SWAHILI FORUM 29 (2022): 19-47

SOME NOTES ON THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF LOCATIVE INVERSION IN SWAHILI*

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This paper examines the discourse function of locative inversion (LI) in Swahili in a sample of twelve literary texts of various kinds and genres, written by different writers from Zanzibar as well as the mainland (Tanzania as well as Kenya) and published between 1960 and 2007. In the sample, I was able to identify only 21 examples of LI altogether, which suggests that the frequency of LI in general may be quite low. My analysis shows that these examples of LI are mainly used in background descriptions, that is, in longer or shorter sections where mostly places and objects are described in some detail. Furthermore, most of the identified locative inverted constructions are agentless passives; however, my sample also contains LI with process verbs. As I shall argue, locative inverted constructions are primarily discourse-pragmatically motivated and context-dependent, and their information structure can generelly be captured by assigning topic and focus features. Most specifically, my analysis shows that in most cases the preverbal locative is topical in the sense that its referent is available from the preceding context by bridging inferences. However, a few of the examples also show that locative inverted constructions sometimes also have even more subtle pragmatic effects.

Keywords: Swahili, Locative inversion, Subject agreement, Information structure, Syntax-pragmatics interface

Introduction

Locative inversion (LI) is a construction that has enjoyed some prominence in research on Bantu languages (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, Bresnan 1994, Demuth & Mmusi 1997, Harford 1990, Marten 2006, Marten & Gibson 2016, Marten & van der Wal 2015, Salzmann 2011, Whiteley 1968). It is characterised by the inversion of a locative with the logical or thematic subject. This inversion is accompanied by a reversal of grammatical functions: while the locative agrees with the verb and thus functions as grammatical subject, the logical or thematic subject appears in the position immediately after the verb (Salzmann 2011:169). Linguistic discussion of LI is usually based on sentence pairs, as in the following Swahili example:

(1a)	Mgeni	wetu	**a**-me-fik-a	nyumba-ni.	**No LI**
	1guest	1our	1-PERF-arrive-FV	9house-LOC	
	'Our guest has arrived at home.'				

* This article is based on a paper read at the workshop, organized by Nico Nassenstein, on "Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Variation in Swahili: New Approaches to the Study of Language and its Social Context in East Africa", Mainz, 1st December 2019. For useful comments and suggestions on an ealier version of this paper, I am grateful to Maud Devos.

(1b) Nyumba-**ni** **pa**-me-fik-a mgeni wetu. **LI**
9house-LOC 16-PERF-arrive-FV 1guest 1our
'At home has arrived our guest.' (Whiteley 1968:12,14)

The two sentences have the same thematic role structures, but differ syntactically from each other: In example (1a) above, the logical subject or theme appears in the preverbal subject position, and the locative follows the verb. In (1b), the postverbal locative has moved to the preverbal subject position, and the logical subject or theme has moved to the postverbal position. These positional differences correlate with differences in agreement: in (1a), verbal agreement is with the logical subject or theme, while in (1b) verbal agreement is with the locative.

It should be noted that not only fronted locative nouns marked by the suffix *-ni* may trigger subject agreement (cf. (2) and (3)), but also fronted locative prepositional phrases as well as fronted locative demonstratives, as illustrated in the examples (4) and (5).

(2a) Mgeni **a**-ta-kw-end-a soko-ni. **No LI**
1guest 1-FUT-INF-go-FV 5market-LOC
'The stranger will go to the market.'

(2b) Soko-**ni** **ku**-ta-kw-end-a mgeni. **LI**
5market-LOC 17-FUT-INF-go-FV 1guest
'To the market will go the stranger.' (Whiteley 1968:19)

(3a) Mwindaji **a**-li-telemk-a shimo-ni. **No LI**
1hunter 1-PAST-descend-FV 5hole-LOC
'The hunter went into the hole.'

(3b) Shimo-**ni** **m**-li-telemk-a mwindaji. **LI**
5hole-LOC 18-PAST-descend-FV 1hunter
'Into the hole went the hunter.' (Whiteley 1968:43)

(4a) Watu wengi **wa**-me-fik-a kwa Juma. **No LI**
2person 2many 2-PERF-arrive-FV PREP Juma
'Many people have arrived at Juma's place.'

(4b) **Kwa** Juma **pa**-me-fik-a watu wengi. **LI**
PREP Juma 16-PERF-arrive-FV 2person 2many
'At Juma's (place) there have arrived many people.' (Shepardson 1981:116)

(5a) Simba **a**-me-ku-f-a hapa. **No LI**
9lion 1-PERF-INF-die-FV 16here
'A lion has died here.'

(5b) **Hapa** **pa**-me-ku-f-a simba. **LI**
16here 16PERF-INF-die-FV 9lion
'A lion has died here.' (On-this-spot there-has-died lion) (Ashton 1944:128)

Locative inversion constructions as illustrated in the preceding Swahili examples have been subject to some discussion in Bantu linguistics with regard to thematic restrictions, morpho-syntactic characteristics, and discourse function.

With regard to the thematic restrictions imposed on predicates available for LI, comparative studies of LI in Bantu languages have shown that there is considerable variation (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989 for Chichewa, Harford 1990 for Chishona, Demuth & Mmusi 1997 for Tswana, and Marten 2006 for Herero). At the same time, however, as Bearth (2003:140) has pointed out, many Bantu languages share a core group of intransitive verbs – comprising motional verbs, positional verbs, as well as verbs expressing a container-contained relation between arguments – which are characteristically used in LI constructions. Moreover, LI in Bantu is widely attested with transitive verbs that have been passivized (Marten 2006:116, Salzmann 2011:173).

With regard to several morpho-syntactic characteristics and informational structural properties, LI is uniform across many Bantu languages:

- the preverbal locative NP functions as grammatical subject with which the verb shows subject agreement
- the preverbal locative NP is formally marked as a locative (with locative class morphology, in a prepositional phrase, or in a special locative form)[1]
- the postverbal NP functions as the logical subject or theme

[1] In my paper, I am dealing exclusively with "formal locatives", and accordingly with "formal locative inversion". Locative inversion in Bantu is also attested with preverbal "semantic locatives", that is, with nouns which are construed as places, and are thus locative in meaning, but which are not formally marked as locatives (Buell 2007, Marten & van der Wal 2015). This type of locative inversion, refered to as "semantic locative inversion" (Buell 2007:108), is illustrated in the following Swahili example taken from Shepardson (1982:114): *mji u-me-ingia wahuni* "The city has entered (i.e., has been entered by) rogues." Here, the noun *mji* "city", a class 3 noun, appears in its canonical form, i.e., without any formal locative marking, and the subject marker on the verb accordingly has class 3 agreement. Data on Swahili in Shepardson (1982:114) shows that "semantic locative inversion" and "formal locative inversion" coexists in Swahili: *mji-ni pa-me-ingia wahuni* "Into the city there have entered rouges". Here, the fronted locative noun *mji-ni* "in(to) the city" triggering subject agreement on the verb is marked with the locative prefix *-ni*. The subject marker on the verb has thus class 16 agreement. As noted in Marten & van der Wal (2015:329), the exact pragmatic differences between the two types of locative inverted constructions in Swahili are not yet fully elucidated and more research on this topic is needed.

- no object marker referring to the postverbal NP is permitted
- the postverbal NP is non-topical, and associated with new information and focus (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, Buell 2007, Harford 1990, Demuth & Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006, Marten & Gibson 2016, Marten & van der Wal 2015).

While quite a lot of comparative research has been done on the morpho-syntactic characteristics of LI constructions as well as on their thematic restrictions in Bantu languages, including Swahili, their discourse function is occasionally mentioned but hardly ever discussed in any detail. My aim in this paper is, therefore, to contribute to a better understanding of the informational structural properties of LI in Swahili. As the common practice of representing examples of LI without discourse context – either as elicited sentence pairs or in isolation – does not actually allow the discussion of their discourse function, the examples I discuss in my paper include the original discourse context. In order to identify relevant examples in their discourse context, I have decided to explore different literary texts.

In what follows, I shall first provide a brief review of previous findings on the discourse function of LI in Bantu (section 2). I shall then introduce my sample of literary sources and comment on the frequency of LI within this sample (section 3). Subsequently, I shall discuss, in some detail, a representative selection of examples of LI in the context of the literary discourse in which they occur. I shall elaborate on how my findings corroborate previous notions on the discourse function of LI constructions but also on how they differ from previous findings in interesting ways (section 4). Additionally, I shall comment on two more aspects associated with LI: the markedness of locative inverted constructions against the background of topic-worthiness, and the analysis of Subject/Locative-reversal in terms of topic agreement (section 5).

Previous research on the discourse function of LI constructions in Bantu languages

Locative inverted constructions express the same propositional content as their uninverted counterparts (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989:32-33, Salzmann 2011:170). However, the two constructions are not used in free variation. As Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) as well as Bresnan (1994) argue for Chichewa – which, according to Salzmann (2011:169), "is often taken to be the prime example of LI" – LI serves a special function in discourse, namely that of PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS:

> […] locative inversion has a special discourse function of PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS […], in which the referent of the inverted subject is introduced or reintroduced on the (part of the) scene referred to by the preposed locative. (Bresnan 1994:85)

In the same vein, Marten and Gibson (2016:568) have noted, with regard to the information structure of inversion constructions in Bantu more generally, that "the preverbal phrase is often topical, representing old information or a background or scene-setting topic, whilst the postverbal NP can encode focus and be associated with new information".

Marten and Gibson (2016:568-569) have also referred to another pragmatic effect that may be associated with inversion constructions, pointing out that inversion constructions may alternatively function "as thetic statements, where the whole proposition is focused".

The following example from Chichewa illustrates the specific discourse function of presentational focus with LI employing a motion verb:

(6) Presentational focus with LI in Chichewa (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989:42)

[After having told a story about how boars devastated his cassava garden, the narrator introduces a story about a schoolteacher whose lunch was stolen. We join him as he concludes the story about the boars and introduces one about the teacher.]

…I-zo	z-a-tha	z-á	ngúluwe-zo,	ndiyé
those-10	10SM-PRS.PRF-finish	10-ASC	10boar-10those	so

ndí-íká-pó-nsó	zîna,	z-ó-dándáulitsâ-nso.
1SG.SM.IM.FUT-put-16-also	10other	10-ASC.INF-worry.CAUS-also

Pa-no	**pa-no**	**p-âthu**	**pa**	**Chombo**	**pa-no**
16-here	16-here	16-our	16	Chombo	16-here

pa-da-<u>bwérá</u>	mw-alîmu	w-ó-chóká	uko,
16SM-PAST-come	1-teacher	1-ASC.INF-come.from	there

ku-dzá	kú-yérúza	sukûlu	pa-no.
INF-come	INF-teach	9school	16-there

Mw-alímu-yo	koma	m-kâzi	a-dá-lí-be,
1-teacher-1that	but	1-wife	2SM-PAST-COP-without

a-da-lí	ndí	m-longo	w-âke
2SM-PAST-COP	with	1-sister	1-his

á-má-mú-phíkira nsîma…
2SM.REL-PST.HAB-IIISG.OM-cook.for 9nsima

'Now that's over about boars, and now I will give you something else just as worrisome. Now here at our place, to Chombo, came a teacher from somewhere else to teach at the school here. But the teacher didn't have a wife. Instead, he had a sister, who was cooking *nsima* for him.'

In this example, a main discourse participant, the teacher, is introduced into discourse by a locative inverted construction containing the motion verb 'come' with the purpose of making him available for predication or recalling in subsequent discourse.

Another effect of presentational focus is illustrated in the following Chichewa question-answer pair:

(7a) Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989:33)
Ndi-ku-fún-á ku-dzíw-á kutí n'ku-ti
1SG.SM-PROG-want-IND INF-know-IND COMP COP17-Q

a-lendó á-ná-fîk-a.
2-visitor 2SM.REL-REC.PAST-arrive-IND
'I want to know where it was that the visitors arrived.'

(7b) Ndi ku-mu-dzi a-lendô-wo á-ná-fîk-a.
COP 17-3-village 2-visitor-2those 2SM.REL-REC.PAST-arrive-IND
'It's at the village that those visitors arrived.'

(7c) #Ndi kumu-dzi kú-ná-fík-á a-lendô-wo.
COP 17-3-village 17SM.REL-REC.PAST-arrive-IND 2-visitor-2those
'Lit.: 'It's at the village that arrived those visitors.'

According to Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:33), the response (7c), i.e. the locative inverted construction, seems odd because "it seems seems to depend on a scene having been set that already includes the village." Bresnan & Kanerva further argue that since the visitors have already been mentioned in the question (7a), they cannot be introduced on the scene naturally (1989:33).

That the difference in use between the locative inverted construction and its uninverted counterpart can be explained by drawing on terms such as topic and focus has also been shown for Swahili. Driever (1976:67) thus argues that the difference in information structure between the two constructions certainly has to do "with the distinction of old and new information." In comparing the information structure of (8a) and (8b), Driever (1976:68)

refers to the topical character of the locative subject. Example (8a) would thus be uttered if "the speaker talks about the person and he knows the person who came out of the room" (Driever 1976:68). In contrast, example (8b) would be used if the speaker "talks about the room and the person who came out is not known to him (or the listener)" (Driever 1976:68).

(8a) Mtu **a**-li-tok-a chumba-ni.
1man 1-PAST-come.out-FV 7room-LOC
'The man came out of the room.'

(8b) Chumba-**ni** **ku**-me-tok-a mtu.
7room-LOC 17-PERF-come.out-FV 1man
'Out of the room came somebody.' (Driever 1976:68)

According to Driever (1976:68), this information structure may also account for the fact observed by Whiteley (1972) that with locative or adverbial subjects, the "logical" subject may not be a proper name.

(9a) Nyumba-**ni** **ku**-li-fik-a mtoto.
9house-LOC 17-PAST-arrive-FV 1child
'To-the-house came some child.'

(9b) *Nyumba-**ni** **ku**-li-fik-a Juma.
9house-LOC 17-PAST-arrive-FV Juma
'To-the-house came Juma.' (Whiteley 1972:5)

In the same vein, Krifka (1995:1408) has noted that "in most examples of inversion, the 'logical' subject is, indeed, indefinite".

Moreover, in his study on various transitivity alternation patterns (inversion-patterns or so-called „entailment-patterns") in Swahili, Whiteley (1968) also provides quite a few locative inversion pairs (= his Pattern 4 [P4/E4])[2]. Whiteley's main focus is on the potentiality of

[2] The term "entailment" is used by Whiteley (1968:10) to designate the potentiality for transposing lexical items which, in his view, are in subject and object relationship to the verb. He deals with four sentence types or patterns and their respective entailments (Whiteley 1968: 12-14, Whiteley & Mganga 1969: 109 for the revised Pattern 3):

Pattern 0: *mzee yule alikufa njaa* "That man died of hunger" > no entailment (E) possible

Pattern 1: *mtoto huyu anapenda ndizi* "This child likes bananas" > E1 *ndizi zinapendwa na mtoto* (passive)

Pattern 2: *huyu atafaa kazi* "He'll do for the job" > E2 *kazi itamfaa huyu*

Pattern 3: *maji yamejaa mto* "The water is full as to the river" > E3 > *mto umejaa maji*

Pattern 4: *mgeni wetu amefika nyumbani* "Our guest has arrived at home" > E4 *nyumbani pamefika mgeni wetu*

Moreover, Whiteley (1972:1) points out that "sentences which stand in an entailment to one another may be inferred from one another, but the precise semantic relationship between them is neither constant nor, in all cases, straight-forward".

underived and derived verbs for undergoing inversion as well as on the formal differences between the uninverted and inverted sentences. However, he also provides "semantic connotations" of locative inverted constructions (the so-called marked member of the entailment pair) which show that the pragmatic effects of locative inversion in Swahili may be more fine-grained than can be captured by referring to the topical character of the locative subject and focus features of the postverbal "logical" subject alone. As shown in the following example, the meaning of the inverted construction includes an additional contrastive pragmatic feature, which may be labelled "counter-presupposition" feature, since the information presented by speaker B is opposed to other, similar information which speaker B presupposes to be entertained by speaker A (Dik 1989:282-283):

(10a)	A:	Mimi	**na**-kw-end-a	nyumba-ni	sasa.
		I	1.SG:PRES.INF-go-FV	9house-LOC	now
		'I'm going home now.'			

(10b)	B:	Nyumba-**ni**	**pa**-me-fik-a	mgeni.
		9house-LOC	16-PERF-arrive-FV	1guest
		'A guest has arrived at house.' (Whiteley 1968:15)		

According to Whiteley (1968:15), the response to speaker A's statement thus "suggests a good reason for not going to the house."

Furthermore, Whiteley (1970) also elaborates on the function of passive constructions in Swahili, including agentless passives with LI. He comes to the conclusion that "the Passive is frequently a useful device to maintain continuity of grammatical subject both within and across sentences boundaries" (Whitely 1970:403). This is illustrated in example (11), which is taken from the detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi*.

(11)	Pembe-ni,	huku	na	huku,	ku-me-<u>jeng-w-a</u>
	10corner-LOC	17DEM	and	17DEM	17-PERF-build-PASS-FV

makalibu	ya	ku-sanyia	maji…
6tank	6of	INF-collect	6water

'On the corners, here and there, are built tanks for catching water…' (Whiteley 1970:398; *Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 12)

Example (11) shows the use of LI with a transitive verb that has been passivized. Here, the agentless passive is employed in order to "maintain the continuity of the discussion on the features of the house" (Whiteley 1970:398). It is clear that Whiteley's notion "to maintain continuity of grammatical subject" is closely related to the information structure notion of

"topic". I shall take up this issue in section 4, where I shall present a context-dependent and discourse-pragmatic discussion of LI in agentless passives.

Literary texts as source of examples of LI in Swahili

Locative inverted constructions are attested in Swahili grammars (Ashton 1944:127-128, Polomé 1967:160) and have been discussed in studies on Swahili syntax (Driever 1976:67-68, Krifka 1983:164-167, Krifka 1995:1408, Shepardson 1982, Whiteley 1968, 1970, 1972). They are also mentioned in Swahili textbooks (Perrott 1957:147, Zawawi 1988:10). As noted before, most of the examples found in the literature used for the illustration of LI in Swahili are elicited sentence examples and thus given without any context. One reason for that might be the fact that, at least in literary texts, LI does not seem to occur very frequently, if it occurs at all. This idea is confirmed by Krifka's (1983) study on word order in Swahili. His study contains a sample of seven texts (four written texts of very different kinds and three oral or quasi-oral texts) comprising about forty pages (cf. Krifka 1983:289-329). In the whole sample Krifka identified only one example of LI in one quasi-oral text, taken from the modern play *Kijiji chetu* ("Our village") by Ngalimecha Ngaliyoma (cf. Krifka 1983:315, 317).

In order to get more data and, most specifically, to find examples of LI constructions in their respective discourse contexts, I decided to look for further examples from literary Swahili texts. I have explored literary texts of various kinds and genres (novel, detective novel, folk saga, comic book, comic magazine, theatre play, short story, radio drama) by different writers from Zanzibar as well as the mainlaind (Tanzania as well as Kenya), which were published between 1960 and 2007 and aimed at different readerships (adults as well as young readers), in order to cover a great stylistic spectrum. My findings with regard to the occurrence of LI are summarised in Table 1:

Table 1: Sample of literary Swahili texts and occurrence of LI

Author	**Title**	**Literary genre**	**Pages**	**Identified examples of LI**
Muhammed Said Adulla	*Kisima cha Giningi*	detective novel	101	11
Muhammed Said Adulla	*Msimu wa Watu wa Kale*	detective novel	76	5
Muhammad Saleh Farsy	*Kurwa na Doto*	folk saga	62	2
Euphrase Kezilahabi	*Rosa Mistika*	novel	119	2
Anthony Mwangi	*Safari ya Anga ya Juu*	comic book science fiction story	36	1
Farouk M. Topan	*Mfalme Juha*	theatre play	33	-

Ebrahim Hussein	*Wakati ukuta*	theatre play	41	-
Ebrahim Hussein	*Alikiona*	theatre play	20	-
Ben R. Mtobwa	*Kipofu mwenye miwani myeusi*	short story young-adult literature	30	-
Mohamed Suleiman	*Siku ya Arobaini*	short story	5	-
	Kingo (Toleo Na. 26)	comic magazine	32	-
Zainab Aziz	*Duniani kuna mambo*	radio drama	100 min.	-

It turned out that the frequency of LI in Swahili literary texts is generelly low. Only five out of twelve primary sources contain examples of LI. In the twelve works I examined with regard to LI constructions I was able to identify 21 examples of LI altogether. 16 of these occur in two detective novels by Muhammed Said Abdulla, *Msimu wa Watu wa Kale* ("The grove of ancestral spirits") and *Kisima cha Giningi* ("The water spring of Giningi"), published in 1960 and 1968 respectively. Muhammed Said Abdulla is an eminent Zanzibarian writer whom Khamis (2012:161) refers to as "the father of detective or crime fiction in Swahili", and who is renowned for his literary style.[3] I identified two examples of LI in the short novel *Kurwa na Ndoto* ("Kurwa and Ndoto") written by Muhammed Saleh Farsy and published in 1960. Muhammed Saleh Farsy is also from Zanzibar, and his short novel represents a kind of folk saga. Two more examples of LI are employed in Euphrase Kezilahabi's novel *Rosa Mistika* (= proper name) published in 1971. Euphrase Kezilahabi is considered by Bertoncini-Zúbková (1995:358) as 'probably the most eminent writer from Tanzania mainland'. A further example occurs in the comic book *Safari ya Anga ya Juu* ("Deep space safari"), which was authored and illustrated by the Kenyan, Nairobi-based graphic designer Anthony Mwangi and published in 1997.

Neither in the three theater plays, the short stories, issue 26 (2007) of the very popular comic magazine *Kingo* ("the edge, the threshold"[4]) nor in the radio drama did I find any examples of LI. As noted by Bertoncini-Zúbková (1995:358), the dialogues in the theatre plays are close to oral speech. *Mfalme Juha* ("King Juha") is a famous comedy by the Zanzibarian author Farouk Topan, published in 1971. The short plays *Wakati ukuta* ("Time is

[3] The two detective novels have already been selected as primary sources for the discussion of LI by Whiteley (1968, 1970). In his examination on transitivity alternation patterns with special reference to LI with transitive verbs that have been passivized, Whiteley (1968:75) quotes two examples (however given without any context) from the detective novel *Msimu wa watu wa kale*. Moreover, the detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi* served as one of two primary sources for Whiteley's (1970) exploration of the function of passive constructions in Swahili. Whiteley (1970:398) provides here five examples of agentless passives with LI and comments on the choice of the passive.

[4] The English translation was suggested to me by Solomon Waliaula.

a brickwall"), dealing with a generation conflict, and *Alikiona* ("A cause for repent")[5], an amusing play about a love triangle, were written by the Tanzanian playwright Ebrahim Hussein and were first published in 1967 (Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:359). *Kipofu mwenye miwani myeusi* ("The blind man with black glasses"), is a short detective story for young adults by the distinguished Tanzanian writer Ben Mtobwa, published in 1998. *Siku ya Arobaini* ("The fortieth day"), is a humorous short story centred on a woman-chaser. It was published in 1970 by the well-known Zanzibarian writer Mohamed Suleiman who is also known as Mohamed S. Mohamed (Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:360). The title refers to the proverb *Mwizi siku zake arobaini* ("The days of a thief are fourty"; i.e. a thief is bound to be caught) (Bertoncini-Zúková 1998:12). The very popular radio drama *Duniani kuna mambo* (Literally: "There are things in the world"; free translation: "Truth is often stranger than fiction"), written by the Kenyan journalist Zaynab Aziz, was produced in 2006 by the Kiswahili Section of the German Broadcasting Service Abroad and contains a series of ten-minute episodes relating captivating stories about an arranged marriage in a Swahili speaking society.

On the discourse function of LI in selected Swahili literary texts

My study on the use and discourse function of LI in my sample of Swahili literary text has revealed the following general results:

- My examples strongly corroborate Marten and Gibson's observation (2016:568) quoted above with regard to the information structure of locative inversion constructions: in all but two of my examples, the preverbal locative phrase is topical, whilst the postverbal NP encode focus and is associated with new information.
- I have identified two examples in which the preverbal locative is neither "under discussion" nor available from the immediate preceding context (see examples (18) and (21)). One of these two examples shows the alternative pragmatic effect also mentioned by Marten and Gibson (2016:568-669), with an inversion construction functioning as thetic statement (see example (21)).
- Interestingly, LI is not used for the introduction of active discourse participants with the purpose of recalling them in subsequent discourse in any of my examples. This use is in the literature often regarded as a prime example for the illustration of presentational focus reading (see example (6)).
- Furthermore, 18 out of the 21 examples I was able to find are, in fact, agentless passive constructions. In their respective context in the literary works, all of these agentless passive constructions are used in background descriptions. Most specifically,

[5] The English translations of the two short plays are taken from Said (2005).

they are used in longer or shorter sections where mostly places and objects are described in some detail.

- Only three out of the 21 examples are not agentless passive contructions; instead, two of them contain the process verb *–jaa* ‘be(come) full’, while one contains the process verb *–chiririka* ‘trickle; flow, run off’.[6]

I shall now take a closer look at some of the examples of LI and comment on their use in discourse. The remaining examples of LI are listed in the appendix. All examples are presented with their extended discourse context, which is given in square brackets.

First of all, I shall present some of my examples for LI in agentless passives, used mostly for the description of places, but also for the depiction of objects. The first two examples are from Abdulla’s detective novel *Msimu wa watu wa kale*. They describe two features of the police station:

(12) [Stesheni yenyewe kilikuwa kibanda cha matofali ya saruji…]
{The police station itself was a hut made of cement tiles…}

Ndani	**ku-na-ko**		**meza**	**ya**	**Spekta**	**ku-**me-pachik-w-a	
inside	17-POSS.COP-17REL		9table	9of	inspector	17-PERF-fix-PASS-FV	
bao	jembamba	tangu	ukuta	huu	mpaka	ukuta	huu
5board	5narrow	from	11wall	11this	till	11wall	11this
kwa	mapana	ya	stesheni	ili	ku-zuia	watu	
PREP	6width	6of	9station	CONJ	INF-prevent	2person	
wa-si-fik-e			kwenye	meza	ya	Spekta.	
2-NEG.SUBJ-arrive-SUBJ			PREP	9table	9of	inspector	

[6] It should be noted that examples of LI containing the process verb *-jaa* ‘be(come) full’ are also found in Krifka (1983:315, 317) and Ashton (1944:130). Furthermore, Whiteley (1968) and Whiteley and Mganga (1969) have shown that many Swahili verbs can take part in more than one “entailment pattern” (see footnote 3). This is also true for *jaa* ‘be(come) full’ and *tiririka/chiririka* ‘flow, trickle, run off’. According to Whiteley and Mganga (1969:120, 125) *jaa* belongs to those verbs where Pattern 3 [P3/E3] is the major pattern (cf. [P3/E3]:*watu wamejaa nyumba*/*nyumba imejaa watu* “The house is full of people”) and (the locative inversion) Pattern 4 [P4/E4] is the minor pattern (cf. [P4/E4]: *wageni wamejaa mjini*/*mjini pamejaa wageni* “The town is full of visitors”). On the other hand, *tiririka/chiririka* ‘flow, trickle, run off’ is classified among those verbs for which Pattern 4 [P4/E4] is the major pattern, and Pattern 3 [P3/E3] is the minor pattern.

‘Inside (the police station), in front of the inspector’s desk, (there) is set up a narrow counter from one wall to the next, so as to prevent visitors’ direct access to the inspector’s seat.’

[Nyuma ya bao hilo kulikuwa na meza kubwa ya Spekta na buku kubwa juu yake nalo limeachwa wazi katikati].
{Behind this counter, there was the mighty desk of the inspector, and the register book that was opened in the middle.} (*Msimu wa watu wa kale*, p. 45)

(13) [Pembeni mwa meza ile palikuwa na simu. Huo ni upande mmoja wa stesheni,]
{In the corner of the desk there was a telephone. All this formed the back part of the station.}

na	**upande**	**wa**	**mbele**	**yake**	**ku**-me-wek-w-a
and	11part	11of	9front	9POSS	17-PERF-put-PASS-FV

bao	la	ku-ka-li-a	watu,
5board	5of	INF-sit.APPL-FV	2person

kama	watu	wa-na-o-ku-j-a	kwa	mashtaka.
like	2person	2-PRES-2RCd-INF-come-FV	PREP	6charges

‘In the front part (there) is placed a plank bed on which clients who wanted to make a report could sit down.’ (*Msimu wa watu wa kale*, p. 45)

Another instance of the use of LI with agentless passive is shown in example (11) (= [14] provided with the extended discourse context) which is taken from Abdulla’s detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi*. The example depicts features of Spekta Seif’s house.

(14) [Nyumba ya spekta Seif, kama stesheni, vile vile ilijengwa kwa matofali ya saruji, na juu yake paa la bati lenye rangi nyekundu.]
{Spekta Seif’s house was build, like the police station, of cement tiles, with a red tin roof.}

Pembe-ni,	**huku**	**na**	**huku**,	**ku**-me-jeng-w-a
9corner-LOC	17DEM	and	17DEM	17-PERF-build-PASS-FV

makalibu	ya	ku-sanyia	maji	ya	mvua	amba-yo
6tank	6of	INF-collect	6water	6of	9rain	REL-6RCd

ndi-yo	a-na-yo-tumi-a	mwenyewe	Spekta	Seif
COP-6RCd	1-PRES-6RCd-use-FV	himself	inspector	Seif

kwa	sababu	ya	nyumba	na	bustani.
for	9reason	9of	9house	and	9garden

‘On the corners, here and there, (there) are set tanks for catching rain water which Spekta Seif used for the house and the garden.’ (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 12)

Examples (15a) and (15b) are also from Abdulla’s detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi*. They contain a description of the house of the traditional healer, Fundi Mangungu. Here, two features of the house are depicted, once again showing LI with agentless passive:

(15a) [Nyumba ya Fundi Magungu, kama nyumba za waganga wengine, ni nyumba mbovu mbovu.]
{The house of Fundi Magungu was, like the houses of many other traditional healers, quite ruinous.}

Ncha-ni	**zaidi,**	**kwa**	**juu**	**ya**	**zile**	**bendera**,
9tip-LOC	more	PREP	above	9of	10DEM	10flag

ku-li-fung-i-w-a	manyoya	ya	kuku	mweupe.
17-PAST-APPL-PASS-FV	6feather	6of	9chicken	1white

‘Yet further above on the top (of the roof), above these flags, (there) are attached feathers of a white chicken.’

(15b)

Ku-na-ko	**kizingiti**	**cha**	**juu**	**cha**	**mlango**
17-POSS.COP-17REL	7piece.of.frame	7of	above	7of	3door

wa	**nje**	**pa**-me-pig-il-i-w-a	burufu	la
3of	outside	16-PERF-beat-APPL-APPL-PASS-FV	5skull	5of

kichwa	cha	ng’ombe	chenye	mapembe	makubwa,
7head	7of	9cow	7having	6horn	6big

‘On the top frame of the front door (there) is attached (nailed up) the skull of a cow with enormous horns.’

[na ilivyokuwa ukuta wa nyumba ile ni wa udongo mkuukuu, haujishiki, misumari iliyokuwa imepigiliwa burufu lile ilikuwa imeregea na kwa hivyo burufu lile limepinduka na mapembe yake yalikuwa yananing'inia kwa chini.]
{and as the wall was made of mud and was crumbly, the nails that had been beaten into the skull had come loose, and the skull had sliped out of place and its horns were dangling down.} (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 43-44)

The next two examples are from Kezilahabi's novel *Rosa Mistika*. They depict two features of the room of Rosa's head master:

(16a) [Rosa alianza kunywa. Aliangalia chumba kila upande. Upande mmoja ulikuwa umejaa picha za magazetini.][7]
{Rosa began to drink. She regarded each side (wall) of the room. One wall was full with pictures from newspapers.}

upande	**mwingine**	**ku**-li-ku-wa	**ku**-me-tundik-w-a
11side	11other	17-PAST-INF-be	17-PERF-hang-PASS-FV

vyeti	na	shahada	mbalimbali.[8]
8certificate	and	10degree	different

'On another wall, certificates and diplomas had been hung.'

(16b)

upande	**mwingine**	**ku**-li-ku-wa	**ku**-me-tundik-w-a
11side	11other	17-PAST-INF-be	17-PERF-hang-PASS-FV

picha	kubwa	sana,
9picture	9big	very,

i-li-ku-wa	ya	siku	ya	arusi	yeye	na	mkewe.
9-PAST-INF-be	9of	9day	9of	9wedding	he	and	1his.wife

[7] Following Whiteley and Mganga (1969), I would regard the sentence *Upande mmoja ulikuwa umejaa picha za magazetini* as an entailment (E3) of the sentence *Picha za magazetini zimejaa upande mmoja* (= P3).

[8] I treated this and the following example as cases of (formal) LI for the following reasons: *upande* "a piece, a certain part, a side, of anything" is a relational class 11 noun, which is often used as head noun to indicate a spatial relationship. It may thus function as a locative adverbial (without any overt locative marking), and may trigger locative subject agreement, when shifted to the preverbal position. See also example (13), in which *upande* is used as the head noun of an adverbial phrase (*upande wa mbele yake* "in the front part (of)").

‘On a further wall a very big picture had been hung, it was from his and his wife’s wedding day.’

[Upande wa nne ulikuwa umewekwa sanamu zinazochongwa na Wamakonde. Haya yote Rosa aliyaona. Upande uliompendeza ni ule uliokuwa na picha za magazetini].
{On the fourth wall, statuettes carved by the Makonde had been put. Rosa saw all of this. The wall she liked (best) was that with the pictures from the newspapers.}
(*Rosa Mistika*, p. 62)

LI with agentless passive is once again illustrated in example (17), which is taken from Farsy’s folk saga *Kurwa na Doto*. It forms part of a detailed description of the grave of a woman called Doto (= female proper name and one of the main characters of the story).

(17) [Kaburi lilikuwa limejengwa kwa marmar mazuri ya nakshi yaliyoandikwa kwa aya za Kuran na dua nzuri.]
{The grave had been built from beautifully decorated marble on which verses from the Koran and a good prayer were written.}

chini	**ya**	**jina**	**na**	**tarehe**	**ya**	**maiti**,
under	9of	5name	and	date	9of	dead.body

pa-li-andik-w-a	maneno	haya
16-PAST-write-PASS-FV	6word	6DEM

‘Landik-w-a-lo	ndi-lo	li-wa-lo
5.G.PRES.write-PASS-FV-RCd5	EMPH.COP-RCd5	5-be-RCd5

mja	ha-na	hiari.’
1servant	NEG.1-POSS.COP	9choice

‘Under the name and date of death (there) were written these words: What is written [by God] is what it is, a servant of God has no choice.’ (*Kurwa na Doto*; p. 48)

What all of these agentless passive examples show is that, in each case, the LI construction is used to maintain the continuity of the particular discourse topic, that is, the police station, Spekta Seif’s house, Fundi Mangungu’s house, the room of Rosa’s head master, and the grave of Doto. The discourse topic is a *place* in each of these examples with the exception of the last example; here the discourse topic is an *object*.

In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative is topical in the sense that its referent is, as Lambrecht (1994:150) has put it, already "under discussion or otherwise available from the context".[9] In the examples (12)–(17), the inverted locatives have not been mentionned earlier. Nevertheless, they are accessible to the reader; they represent given information in the sense that they are, to use Clark's (1977:415) term, "associated pieces" of the places or objects under discussion. Clark (1977:415) has called this kind of bridging "indirect reference by association", the basis for which seems to be general background knowledge (Saeed 2009:212). With regard to the literary texts examined, readers would generally know, for instance, that police stations commonly have an inside with a front and a back part, that houses usually have corners, tops, and front doors, and that rooms typically have four sides. The postverbal NP (or theme), in turn, is neither "under discussion" nor available from the context; it thus represents new information, just as described by Marten and Gibson (2016).

There is, however, one example of LI with agentless passives, which differs in its use from the other examples discussed so far. The example is also from Farsy's folk saga *Kurwa na Doto*. Here the discourse topic is neither a place nor an object. It is more abstract and refers to different activities at different places caused by the arrival of a guest (cf. 18). Thus, on the one hand, it seems reasonable to argue, here again, that the agentless passive with LI is used to maintain the continuity of the relevant discourse topic. Readers would usually expect that guests after their arrival are received and invited for dinner. On the other hand, it appears difficult to argue for the topical character of the preverbal locative ("nyumbani"), since there is no inferential link with the immediate preceding sentence.

(18) [Habari zilikwenda kuwa Faki atafika siku fulani. Kurwa na mama yake pamoja na watu wengine walikwenda kumpokea.]
{News went round that Faki would arrive on a certain day. Kurwa, his mother and other people went to welcome him.}

Nyumba-ni	**ku**-li-pik-w-a		vyakula	na	nyuji	
9house-LOC	17-PAST-cook-PASS-FV		8food	and	10porridge	
ku-wa	ni	fuka	ya	mgeni.		
INF-be	COP	9gruel	9of	1guest		

[9] There exist different types of inferential links that are made routinely between sentences: such as different types of coreference (the nominal may be repeated, or very commonly, an anaphoric pronoun may be used) as well as so called bridging inferences (Saeed 2009:211-212).

‘At home (there) were cooked different kinds of porridge to act as gruel for the guest.’(*Kurwa na Doto*, p. 49)[10]

[Jioni sinia na makombe ya michele yalimiminika kumkaribisha mgeni.]
{In the evening, huge amounts of rice were served on plates and in bowls to welcome the guest.}

Moreover, as noted before, only three out of the 21 examples in my sample on LI are not agentless passive contructions, but constructions that contain process verbs.[11] Two of these constructions are once again used in background descriptions of certain places and maintain the continuity of a particular discourse topic (cf. 19 and 20). Example (19), which is taken from the comic book *Safari ya anga ya juu,* illustrates the use of LI with the process verb *–jaa* ‘become full’ to describe special features of the planet “AKAI”.

(19) [... hata ikiwa kuna mawe ya thamani hapa; hakuna hewa hata kidogo! Hii sayari ni tupu kabisa.]
{Even though there are very precious stones here, there is no atmosphere here at all. This planet is completely empty.}

…**katika**	**sayari**	**hii**	**ku**-me-ja-a		mashimo	
…PREP	9planet	9DEM	17-PERF-become.full-FV		6hole	
ya-li-yo-chimb-w-a	na	mavi	ya	nyota	kutoka	nje.
6-PAST-6RCd-dig-PAST-FV	by	6dross	6of	10star	from	outside

‘This planet is full of craters formed by the impact of comets (by star droppings).’

[…hapa na pale kuna volkeno ambazo ziliwahi kulala muda mrefu uliopita…]
{Here and there, there are volcanos which have not been active for a long time.}
Safari ya anga ya juu, p. 32-33)

Example (20) is from Abdulla’s detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi*. Here, the process verb *–chiririka* “trickle, flow gently” is employed with LI to depict a suspicious feature of the room of *Mwana wa Giningi* (one of the main characters of the novel).

[10] I am grateful to Solomon Waliaula and Lutz Diegner for helping me with the translation of this sentence.

[11] Marten (2011:802) provides the following example of LI in Swahili containing the postural verb *simama* „stand“: *Shebule-ni pa-li-simama meza moja kubwa…* „In the living room stood a big table…“ The example taken from Lemki (1976) is part of a description of the house of Mr Geshum and thus corroborates my findings on the use of LI in Swahili literary texts.

(20) [Macho ya Bwana Msa yalivutwa na umajimaji mwingine uliokuwako **juu ya sakafu mbele ya sanduku**.]
{The eyes of Bwana Msa were attracted by other traces of water **on the floor, right in front of the chest**.}

'**Hapa**,'	a-li-uliz-a	Bwana	Msa,	'**pa**-li-<u>chiririk-i-a</u>
16here	1-PAST-ask-FV	Bwana	Msa	16-PAST-trickle-APPL-FV

maji	kidogo?'
6water	a.little

''Has there been spilled any water here', asked Bwana Msa.' (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 28)

The last example, that I would like to discuss, differs from the rest of my examples. It is taken from Abdulla's detective novel *Msimu wa watu wa kale.* The discourse context of this example is different from that of the other examples in my sample in that it marks the beginning of a new chapter of the novel (i.e., chapter 11 entitled *Upanga Umeibiwa* "a sword has been stolen"), thus representing a scene-setting background description (cf. 21). It does not continue statements about a discourse topic introduced in preceding sentences, but rather functions as a thetic statement, having what Lambrecht (1994:144) refers to as an "all-new" character:

(21) [11. UPANGA UMEIBIWA]
{11. A SWORD HAS BEEN STOLEN}

Duka-ni	**kwa**	**Mmanga**	**pa**-li-ku-wa	**pa**-me-<u>ja-a</u>
shop-LOC	17of	Omani	16-PAST-INF-be	16-PERF-become.full-FV

watu,	wanaume	na	watoto,
2person	2man	and	2child

'The shop of the man from Oman was completely full with people, men as well as children'

[na Mmanga alikuwa anashughulika kufanya biashara yake kwa nguvu.]
{and the man from Oman himself was very engaged in his business.} (*Msimu wa watu wa kale*, p. 47)

Further points

In section 2, it has been observed that LI in Swahili literary texts is generally low in frequency. This is not surprising since LI is a highly marked construction in the sense that there is a "mismatch between the coding of the preverbal [locative; H.T.] NP as topic and its inherent low topicality" (Marten & Gibson 2016:597). In fact, thematic roles can be characterized along a hierarchy or implicational scale with regard to thematic restrictions in certain domains of grammar such as passivation or applicatives, and by extension topic-worthiness. The following version of a hierarchy of thematic roles, which is based on Givón (1984), is given by Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:23). It places the locative role at the bottom of the scale.

(22) Agent > Beneficiary > Recipient/Experiencer > Instrument > Theme/Patient > Locative

According to Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:23-24), the order of the thematic roles in (22) also reflects decreasing-topicality (see also Marten & Gibson 2016:597).

In addition to the mismatch of encoding extremely low topic-worthy entities such as locatives as topics, there is another fact that should also be taken into consideration for a more profound understanding of LI in Swahili. LI has been analyzed in the literature in terms of topic agreement (Bearth 2003, Krifka 1995, Salzmann 2011). Bearth (2003:140), for instance, notes that "inversion creates, for Bantu languages, a generally favorable environment for topic agreement in replacement of the generally prevailing strategy of subject agreement."

This means that verb-initial agreement, which is primarly oriented towards the subject, may under certain circumstances become topic-oriented (Bearth 2003:141). Usually, the agent (the logical subject) will be the topic, but if a locative is shifted to the sentence-initial or topic position, it may control verb-initial-agreement. As pointed out by Bearth (2003:141), that does however not mean that "all subject agreement is topic agreement." The following agentless passive example, which is taken from Abdulla's detective novel *Kisima cha Giningi*, confirms Bearth's claim.

(23) [Stesheni ya Giningi ilikuwa kibanda kidogokidogo cha matofali ya saruji, na juu yake kimeezekewa bati lenye rangi nyekundu.]

{The police station of Giningi was small hut made of cement tile, with a red tin roof.}

Pembe-ni	huku	na	huku	**ya**-me-<u>simamish-w-a</u>
9corner-LOC	17DEM	and	17DEM	6-PERF-set.up-PASS-FV

makalibu	ya	duara	ya	ku-sanyia	maji	ya	mvua,
6tank	6of	circle	6of	INF-collect	6water	6of	9rain

na	chini	ya-me-ti-w-a	bulala.
and	under	6-PERF-put-PASS-FV	6water-tap

'On the corners, here and there, are set up round tanks for catching rain water, and underneath are placed water-taps. (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 9)

Example (23) is very similar in function to example (14): It is also used in a background description in order to maintain continuity of the description of a place, here the police-station of Giningi. However, in contrast to (14), no LI is involved here.[12] That means that despite the preposing of the locative and the postposing of the theme, the theme still maintains control over the agreement.

Conclusion

My examination of a sample of twelve Swahili literary texts has revealed that LI is mainly used in background descriptions, that is, in longer or shorter sections where mostly places and objects are described in some detail. Most of the identified locative inverted constructions are agentless passives, however; my sample also contains LI with process verbs. Almost all constructions of LI are used to maintain the continuity of a particular discourse topic. With regard to information structure, my analysis shows that in most cases the preverbal locative is topical in the sense that its referent is available from the preceding context by bridging inferences. The postverbal NP (the thematic subject), on the other hand, introduces new information.

In accordance with Marten & Gibson (2016), it has further been argued that locative inverted constructions express marked state of affairs in the sense that locatives, despite their inherent low topic-worthiness, are used as topics and may control subject agreement. More precisely, verb-initial topic agreement with preposed locatives can been explained "as a transfer of the prevailing pattern of subject agreement to a non-subject topic [i.e., the locative; H.T.], which occupies the same sentence initial position as the subject normally would" (Bearth 2003:141). Moreover, further evidence has been presented for Bearth's (2003:141) claim that not all subject agreement is topic agreement (see discussion of example 23).

On the whole, it has been shown that locative inverted constructions are primarily discourse-pragmatically motivated and context-dependent, and their information structure can generelly be captured by assigning topic and focus features. However, a few of my examples

[12] Examples (14) and (23) are also referred to by (Whiteley 1970:398) in relation to his entailment set four [P_4/E_4].

also show that locative inverted constructions sometimes also have even more subtle pragmatic effects (see examples (10), (18) and (21)).

Finally, it goes without saying that my examination of the discourse function of LI in Swahili is far from being exhaustive. More detailed discourse-pragmatic studies on this subject are certainly desirable.

Appendix

(24) LI with an agentless passive; description of a feature of the ancestor's graves

["Tazama kule! Yale ndio makaburi ya hao watu wa kale. Yatazame namna yalivyo marefu na jinsi yanavyopendeza." Najum alitazama. Kwa kule, inapata hatua mia kulikuwa na makaburi marefu saba, yanapata futi kumi na tano kila moja, nayo yamepangiliwa kwa sahani na vibakuli vya sini,]

{"Look over there. Those are the ancestor's graves. Look how long they stretch and how pleasing they are to the eye." Najum looked over there. Over there, about 100 feets away, there used to be seven very long graves, each of them measured 15 feet. All of them were decorated with plates and bowles made from china,}

na	**pembe-ni-pembe-ni**	**m-**me-pachik-w-a-pachik-w-a
and	9corner-LOC-9corner-LOC	18-PERF-fix-PASS-FV-fix-PASS-FV

bendera;
10flag

'and along the edges (there) are secured flags.'

[yamejengwa kwa chokaa ya asili, ngumu kuliko saruji, yanang'aa juani.]
{Traditionally, they were made from chalk because that was harder than cement and they were shimmering in the sun.} (*Msimu wa watu wa kale*, p. 34)

(25) LI with an agentless passive; description of a feature of the house of the Bayani

[Upande wa pili wa ukumbi, chini ya dirisha, palikuwa na meza na kiti chini yake;]
{On the other side of the front room, right under the window, there was a table and a chair;}

kwa	**juu**	**ukuta-ni**,	**pa-**li-tundik-w-a	majambia	mawili
PREP	Above	11wall-LOC	16-PAST-hang-PASS-FV	6dagger	6two

na	panga	mbili.
and	10sword	10two

'above on the wall (there) are hung up two arabic daggers and two swords.' (*Msimu wa watu wa kale*, p. 58)

(26) LI with agentless passive; description of a feature of the chest of Mwana wa Giningi

[Sanduku lake Mwana wa Giningi lilikuwa pembeni chini ya mlango […] Sanduku lilikuwa na sumsum la asili lilichochongwa juu ya usoni kwa nakshi nzuri za maua]
{The chest of Mwana wa Giningi was standing in a corner nearby the door […] The chest was an old tradition work carved from strong wood, with beautifully carved flower piece ornaments on the lid.}

na	**pembe-ni**	**pembe-ni**	**m**-me-pangili-w-a	vipande	vya
and	9corner-LOC	9corner-LOC	18.PERF-set.in-PASS-FV	8piece	8of

shaba	vi-li-vyo-geuk-a	vyeusi	kwa
9copper	8-PAST-8RCd-turn-FV	8black	for

ku-pit-i-w-a	na	wakati	mrefu	sana
INF-pass-APPL-PASS-FV	and	11time	11long	very

bila	ya	ku-saf-ish-w-a.
without	GEN	INF-clean-CAUS-PASS-FV

'and at the corners (there) are set in copper pieces which had completely darkened as they hadn't been polished in a long time.' (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p.26)

(27) LI with agentless passive within a relative clause; description of Spekta Seif's garden]

[Ilikuwa saa kumi za alasiri, na miti iliyokuwa imezunguka nyumba ya Spekta Seif ilianza kutupa vivuli vyake kwa urefu **pale kunako bustani na barazani]**,
{It was 4 pm. The trees surrounding Spekta Seif's house were beginning to throw their long shadows **over the garden and the verandah**},

amba-po	kwa	wakati	ule	**pa**-li-ku-wa
REL-RCd16	At	11time	11DEM	16-PAST-INF-be

pa-me-wek-w-a	meza	ya	msonobari,	na	viti	viwili
16-PERF-put-PASS-FV	9table	9of	3pine.tree	and	8chair	8two

kimoja	upande	huu	na	kingine	upande	wa	pili.
7one	11side	11DEM	and	7other	11side	11of	two

'where at that time (there) are placed a pine table and two chairs, one on each side of the table.' (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 53)

(28) LI with agentless passive; Bwana Msa describes evidence why everybody is prone to believing in witchcraft

[Lakini leo kuna mambo mengine tena, siyo yale ya jana.]
{But today there is something new (suggesting witchcraft), not the same as yesterday.}

Pembe-ni,	**kwa**	**mkono**	**wa**	**kulia**	**wa**	**mlango**
9corner-LOC	At	3hand	3of	right	3of	3door

pa-me-wek-w-a	yai	viza	li-me-chor-w-a-chor-w-a,
16-PERF-put-PASS-FV	5egg	addled	5-PERF-piant-PASS-FV-paint-PASS-FV

On the right side at the door (there) is put a painted, addled egg',

[na pembeni upande wa kushoto pana papai changa vile vile limechorwachorwa.]
{and on the left side there is an unripe papaya, also painted.} (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 58

(29) LI with agentless passive; Bwana Msa continues to describe evidence why everybody is prone to believing in witchcraft

[na unapotoka nje uone]
{and when you go outside and find}

Ku-na-ko	**tumbuo**	**ya**	**mlango**	**wako**	**m**-me-pachik-w-a
17-POSS.COP-17REL	9iron.ring	9of	3door	3your	18-PERF-fix-PASS-FV

toto	la	ndizi	li-me-chor-w-a-chor-w-a
5fruit-bud	5of	9banana	5-PERF-paint-PASS-FV-paint-PASS-FV

na	li-me-pig-i-li-w-a	msumari	katikati!
and	5-PERF-beat-APPL-APPL-PASS-FV	3nail	Inside

'on your door-ring (there) is fixed a banana fruit-bud which is also painted and through which a nail has been driven.'

[Je utaendelea kupuza tu?]
{Now you will continue to not take this seriously?} (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 60)

(30) LI with agentless passive; description of the ambulance

[Ambalanzi ilikuwa gari kubwa kwa kiasi chake, yenye rangi ya manjano]
{The ambulance was quite a spacious yellow car,}

na	**katikati**	**yake**	**pa**-me-chor-w-a
and	9middle	9POSS	16-PERF-paint-PASS-FV

msalaba	mkubwa	wa	rangi	nyekundu.
3cross	3red	3of	9colour	9red

'in the middle of which (there) had been painted a big red cross.' (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 79)

(31) LI with agentless passive; description of the Well of Giningi

[… bali kuteremka humo ni kuingia ndani ya ukumbi mmoja mkubwa wenye kuta nne ndefu na mashubaka makubwa,]
{Climbing down there rather meant penetrating inside a huge hall with four high walls and big recesses},

na	**katikati**	**ya**	**kila**	**shubaka**
and	inside	of	every	5recess

m-me-gand-ish-w-a		chungu	cha	fedha	safi
18-PERF-stick.to-CAUS-PASS-FV		7pot	7of	9silver	pur
chenye	nakshi	nzuri.			
7having	9carved.ornament	9beautiful			

'and in the middle of each recess (there) was pressed in a bright silver pot with beautiful carved ornaments.'

[Vyungu hivyo vilikataa katakata kubanduka humo vilimobandikwa, na kwa hivyo vimeachwa papo hapo na mpaka leo vipo mahali pake.]
{It was impossible to remove those pots from where they had been sticked on, therefore they have been left at their places till this day.} (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 66)

(32) LI with agentless passive; continuation of the description of the Well of Giningi

[Katikati ya ukumbi huo palikuwapo jiwe jeupe la duara kubwa,]
{In the middle of this hall there was a big round white stone}

na	**ubavu-ni**	**kwake**	**pa**-me-chimb-w-a	nafasi	ya
and	11side-LOC	17POSS	16-PERF-dig-PASS-FV	9space	9of
duara	ya	kiasi	ya	ku-li-shika	lile
9circle	9of	7amount	9of	INF-5OM-seize	5DEM
jiwe	ndani	yake	na	ku-i-funika	sawasawa
5stone	9inside	9POSS	and	INF-9OM-cover	equal

'and on one side of it (there) had been dug a circular space of such a size that it could exactly have taken up the stone' (*Kisima cha Giningi*, p. 66)

Abbreviations

1,2,3 etc.	noun class	OM	object marker
APPL	applicative	PASS	Passive
ASC	associative	PERF	Perfect
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
COMPL	complementizer	POSS.COP	possessive copula
CONJ	conjunction	PREP	preposition
COP	copula	PRES	Present

DEM	demonstrative	PRS.PRF	present perfect
EMPH.COP	emphatic copula	PROG	progressive
FUT	future	PST.HAB	past habitual
FV	final vowel	Q	interrogative
GEN	genitive	RCd	referential concord
G.PRES	general present	REC.PST	recent past
IM.FUT	immediate future	REL	Relative
IND	indicative	SG	Singular
INF	infinitive	SM	subject marker
LOC	locative	SUBJ	subjunctive
NEG	negation		

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