonstrative words that is used as a determiner (Dryer 2005:154). There is no reason for the speaker to use three sets of different demonstratives, 9 forms in total, in order to convey mere definiteness. Therefore, I suggest that the locative demonstratives still have the meanings outlined in 2.1, but that they are somewhat semantically bleached in the preposed position.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has offered an overview of the form, meaning, function and grammatical distribution of a rather specific set of demonstratives in the Swahili language: the locative demonstratives. They are specific in that they often have an adverbial function. It is clear however that the locative demonstratives are just that: demonstratives, and not adverbs. They belong to the demonstrative paradigm in the language and can be used pronominally, as well as adnominally, to modify place nouns.

The second part of the paper looked deeper into the constructions in which the locative demonstratives modify place nouns. Most importantly, it analysed the variation in word order of noun and demonstrative. In the literature on Swahili, the word order <N Dem> is taken to be the most frequent one. The empirical data presented in this paper clearly shows that this is not the case with the locative demonstratives. The word order of demonstrative and noun in Swahili differs across the noun classes, and with classes 16–18, <N Dem> is clearly the more marked, less frequent order.

The hypothesis presented in this paper suggests that the speaker indicates focus on the locative demonstrative by using <N Dem>, and the locative demonstrative is in defocus position in <Dem N>. This hypothesis needs further testing, and would particularly need to be checked in natural spoken language.

It is also suggested in this paper that the demonstrative function is reduced in the more common word order <Dem N>, and that the demonstrative has a prepositional function. The deictic differences between the sets of demonstratives remain, though, so that closeness to speaker, closeness to hearer and farness from speaker and hearer can be expressed even when used 'prepositionally'.

The differences in word order of demonstrative and noun in Swahili remain to be properly investigated for all noun classes. This paper is intended as a

contribution towards understanding the locative demonstratives in this language, and the difference in meaning that is conveyed by the changes in word order.

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