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Syntactic Group and Compound Word in the Swahili Language (Attempt at Classification)

Introduction

The problem of a syntactic group with an attribute and of compound words in the Swahili language has not so far been the subject of any thorough research. The problem, however, did come up now and again in connection with a more general discussion of the Bantu languages in the works of Bleek¹ and Meinhof², and recently it has appeared in that work of Whiteley which has taken into account the material of the Swahili language, which could indicate that the question still attracts the interest of linguists³.

Taking into consideration the specificity of the Swahili language structure, the heart of the matter consists on the one hand in the necessity of finding appropriate criteria to differentiate a syntactic group from a compound word, and, on the other hand, in the necessity to make at least an attempt at the classification of compound words in order to obtain a clearer picture of the processes of word formation which are now taking place in this language.

Simple and Derivative Nouns. The noun system in Swahili is based on the assumption that words are of a two part character. This is particularly true of derivative nouns which form a decisive majority in this language. Following Bleek, one should assume that, "it is, therefore, the most natural assumption, that the derivative prefixes of the nouns in the Bantu languages had originally a separate value and meaning, and that nouns formed with them were compounded, and that when the parts to be determined lost their meaning as separate words (i.e. became obsolete), these nouns, originally compound, became derivatives" and also that, "they have lost their separate value as nouns, but retained the power of being used

¹ Cf. W. H. J. Bleek, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, II, The Noun, London 1869.

² Cf. C. Meinhof, *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen*, Berlin 1946; and by the same author *Die Kürzung des Mittelgliedes in Zusammensetzungen*, ZfE, Bd. XXXI, H. 4, Berlin 1941.

³ W. H. Whiteley, *Some Problems of the Syntax of Sentences in a Bantu Language in East Africa*, "Lingua", vol. IX, 2, 1960.

as representatives of the nouns of which they form part"⁴. Thus, B l e e k derives all nouns from a group of two nouns. After the part to be determined had lost its meaning as a separate word, nouns which were originally compound words became derivatives. The derivative prefix has retained its potential power in order to appear as a formant representing the word on the outside. The prefix, therefore, denotes a notion (the essence of a basis which has been reduced to a prefix); it is the identifying part, and the stem is the differentiating part⁵.

In the two previously mentioned works, M e i n h o f draws our attention to the formal reduction of the original compounds. If we take, for instance, the word *o-mu-kaze-ndu* (Herero language) 'ein weiblicher Mensch' i.e. 'Weib', then, in the other Bantu languages we can note the reduction of the determinative *kaze* 'weiblich' to two syllables or one and its attachment to the stem, which at the same time brings about the disappearance of the meaning of this part (cf. *-ntu* 'man'): (Isubu language) *mo-ai-tu*, (Duala language) *y-i-to* 'die Frau, die kleine Frau'. Another example: (Herero Language) *omu-a-tje* 'Kind' (feminine gender) *-jana* 'Kind' (cf. Zulu *ingana*, Swahili *mw-ana*) complemented with the determinative *-tje* 'feminine' (cf. Herero *omu-na* 'Kind', Swahili *mwanamke* 'weibliches Kind' d.i. 'Mädchen, Frau')⁶.

If we assume that a word can be composed of one or two morphemes (one of the morphemes is lexical, bound, inexchangeable), then the words, arranged in nominal classes, indicate that as a result of a formal reduction the parts of the original compound have become either bound lexical morphemes or else grammatical morphemes, prefixes, and therefore the types *mbwa*, *ndege*, *uchi* etc. are simple words. The logical operation has completely disappeared. In this way the prefix announces the whole word through its form which belongs to some general notional category, i.e. class. The above statement has been confirmed by the law of R o z w a d o w s k i about the two-part character of words: "Jede sprachliche Benennung eines Gegenstandes ist zweigliedrig und besteht aus einem determinierenden Glied, der Wurzel, und einem determinierten, das bis zu seinem sogenannten Stammsuffix abgeschleift werden kann"⁷; we have to bear in mind, though, that in our case we deal with a prefix.

As it has been mentioned before, in the Swahili language derivative nouns constitute a majority. The words *mtume* 'messenger' (< *tuma* 'to send message'), *kinywa* 'jaws', 'mouth' (< *nywa* 'to drink') or *maono* 'thinking', 'feeling' (< *ona* 'see', 'perceive') are derivative, verbal nouns. Besides those, there appear forms derived from adjectives, nouns, more rarely from adverbs and numerals. The logical process has become conspicuous here and does not demand any further explanation. It should

⁴ B l e e k, op. cit., pp. 104—105.

⁵ To illustrate his thesis B l e e k gives examples from the English language: horse-shoe, horse-fly, etc., which would correspond to Swahili e.g. *m-ganga*, *m-tumwa* etc. (op. cit., p. 104 ff.).

⁶ Cf. M e i n h o f, *Die Kürzung des Mittelgliedes*, p. 242.

⁷ J. R o z w a d o w s k i, *Wortbildung und Wortbedeutung*, Heidelberg 1904, p. 28.

be stressed though, that the range of the semantic field, i.e. the original relation between verb and noun, between adjective and noun has been reduced. To put it differently, it has been semantically contracted as a result of the reduction of the noun part to be determined to a prefix. Besides derivative and simple words, there appear in the Swahili language numerous word groups consisting of two or more independent parts, written jointly or separately, as, for instance, *mwanachuo* 'scholar', *mwenyekiti* 'deputy', 'envoy', *askari polisi* 'policeman', *mbwa mwitu* 'jackal', 'wild dog', *kopo la maji ya mvua* 'waterspout', 'gutter' etc. In this paper we shall make an attempt at their classification.

Syntactic Groups

The introductory classification of syntactic groups is made on the basis of the arrangement (reduced to nominal groups) which has been proposed by A. W. Groot and which seems to be the most precise⁸.

Identificational features

A. Auditory form of the group

1. Segmentation of the Group. The principles of punctuation in the Swahili language cannot constitute the factors which would distinguish a syntactic group in a sentence. Punctuation marks do limit a statement, but there exist cases of the elements of syntactic groups being split by punctuation marks, which makes the group lose its compactness entirely. E.g., *Nina gauni ya hariri, ndefu, rangi ya chanikwiti, nami ningapenda kofia ndogo ya chanikwiti au nyeupe ya kuvaa pamoja nayo.* ('I have a long green silk dress, and I should like a small green or white hat to wear it with it.')

⁹ The use of punctuation marks instead of a relation particle produces the impression that in the statement there exist groups which are completely separate. Similarly, the opposite situation — the lack of commas is not conducive to making the groups stand out clearly, e.g., *mwalimu mmoja mkubwa wa madarasa makubwa ya Harvard ambaye ni mmoja wa waalimu wakubwa wa Amerika alibashiri...* ('An outstanding scientist of Harvard University who is one of the most eminent scientists of America, informed...')

2. Auditory Features of Segment. Doke and Bryant ascribe the biggest importance in the Bantu languages to accentuation. "Accentuation (then) is the only guide by which we know whether particles of speech are to be regarded as

⁸ A. W. Groot, *Classification of Word-Groups*, "Lingua", vol. VI, 2, 1957, p. 122 ff.

⁹ D. V. Perott, *Jifunze Kiingereza*, London 1958, p. 166.

¹⁰ "Baraza", 1956, p. 886, 1.

independent or as forming part of compound words"¹¹. D o k e assumes that accent is the word-builder in Bantu; he underlines the fact that "in each word or word-group in Bantu there is one, and only one, main stress"¹². This view is of great importance for the analysis of a syntactic group. It solves, among others, the problem of the function of the *na* particle treated either as a conjunction or as a preposition¹³. Cf., in the spelling of D o k e: *hatta akishika njia kutoka Yeriko pamoja namwana-funzi wake namakutano makubwa, mwana watimayo (...)*¹⁴.

B. Arrangement of the Members

1. Separability of the Members. Syntactic groups in the Swahili language constitute formations among which we differentiate loose groups and compact groups. At the outset we assume that into the loose groups we can put those groups which are connected on the basis of congruency or joined with the particle of relation; they can freely exchange the particular members of the group, e.g., *mti mzuri* 'a beautiful tree', *mtu mzuri* 'a handsome man', *mti mbaya* 'a bad tree', *mtu mbaya* 'a bad man', *kilemba cha kifalme* 'royal turban', *kilemba cha mgeni* 'a newcomer's turban', *mji wa kifalme* 'a royal city', *mji wa mgeni* 'a newcomer's city'. Compact groups, in turn, would be the groups in which the member to be determined can appear only together with its appropriate determinant, e.g., *mshona nguo* 'a tailor', *mshona viatu* 'a shoemaker'. The *mshona* segment cannot appear in any other combination, nor can it appear independently.

2. Order of Members. The order of words in the groups is strictly determined. Independently of the degree of compactness of a group or independently of syntactic relationships, the determinant always stands in postposition, e.g., *mtu mzuri*, *kilemba cha kifalme*, *mshona viatu*, *kazi ya numbani* ('work at home'), *mtungi iliojaa* ('a full pitcher', literally, 'a pitcher which is full') etc. This principle, therefore, concerns distinctive sets as well as complementary ones (cf. p. 41 ff.).

C. Number of Members

1. Number of Members of the Group. In our case a syntactic group always consists of two elements, i.e., the element to be determined and the determining one (cf. p. 50).

¹¹ C. M. D o k e, *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, London, N. Y., T., 1935, p. 16.

¹² Cf. D o k e, op. cit., p. 17.

¹³ Cf. H. J e n s e n, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Syntax des Suaheli*, Glückstadt 1907, p. 246; also W. H. W h i t e l e y, op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁴ Cf. D o k e, op. cit., p. 24; also W h i t e l e y, op. cit.: "At the phonological level, unitary and compound words, are characterized by a single main stress, generally on the penultimate. Multiple words are by contrast characterized by a minimum of two main stresses, each occurring — generally — on the penultimate syllable of each component".

2. Member of Members of Members. Each segment of the group, i.e., the determining one and the one to be determined can receive an additional element defining the meaning of a particular segment. If we take the determinant as B, and A as the determined member, and the additional member as A_1, B_1 — then the following combinations are possible: $A - B, A - B - B_1, A - A_1 - B, A - A_1 - B - B_1$; therefore, the broadest form of the group will be e.g., *vita kuu ya pili duniani* 'the Great Second World War'. This type we call a 'group set'.

D. Class of Constituents of the Members

We have to differentiate: a) which part of speech is represented by a given member; b) morphological categories in every part of speech. Further in the paper we shall use D o k e's terminology, widely accepted in Bantu linguistics¹⁵. Morphological categories will be discussed with the analysis of groups.

Syntactic Classification of Groups

Our starting point will be the classification of Z. K l e m e n s i e w i c z¹⁶. His classification is concerned with the combinations of utterance elements, and after a certain modification it will be applied in the introductory analysis of syntactic groups in the Swahili language. So far, we do not know to what extent these syntactic groups are related to compounds.

The classification distinguishes:

- A. Series — copulativa,
- B. Sets — determinativa.

The sets are in turn divided into: I. *Distinctive sets*¹⁷, and II. *Complementary sets*¹⁸.

To those we have to add: III. *Compounds, representing the combination of a noun and a preposition*; IV. *Group sets*; and, separately, C. *Groups written together*.

Distinctive Series and Sets

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|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. a) <i>mtoto mdogo</i> 'kleines Kind' ¹⁹ | b) <i>maji matamu</i> 'Süßwasser' |
| <i>dalili mbaya</i> 'ein böses Omen' | <i>mji mkuu</i> 'Hauptstadt' |
| <i>chakula kitamu</i> 'süße Speise' | <i>stimu kubwa</i> 'Hochspannung' |

¹⁵ Cf. D o k e, op. cit., p. 18 ff.

¹⁶ Z. K l e m e n s i e w i c z, *Składnia opisowa współczesnej polszczyzny kulturalnej* (Descriptive Syntax of Contemporary Educated Polish), Kraków 1937, adapted by A. H e i n z, *Funkcja egzocentryczna rzeczownika* (Exocentric Function of Noun), Wrocław 1957, pp. 154—155.

¹⁷ In these compounds the determining member functions syntactically as a property and circumstantial attribute.

¹⁸ In those compounds the determining member has the syntactic function of a complementary attribute.

¹⁹ The examples translated into German have been taken from the latest dictionary: H. H ö f t m a n n, *Suaheli-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1963.

In both columns (a, b), the determining part is the adjective proper²⁰, whose meaning is precise and unambiguous. The noun proper is the part to be determined. Adjectives are linked with a noun on the principle of the relation of concord and congruence; the determination is qualitative. An additional grammatical feature is the postposition of the determining member.

In the first column (a) the content of the determined part (A) is defined by the content of the determining part (B), contributing an occasional part to its bundle of features. The part B constitutes, therefore, part of the A set, whose semantic range has undergone some narrowing, cf. *mtoto* 'child': *mtoto mdogo* 'a little child'²¹.

The column b does not formally differ from the column a; semantically, however, the difference is essential. B does not contribute any occasional part to the bundle of features A. It contributes an essential part, and thus a new notion is created: *maji matamu* — this is not 'sweetened water', and therefore sweet occasionally (cf. *chakula kitamu* 'süße Speise'), but the notion of a particular kind of water as, e.g., opposed to sea water. The combination of morphemes a) gives a concrete definition, e.g., *mji mkubwa* 'eine grosse Stadt', but the combination b) gives a general and abstract definition, e.g., *mji mkuu* 'Hauptstadt'. This means that identical meanings of particular morphemes outside the group correspond to the sum of meanings of the a) morphemes, while to the b) morphemes — only one synthetic meaning. The fact that the compound of the b) type is not occasional can be proved by further examples: *baraza kuu* 'Parlament', *njia kuu* 'Hauptstraße', *chuo kikuu* 'Universität'. We should, therefore, make sure whether the complete merger of A and B features is not, by any chance, the property of *-kuu* only ('groß, bedeutend, berühmt, alt, erfahren'). It appears that the generalization can be obtained also with the help of other adjectives, e.g., *kitu kidogo* 'Kleinigkeit', *bahati mbaya* 'Mißgeschick' (cf. also the column b).

2. a) *mzee ndovu* 'der alte Elefant'
babu asili 'gewährte Qualität'
donda ndugu 'unheilbare Wunde'

b) *mtu mume* 'Mann'
sukari mchanga 'Staubzucker'
askari polisi 'Polizist'

In the above case we come across a situation similar to the one in point 1; here however, a noun determinant takes the place of an adjective determinant. The only syntactic feature is represented by the fact that the determinant appears in the postposition typical of a qualificator; no grammatical morpheme (the particle of relation), no form of the determining part or semantic relation can be evidence of the existence of the relation of concord (cf. *mbwa [wa] mwitu* 'a wild dog'). In the a) column the noun B, by means of its postposition, fulfills the function of an adjectival attribute (with the exception of *mzee ndovu* which will be discussed later on); the noun B,

²⁰ The number of this type of adjectival stems is limited in the Swahili language, cf. E. O. A s h t o n, *Swahili Grammar*, London⁹ 1962, p. 146.

²¹ These, according to H. S e i l e r and others, are typical subordination relations (n-s Relation).

therefore, acts only through its bundle of features; it practically becomes an adjective. B, therefore, makes the meaning of A precise; it narrows the range of meaning of A, but enriches its content. In the column b) we again have to deal with the case of generalisation. The sum of the ranges of A and B produces a new notion (*mtu* 'a man' plus *mume* 'husband' = a man, and not 'a manly man'). Thus, B does not make the meaning of A precise (as it does in column a), but A as well as B narrow their own range of meaning; out of these ranges they create a new notion, and in this way the notional content expressed by the two morphemes merges in the mind into one notion. The example *mzee ndovu* 'der alte Elefant' (column a) differs from the rest of the examples in that the determinant precedes here the member to be determined. This results from the fact that in this case *mzee* is used as an honorary title 'Old Man' and hence its exact translation ought to be '*der Alte Elefant*' (Old Elephant). In spite of this being an exception to the grammatical rule, this compound clearly reflects the relation between members, namely, we deal here with the relation based on the principle of equality. The determination on the principle of equality is also typical of the other examples (cf. *sukari mchanga* 'Staubzucker')²².

3. a) *mafuta Ulaya* 'Erdöl'

nguruwe mwitu 'Wildschein'

fundi cherehani 'Schneider'

b) *amri jeshi* 'Armeeführer'

bibi arusi 'Braut'

embe dodo 'Mangofrucht'

The above compounds do not apparently differ from those in the 2nd position. Here, the determinant is a noun in postposition. However, when looking at the examples more closely it appears that here the relation is not based on the principle of equality (cf. *sukari mchanga* 'Staubzucker'), but on the principle of the overlapping of notions. Semantic aspects consist in the functions of belonging to and originating from: *mafuta Ulaya* 'crude oil from Europe', *nguruwe mwitu* 'a pig from the wood', *amri jeshi* 'a leader of the army', *bibi arusi* 'lady of the wedding', etc. The determination has become relational and not qualitative as the case has been in the previous examples. The essence of the relational relation consists in the fact that, in the first place, the member which is being determined is contained within the range of the determining member (it constitutes its part and hence comes the similarity to the partitive relation, similarly, as in the qualitative relation); in the second place — the content of the member which is being determined touches on that of the determining member²³, i.e., semantically, it does not cease to be a noun. Obviously, in our case we do not deal with a concrete relation (cf. *nyumba ya baba* 'father's house') but with a general, undefined and unrealised relation.

4. A compound: noun plus the particle of relationship plus noun. In the compound of this type, the particle of relationship comes between the determined member and the determining one; the particle takes on the pronominal prefix of the member

²² Thus, we deal with a series in column b.

²³ Cf. H e i n z, op. cit., p. 22.

being determined. The particle of relationship expresses a wide range of relationships and thus, very often, the meaning of the relationship is expressed only in the context. A s h t o n assumes that the particle *-a* with the variable pronominal concord prefix expresses: a) the possessive relationship between noun and noun, b) the qualificative relationship between noun and noun, numeral or verb, c) the adverbial relationship between noun and adverb²⁴.

J a k o v l e v a sees the principal importance of the 'attributive particle' (atributivnaya častica) on the following planes:

- a) If the attributive particle *-a* expresses a property displayed by the relationship between an object, between a phenomenon of an abstract idea and another abstract idea, then this property will always be qualitative, e.g., *dhoruba ya nguvu* 'a strong storm', *watu wa akili* 'wise people', *mwaka wa njaa* 'a hungry year'.
- b) If the attributive particle *-a* expresses a property displayed by the relationship between object and object, then this property can be: i) the property of belonging to, e.g., *moyo wa mgonjwa* 'the heart of the sick', ii) the property indicating material, e.g., *kitanda cha mti* 'a wooden bed', iii) the property indicating the purpose of the object, e.g., *gari la mizigo* 'a goods train', iv) the property showing the relationship between an object and some place e.g., *nchi ya mbali* 'a faraway country'. In the latter case the determinant is in the locative form, e.g., *vituvya jikoni* 'kitchen things', v) the property showing some characteristic feature of a thing, e.g., *mzinga wa asali* 'a bee-hive with honey in it', vi) the property indicating the relationship between an object and time, e.g., *habari za leo* 'today's news'²⁵.

Therefore, on the one hand we see, that the relationship particle expresses possessive and qualificative relationship, on the other hand — that the type of the relation (attributive) depends on the content of a determining member.

Let us have a look at some further examples:

5. <i>samaki ya kopo</i> 'Fischkonserve'	<i>nyumba ya mawe</i> 'Steinhaus'
<i>mfuko wa barua</i> 'Posttasche'	<i>kago la simba</i> 'Zauber gegen Löwen'
<i>miti ya matunda</i> 'Obstbäume'	<i>asali ya nyuki</i> 'Bienenhonig'.

In each of the examples there appears a different manner of relationship: *samaki ya kopo* 'fishes with a tin box' *nyumba ya mawe* 'a house of stone' *mfuko wa barua* 'a bag for letters' *kago la simba* 'a means against lions' *miti wa matunda* 'trees with fruit' *asali ya nyuki* 'honey from bees'.

²⁴ E. O. A s h t o n, *Notes on Form and Structure in Bantu Speech*, "Africa", vol. XV, 1, 1945, p. 115 ff.

²⁵ I. P. J a k o v l e v a, *Očerki sintaksisa jazyka suahili (An Outline of the Swahili Syntax)*, "Afrikanskij Etnografičeskij Sbornik, Jazykoznanije", vol. III, Moskva-Leningrad 1959, pp. 64—65.

In all the above examples we deal with prepositional phrases in a loose group. Some of the Bantu linguists like D o k e reject the notion of prepositions²⁶. It is known, however, that in the Bantu language we do not deal with cases; those are expressed by syntactic functions. A s h t o n as well as J a k o v l e v a speak about the relationship expressed by the relationship particle. H ö f t m a n n calls it an *-a* 'Konnektive', J e n s e n — 'Anschlußpartikel', W h i t e l e y — 'control', M e i n h o f — 'Zugehörigkeitspartikel'²⁷.

It is known that nominal attributes determine relationship (adjectives — quality). However, a given object does not determine any traits of the object with which it remains in relationship only because of the fact that there exists some relationship between the two (cf. a metre of cloth, an acquaintance from Cracow). If, however, the appearance of this relationship is connected with some specifically established conditions then the second object can, in its definite relation to the first one, become a sign of the specific traits of the first object²⁸. What are, then, in our case, those 'specifically established conditions'? The conditions are made up of the following factors: first of all, of the occurrence of postposition of a second noun, which presupposes determination and completion of a first noun, as will be shown later on. Secondly, the prepositional phrase designates a certain property and thus its function in a sentence comes closer to an adjective. In this manner an attribute in its relation to a basis associates itself with qualitative features of the latter, i.e., an attribute which was not originally qualitative (the substantive attribute of a group which is formed by the concurrence of words in a sentence) becomes qualitative and in this way can be substituted by an adjective²⁹. The above situation can be observed on the following examples: *maji* [ya] *moto* 'hot water', *upepo* [wa] *baridi* 'cold wind', where the noun (*moto*, *baridi*) fulfills the function of an adjective.

The third factor would be habituality, i.e., lexicalisation of a word compound which we witness in the following examples: (*miti ya matunda* 'Obstbäume' and not 'Bäume mit Obst'). What is, then, the role of the relationship particle? As the exponent of relation it does not directly name the type of relation which occurs between a defining thing and a defined one, since formally the particle is the same for attributive, and possessive relationship (and also for adverbial relationship, as will be shown later on) which are expressed by the very fact of postposition. It is possible that its present form is connected with the existence of the verbal form in the older constructions; in the relation between the verb form and a determined member, the latter one functioned as a subject and a determining member functioned as an object. At the

²⁶ Cf. C. M. D o k e, *The Southern Bantu Languages*, N. Y. 1954, p. 48.

²⁷ H ö f t m a n n, op. cit., p. 394; J e n s e n, op. cit., p. 246; W h i t e l e y, op. cit., p. 253; M e i n h o f, *Der Ausdruck der Kasusbeziehungen in afrikanischen Sprachen*, in: *Scritti in onore di Alfredo Trombetti*, vol. XVI, Milano 1938, p. 77.

²⁸ Cf. A. M i r o w i c z, *O grupach syntaktycznych z przydawką* (*Syntactic Groups with an Attribute*), Toruń 1949, pp. 54—60.

²⁹ Cf. M i r o w i c z, op. cit.

same time a noun determinant separated from the verb and the latter became dependent on the verbal noun³⁰. It may be that the construction in its present form had previously contained a nominal predicate and the function of a link verb was fulfilled by a particle similar to the form *yana* which has been preserved but seldom used (an auxiliary verb, class 4, 6, 9 'it has, (they) have'). In any case the appearance of the relationship particle expresses the demands of a well developed and obligatory congruence and only in this respect its function can be justified by the system of the language. However, even if we accept syntactic function (be it general) of the *-a* particle, then the term: the particle of relationship or 'the attributive particle' appears not to be precise enough and hence we have to replace it by the term: 'the exponent of syntactic connotation'. And the latter term will be used further in the paper.

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| 6. a) <i>jiwe la kunolea</i> 'Schleifstein' | b) <i>mayai ya kukaanga</i> 'gebratene Eier' |
| <i>sindano ya kushonea</i> 'Nähnadel' | <i>maji ya kumbizi</i> 'reißendes Wasser' |
| <i>ufito wa kutembelea</i> 'Spazierstock' | <i>ugonjwa wa kuambukiza</i> 'infektiöse Krankheit' |

Apparently there is no difference between this construction and the compound given under position 4: the determined member — noun, the determining member — verbal noun (Verbalabstraktum). The nominal character of the compound is stressed by the exponent of syntactic connotation. According to Jensen an infinitive can function as the attributive determinant of a noun. He promptly adds, however, that we do not always deal with a purely attributive relationship and he supplies the following examples: *wakaja na wimbo wa kumpa mkia wake* 'sie kamen mit einem Lied, um ihr ihren Schwanz zurückzugeben (eigentl. Lied des 'Zurückgebens')'³¹. Therefore, the construction of this type can also introduce a subordinate clause of purpose. In column a) the relative form of the infinitive becomes prominent. The form generally expresses prepositional relationship and it requires an object³². We have to assume, therefore, that we deal with predicative determination. And here we also deal with qualitative relationship in which (relational form) the existence of an object — which is being acted upon and where the action embraces its content — is postulated in advance in relation to the determinant. The notional range, therefore, contains action connected with a tool or (column b) the state brought about by the action: *maji ya kumbizi* 'reißendes Wasser', *mayai ya kukaanga* 'gebratene Eier'. It becomes even more prominent in the groups: *mali ya kuposea* 'Geld um eine Hochzeit vorzubereiten', *kioo cha kujitazamia* 'Spiegel' (lit. 'a mirror for looking at oneself'), *maji ya kujaa* 'Flut' (*kujaa* 'to be full').

Predicative determination finds its fullest expression in the following type of construction:

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| 7. a) <i>mwezi umepatwa</i> 'Mondfisternis' | b) <i>mimea inayotambaa</i> 'Schlingpflanzen' |
| <i>ardhi ina chungu</i> 'salzhaltige Erde' | <i>mali inayiondoka</i> 'bewegliches Eigentum' |

³⁰ Cf. Jensen, op. cit., p. 245.

³¹ Jensen, op. cit., pp. 245—246.

³² Ashton, *Grammar*, p. 217 ff.

In the former construction (column a) there appears a circumlocution in form of a single sentence ('the moon is caught, covered'; 'the earth contains salt'), in the latter construction — used more often — we have a relative clause ('plants which twine', 'an estate which is moveable'). In the latter case we deal, therefore, with a relative-clause group, a nominal compound consisting of a basic noun with an adjectival relative clause dismembered attributively. The construction has all the features of a distinctive sentence which means that the relative clause is indispensable for the content of the construction. The task of a relative clause is to enrich the notional content of a determined member and simultaneously it has to narrow its range of meaning³³. It operates similarly to adjectives (cf. *mtu: mtu mzuri*). A similar situation exists in column a) where predicative determination defines the traits of a subject.

8. a) *vita ya kindanindani* 'Partisanenkrieg'

ngoma ya kivita 'Kriegstanz'

serikali ya kibeberu 'Diktatur (diktatorische Regierung)'

b) *nje ya mali* 'auf der Oberfläche des Wassers'

gurudumu la mbele 'Vorderrad'

asubuhi na mapema 'am frühen Morgen'

An adverb (also an adverb formed from a noun) appears in the function of a determinant; it gives a better picture of the conditions in which a determined member finds itself. It can be in form of manner (column a) — *ngoma ya kivita* 'a dance (performed) in a war-like manner', *serikali ya kibeberu* 'governing (exercised) in a dictatorial manner' — or else it can be a definition of place and time (column b)³⁴. The substitution of a noun in the function of a determinant for an adverb is the result of the fact that a noun does not clearly define through its bundle of features the notional range of a determined member. *Ngoma ya vita* is a dance which concerns war but also it can easily lead to generalisations, e.g., 'a war dance' used metaphorically. It stands out clearly in, e.g., an adjective-derived adverb: *mtoto wa kike* 'a girl' (lit. a child (treated and behaving) in a feminine manner) and *mtoto mke* 'a woman' (-ke — feminine, womanly (lit. a feminine child)). In the former case one judges the properties of a child by its behaviour; in the latter one — on the basis of its properties (feminine).

9. The locative form very often appears in the function of a determinant.

kalamu ya mfukoni 'Füllfederhalter'

vifaa vya nyumbani 'Haushaltgegenstände'

mkufu ya mguuni 'Fußkette'

In this case the circumstances are stated more precisely: *vifaa vya nyumbani* means 'things to be found in the kitchen', *mkufu wa mguuni* means 'a chain to be found on

³³ Cf. L. Z a w a d o w s k i, *Zagadnienia teorii zdań względnych (Problems of the Theory of Relative Clauses)*, Wrocław 1952, p. 28.

³⁴ An adverb can be a prepositional phrase, hence its semantic affinity with an adjective (definition of quality).

a leg'. *Mguuni* defines the semantic range better than does, e.g., *shingo* in the group: *mkufu wa shingo* 'Halskette' (cf. *mkufu wa miguu* 'legs' chain').

Complementary Compounds

1. a) *mchonga sanamu* 'Bildhauer'
mchapa maji 'Trinker'
mfanya kazi 'Arbeiter'
mchoma moto 'Heizer'

- b) *kifungua kopo* 'Büchsenöffner'
kufinyanga vyungu 'Töpferei'

Here, the determined member is *nomen agentis*; the function of the determining member is fulfilled by a noun which syntactically is an object. The duty of a determinant is, therefore, the completion of properties of a determined member. Although in the case of compounds with a qualitative or circumstantial attribute a word being defined constituted an independent word whose meaning could also exist on the outside (cf. *sukari-mchanga* 'ground sugar', *sukari* 'sugar') however, such a situation is not possible in the above examples. This ensues only from the connotation verb → object, i.e., from common dependence of a noun on a verb; here there occurred the change of category (*chonga* > *mchonga*), but it is the result of semantic unity of a verb and noun. A semantic field which is based on the fact that a given verb possesses a definite range of subjects or if a verb is transitive — objects, can be clearly seen in the compounds which had been completely lexicalised, e.g., *piga kelele* 'to make noise', *piga breki* 'to brake', *piga domo* 'to boast' etc., where the original meaning *piga* — 'to beat', 'to knock', 'to hit' — has blurred on behalf of the latter meaning³⁵. Hence, e.g., the meaning of *mpiga kelele* 'Schreihals' is not a result of the connotation of two nouns: *mpiga* and *kelele* but it is derived simply from their passing from a verb category to that of a noun. The situation does not essentially change since in the basis we have *nomen instrumentis*, e.g., *kifunga* in *kifunga kopo* (lit. 'it which opens a can') 'Büchsenöffner' or a verbal noun (cf. *kufinyanga vyungu*, lit. 'the moulding of earthenware', 'Töpferei').

- c) *mchimbaji dhahabu* 'Goldgräber'
msafishaji choo 'Toilettenreiniger'

- mlipujaji baruti* 'Minensucher'
msafirishaji mali 'Exporteur'

The word-forming morpheme *-ji* suffixed to derivative nouns helps to express the habituality of a given action and hence, in the majority of the examples it appears in the process of the formation of names of professions, etc., cf. *mchezaji* 'a player', *makandaji* 'a masseur'.

The members of the compounds: *mchimbaji dhahabu*, or, *msafishaji choo* can appear independently, outside the compound: *mchimbaji* 'Bergmann', *dhahabu* 'Gold', *msafishaji* 'Reinigungskraft', *choo* 'Toilette'. This means that there had oc-

³⁵ Cf. H. Porzig, *Das Wunder der Sprache*, Berlin 1957, p. 224.

curred separation of a noun from a verb and thus, we no longer deal with the connotation of an object through a verbal form. Hence, the above compounds have to be put into the category of distinctive compounds where a determinant defines the properties of a second noun and where it does not add to its meaning. However, in the *msafirishaji* compound, the determined member still fulfills a verbal function in spite of the *-ji* suffix, i.e., 'to export goods' > 'he who exports goods' > 'an exporter'. The word *msafirishaji* does not occur outside the context which has been given above. This, undoubtedly, is evidence of a yet weak lexicalisation of the word. It is to be stressed here, that in most cases the appearance of the *-ji* suffix involves the necessity of introducing the exponent of syntactic connotation, e.g., *mchongaji ya mawe* 'Steinmetz' (cf. *mchonga sanamu* 'Bildhauer'), *mvunjaji wa sheria* 'Gesetzbrecher' and others.

2. a) *suruali yenye mkunjo* 'Hose mit Bügelfalte'
nguo yenye kiraka 'geflicktes Kleid'
mtu mwenye makengeneza 'ein schielender Mensch'
- b) *mwenye kijongo* 'Buckliger'
mwenye kifafa 'Epileptiker'
mwenye chongo 'Einäugiger'

Two elements are factors of this relationship: the first, known from the previous types is word-order; the second one is expressed by the *-enye* particle which connects the determined member with the determining one. From the morphological point of view, the origin of *-enye* is not known. On the basis of the context it can be assumed that *-enye* ('besitzend', 'possessing, having') has a quasiparticipial character and that it serves the descriptive formation of adjectives (cf. *mti wenye matunda* 'fruchttragender Baum'). In the first column we see this type of construction. In the translation of Höftmann there appears a prepositional phrase in the example: *suruali yenye mkunjo* 'trousers with the crease'. In fact, even further examples can be similarly interpreted: 'geflicktes Kleid' ('a dress with a patch'), 'ein schielender Mensch' ('a man with the squint'). On this basis it can be assumed that *-enye* serves to express accompanying-possessive relationship. The determinant functions as an object.

In column b we can see the disappearance of a basis; its function is taken on by *mwenye* which becomes nomen agentis in relation to which the determinant functions as an object.

We should pay particular attention here to the fact that *-enye* takes on a nominal prefix in class 1, and pronominal prefixes in the other classes. If we assume that *-enye* is a participle, then, analogously to J. Dal's reasoning, when *-enye* is used attributively it functions as a noun, when used predicatively — as a verb³⁶. In our case we have to deal with the predicative function ('geflicktes Kleid', 'clothes with a patch' = 'clothes having a patch') and in this way only can one account for the fact that *-enye* can function like a verb — as a nomen agentis; as things are, *-enye*

³⁶ Cf. M. Adamus, *On the Semantic Relations of Participles and Adjectives in the Germanic Languages*, WTN, Rozpr. UJ, IV, Kraków 1963, p. 23.

cannot be a grammatical element only, it is simply a verb in the form of a present adjectival participle. This explains the appearance of pronominal prefixes with *-enye*. The presence of nominal prefixes in class 1 follows from the lexicalisation of phrases of the type: *mwenye mali* 'a rich man'. The prefix *m-* is not a prefix of an adjectival category (cf. *mtu m-zuri*, *mti m-zuri* etc.), but a prefix of a nominal category (cf. *msemaji* 'a speaker' < *sema* 'to speak'). The connotation: verb → object is, however, weak in this case since the basis can disappear. Cf. *mwenye kidomo* 'Feinschmecker' > *mdomo* 'Feinschmecker', *mwenye kudhamini* 'Bürge' > *mdhamini* 'Bürge'.

Compounds Which Represent Combinations with a Noun and a 'Preposition'

wali kwa nyama 'Reis mit Fleisch'

mtengo katika kazi 'Entlassung (aus der Arbeit)'

janja na janzuzi 'geschickter, listiger Dieb'

'Prepositions', as exponents of relationships are formally retained in the above examples so as to directly name the kind of relationship that takes place between a thing defined and a defining thing³⁷. The determination is qualitative.

Group Sets

Here we shall distinguish three main groups: 1. the group with an additionally determined determining member, 2. the group with an additionally determined determined member, 3. the group with both the members additionally determined.

1. *siku kuu ya idi* 'Beiramfest'

gao moja la unga 'eine Handvoll Mehl'

pembo nne za chumba 'die 4 Ecken des Zimmers'

³⁷ The discussion concerning prepositions is still topical. E. J. Lampert writing to the "Journal of the East African Swahili Committee" about "Mr. K o p o k a's 'Miao'" asserts that "the consecutive tenses take the place of conjunctions in many contexts and the prepositional forms of a verb take the place of prepositions (*na* or *-a*). These two particles, in fact, are respectively the only conjunctions and the only preposition of pure Bantu origin, having primarily a purely conjunctive or prepositional significance, to be found in the Swahili language" (cf. the "Journal of the East African Swahili Committee", no. 27, 1957, p. 94). K o p o k a assumes that prepositions and conjunctions are one part of speech — *miao*. Only *miao* is not derived from the other parts of speech, i.e., *-a*. However, he does not negate the existence of 'functional prepositions' and 'functional conjunctions' and finally he comes to the conclusion that the prop in one context may belong to the category of relationships (props of relation) and in the other context — to the category of junctions (props of junction), which, in fact, brings the whole discussion back to its starting point and does not contribute anything to the discussion besides the terminology. In our case we shall limit ourselves to the semantic function of syntactic elements; the above mentioned problem lies open to further discussion.

The determined member takes on an adjectival attribute, it is made more precise, and as a group, it in turn becomes determined by a noun (cf. *gao moja* 'one handful' > *gao moja la unga* 'a handful of flour').

2. Further determination of a determining member can occur with the help of the connotation of a noun by means of a noun and when we take into consideration the exponent of syntactic connotation:

mshauri wa upande wa serikali 'Regierungsabgeordneter'
majaribio ya makombora ya atomu 'Atombombenversuch'
kopo la maji ya mvua 'Dachrinne'

The determined member is connotated by a group in which the determinant fulfills the function of a basis which is determined by a noun in order to obtain more precise determination of the determined member. (cf. *kopo la maji* 'a metal pot for water', *maji ya mvua* 'rain water', *kopo la mvua* 'a tin pot for rain').

3. *kinu cha kusagia kahawa* 'Kaffeemühle'
kikuku cha kupandia farasi 'Steigbügel'
karatasi ya kukaushia wino 'Löschpapier'

As a result of the connotation, verb → noun (cf. *kusagia kahawa* 'to grind coffee'), there appears syntactic relation: verb → object; through its bundle of features, the relation determines the basis closer than could the verbal noun itself (cf. *kinu cha kusagia* 'a tool for grinding', *kusagia kahawa* 'to grind coffee'). In certain cases a sub-group of this type (in the function of a determinant) has a preordained, lexicalised and homogeneous meaning, e.g., *mtambo wa kupiga chapa* 'Druckereimaschine' (*kupiga chapa* 'to print'), *mahali pa kufanya kazi* 'Arbeitsplatz' (*kufanya kazi* 'to work'). It has to be pointed out here that stereotype sets can be similarly placed also in the basis of a set group, e.g., *mfanyi kazi ya reli* 'Eisenbahnarbeiter' (*mfanyi kazi* 'a worker').

Groups Written Together

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) <i>mwanamke</i> 'Frau, Ehefrau' | <i>mwanasesere</i> 'Puppe' |
| <i>mwananchi</i> 'Einwohner' | <i>mwanasheria</i> 'Jurist' |
| <i>mwanachama</i> 'Mitglied' | <i>mwanadamu</i> 'Menschenkind' |

It has to be stressed in advance that these groups seldom appear in the Swahili language. In the above examples we can easily distinguish particular syntactic elements: *mwana mke*, *mwana nchi*, etc. It is difficult, however, to determine the essence of the mutual relationship between the members — the essence of syntactic connection — i.e., whether we deal with a series (based on the principle of equality) or with a connection based on the principle of contact: *mwana mke* 'a child-woman', 'the child of a woman'. The principles of arrangement of components speak for the latter case. In the former case we should deal with the set of the type of a series — copulative, in the latter one with the type: sets-determinativa. Analysing the manner of

'wahre Worte' d.h. 'Worte der Wahrheit', b) a noun in postposition, e.g., *mwana mume* 'ein Kind, ein Mann' d.h. 'ein Mann', *mwana mke* 'ein Kind, eine Frau' d.h. 'eine Frau'³⁸. It is impossible to arrive at some definite conclusion concerning the reasoning of the author of *Grundzüge*. Although we know that a noun in postposition appears in the set as a determinant, however, its function does not ensue from the above relationship of meanings³⁹. The use of a comma rather suggests that we deal with a coordinative group of the type: of 'men, women, (and) children' in which every member can be transposed or altogether omitted⁴⁰. Of some help can be here semantic analysis of the series:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| <i>mwanamke</i> 'a woman', 'a married woman' | 1. A child who is a woman |
| (<i>mwana</i> 'a child', 'a youth') | 2. A woman who is a child |
| <i>mke</i> 'a woman', 'a married woman') | 3. A woman and a child. |

The content: 'a woman, a married woman' does not ensue from any of the sentences. Therefore, in the above sets *mwana* does not correspond to the meaning: 'a child'. Thus Johnson's point of view seems to be right. He assumes that *mwana* expresses "in general without reference to relationship, a person, one of a class, e.g., *mwana maji* 'a sailor'"⁴¹. Determinative relationship ensues very clearly from further examples where *mwana*, by way of analogy with *binadamu* = *mwanaadamu* 'Menschenkind' can be replaced with the term 'son', 'child', e.g., *mwananachi* 'a son, child of the country' > 'Einwohner', *mwanaachama* 'a child, a son of the party' > 'Mitglied', etc. This type of logical operation, however, is at present doubtful and it would be better to assume that this type of construction multiplied by way of analogy (cf. neologisms: *mwanaahewa* 'a pilot' and others). But how can we explain the fact of the appearance of groups written together? We have to start with the assumption that the original construction had still contained the exponent of syntactic connotation — *-a* (cf. *mtoto wa haramu* 'ein unheliches Kind' and also *mwana haramu* 'uncheliches Kind'), i.e., it had originally contained *mwana wa mke*. The disappearance of the exponent of syntactic connotation occurs regularly with the frequent use of the set; hence, *mwana mke*. Then, taking into consideration the formative role of accent (cf. p. 41) which, as the result of the monosyllabic *mke* is particularly strong, the complex of two words becomes a natural consequence⁴². We come across a similar situation in the sets: expressing adjectival concepts in the Bantu languages, Meinhof arrives at the opinion that it can occur (among others) through: a) the genitive case, e.g., *maneno ya kweli*

³⁸ Meinhof, *Grundzüge*, p. 168.

³⁹ The function, however, ensues quite clearly from other examples: *omundu ekorokopu* 'ein habsüchtiger Mensch', eigentl. 'Ein Mensch, ein Böser'.

⁴⁰ Cf. Groot, op. cit., p. 132.

⁴¹ Johnson, *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, London 1953, p. 150.

⁴² We might add that a similar situation must have existed when the form of the English loan-word was getting fixed: *manowari* 'a man-of-war', where the latter element was particularly accentuated: man of wár > *manowari*.

mwanañchi, *mwanañji*, etc. It also leads to the elision of vowels which hamper shifting the accent onto the penultimate syllable, e.g., *mwána Adámu* > *mwanaadámu*.

b) *mwenyekiti* 'Vorsitzender, Parlamentarier'

tengamaji 'Wasserschere'

mlalazamu 'Wächter'

ujanadume 'Mannhaftigkeit'

ulimbwende 'Eleganz'

The above examples are evidence of the formation of sets from different types of lexical groups. They show many irregularities, e.g., *mlalazamu* 'Wächter' < *mlala* (*lala* 'to sleep') 'the one who sleeps' plus *zamu* 'service' where we can only guess at the logical operation and hence the word seems to have come from jargon. Accent has the greatest influence upon the formation of the groups written together.

Compounds and Syntactic Groups

We have stated in the previous chapters that the word in the Swahili language as opposed to the group is a simple word which can occur with a class prefix, e.g., *mchele* 'rice' or without a class prefix, e.g., *tembo* 'elephant'. The former, then, consists of two morphemes, the latter one — of one morpheme, i.e., of the stem only. However, it has to be borne in mind that a nominal or pronominal prefix appearing as a result of the congruence in a context, decides to which class a given word belongs. A word can also be a derivative word (derived from a verb, a noun etc.) which has been embodied into an appropriate noun class through the class prefix. The lack of a prefix in, e.g., *pendekezo* 'a wish', 'a desire' also demands some reference to a nominal or pronominal prefix, or to a plural number (*pendekezo*, pl. *mapendekazo*). In simple words a principal morpheme can be exchangeable, e.g., *mchele*, *mbuyu*, *mzimu*, etc.; a collateral morpheme is unexchangeable and neither morpheme is free. In derivative words the main morpheme is free (cf. *mganga* 'a quack doctor', 'a doctor' < *ganga* 'to cure', 'to dress wounds'). A word group always consists of two or more morphemes appearing with the exponent of syntactic connotation or without it or appearing with a pronoun (cf. *jiwe la kunolea* 'a grindstone', *kifungua kopo* 'a can opener'). All the morphemes of a group can be exchanged; however, the word order is fixed (the determined member is followed by the determining one). From among the groups written together we can assume those to be compound words, without any serious reservation, which possess the unexchangeable morphem *mwana* (cf. *mwanahewa* 'pilot') in the determined member.

From a heretofore rough semantic analysis it ensues that independently of a type of construction, some groups possess, from the semantic point of view, a clearly defined meaning which corresponds to the actually existing objects and phenomena of the outside world. The meaning is not, however, in accordance with single meanings of particular morphemes of a group, e.g., *mji mkuu* 'a capital', *kitu kidogo* 'a trifle' and others. Many attempts have been made in linguistics to differentiate a group

from compounds. E.g., Bloomfield thinks that "in languages which use a single high stress on each word, this feature distinguishes compound words from phrases". He gives an example from the English language: "ice-cream ('ajs, krijm) is a compound, but ice cream ('ajs 'krijm) is a phrase, although there is no denotative difference in meaning"⁴³. Bloomfield is basically opposed to the view that the difference depends on the meaning of a construction⁴⁴. We meet with the following view in the interpretation of Brugmann: "Der Anfang und das Wesen der Worteinung besteht darin, dass die Bedeutung von Wörtern, die im Satz einem engeren syntaktischen Verband haben, in der Art modifiziert wird, dass dieser Verband konventioneller Ausdruck für eine irgendwie einheitliche Gesamtvorstellung wird. Diese Vorstellung deckt sich nicht mehr genau mit dem Sinne, der sich aus der Zusammenfügung durch die einzelnen Worte bezeichneten Vorstellungen ergibt"⁴⁵. Jespersen's opinion is similar: "We have a compound, if the meaning of the whole cannot be logically deduced from the meanings of the elements separately"⁴⁶.

Thus a construction 'becomes' (= is) a compound and not a phrase 'when' (= if) the meaning of the construction is different from that which can be deduced from the meaning of its elements⁴⁷. Zawadowski assumes that the most important are formal characteristic features distinguishing a compound from a phrase. "These criteria are, in a specified way, dependent (as is everything in language) on semantic relations, and semantic facts concern formal units"⁴⁸. Morciniec, in a penetrating study, gives the following definitions: "Die Zusammensetzung ist ein Gefüge von austauschbaren unmittelbar aufeinander folgenden Morphemen, deren Reihenfolge bedeutungsrelevant ist. Dank der Untrennbarkeit seiner Glieder besitzt dieses Gefüge eine geschlossene Formeinheit und gehört einer Wortklasse ein. Die Wortgruppe (...) ist ein Gefüge von austauschbaren Morphemen deren Entfernung voneinander variieren kann, wobei ihre Reihenfolge nicht bedeutungsrelevant ist. Dadurch besitzt es auch keine enge Formeinheit und gehört als Ganzheit keiner Wortklasse an"⁴⁹.

⁴³ Cf. L. Bloomfield, *Language*, Leiden 1953, § 14.2.

⁴⁴ "In meaning, compound words are usually more specialized than phrases, for instance, blackbird, denoting a bird of particular species, is more specialized than the phrase black bird, which denotes any bird of this colour. It is a very common mistake to try to use this difference as a criterion (...). Many a phrase is as specialised in meaning as any compound" (op. cit., chap. 14.2).

⁴⁵ K. Brugmann, *Grundriss einer vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1906, pp. 35—36.

⁴⁶ O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, VI, Copenhagen 1942, p. 135 ff.

⁴⁷ L. Zawadowski, *Podzielność morfologiczna a znaczenie wyrazów (Morphological Divisibility and Meaning of Words)*, Zesz. Nauk. Uniw. Wrocławskiego, Seria A, 5, 1957, p. 254.

⁴⁸ Op. cit., p. 255 (footnote).

⁴⁹ N. Morciniec, *Die nominalen Wortzusammensetzungen in den Westgermanischen Sprachen*, Wrocław 1964, p. 44.

From phrases, K l e m e n s i e w i c z demands an apperceptive unity of word group, habitual character of connection, exchangeability of construction for a simple derivative word, formation of adjectives from phrase⁵⁰.

Let us analyse phrases in the Swahili language from the latter point of view. At the beginning we shall divide phrases according to the relationship between categorial value and meaning⁵¹.

a) Regular constructions: the difference between meaning and categorial value equals the meaning of the components.

b) Relatively regular constructions: the difference between meaning and categorial value appears in a certain number of constructions in such a way that it is possible to specify the type of construction in which the difference occurs.

c) Irregular constructions: the difference between meaning and categorial value makes it impossible to define the type of constructions in which there appears the given difference between categorial value and meaning of a word. We separate, at the same time, a phrase from a sentence on the basis of the functional analysis of component elements according to the rule given by J. K u r y ł o w i c z. "Un complexe dichotome organisé (suivant le principe d'hierarchie des membres) est un groupe, si c'est le membre déterminé qui est constitutif. Il est une proposition, si c'est le membre déterminant qui est constitutif"⁵². Thus we deal with a phrase only where there exists a hierarchy of meanings of component elements and when the element whose meaning is being determined by the meaning of another element belonging to a phrase appears as the principal element, i.e., the element representing the phrase on the outside.

1. a) *mtoto mdogo* 'kleines Kind'
kisu kidugi 'stumpfes Messer'
mtoto mkaidi 'ungehorsames Kind'
dalili mbaya 'ein böses Omen'

- b) *kitu kidogo* 'Kleinigkeit'
njia kuu 'Hauptstraße'
chuo kikuu 'Hauptstadt'
bahati mbaya 'Mißgeschick'

The determined member appears here in the primary semantic and syntactic function and so does the determining member. The relationship is stereotype — attribute → basis. From the point of view of the determined member an element connotated can, but need not be complemented since its lack does not give the impression of the incompleteness of a statement. However, with the connotation from the point of view of a determining element, a connotated element must be complemented if the content of a statement is to be complete. Besides, it cannot appear independently in the form: (-*dogo*, *dugi*, etc.); (cf. *dogodogo* 'little', 'tiny'). In the column a) we deal, then, with a fixed connotation; relation of concord is generally connected with

⁵⁰ Z. K l e m e n s i e w i c z, *Składnia opisowa...*, op. cit., pp. 46—49.

⁵¹ By a categorial value of a linguistic construction we understand the value ensuing from the meaning of component elements, taking into consideration the grammatical law concerning the constructions composed of elements of given categories. Z a w a - d o w s k i, op. cit., p. 248.

⁵² J. K u r y ł o w i c z, *Esquisses linguistiques*, Wrocław 1960, p. 35 ff.

qualitative determination⁵³. The categorial value of a construction equals the meaning of its component elements.

In the column b *kitu kidogo* is so more an exponent of the content of the elements of the compound (i.e., 'a little thing' but it signifies 'a trifle'). Thus, in this way, the noun *kitu* determines the preservation of a noun class by the construction; semantically, however, it undergoes atrophy⁵⁴.

A set of elements representing a category of the names of qualities passed to a category of the names of properties. The possibility of passing to the names of properties should be explained by the fact that a qualitative attribute specifies in a univocal but at the same time vague way. In the remaining examples of the column b with the adjectival attribute *-kuu*, we observe the ascription of the property characteristic of people ('dignified', 'experienced') — to objects; in this way from the intermorphemic context there ensues a new meaning *chuo kikuu* 'a distinguished school' > 'a university' (cf. *mji mkubwa* 'eine große Stadt': *mji mkuu* 'Hauptstadt'). This group can be defined as endocentric, coordinative and subordinative⁵⁵. Column a constitutes a regular construction, column b — a relatively regular one. From the point of view of structure, this type of formation is always a group, from the semantic point of view it can be a set if only because the function of the relation has been obliterated. The situation becomes apparent if we apply the criteria of K l e m e n s i e w i c z. The compounds of column b show a clear apperceptive unity, which means that the content of both the morphemes has contributed to a new lexicalised semantic range which does not simply result from the separate meanings of those morphemes. The connection is habitual. Difficulties arise, however, from the fact that the phrases of this type cannot be reduced to a simple derivative word. (But cf. *mwanaamke mnene: mnene*). However, on the other hand there exists a possibility of forming phrases from adjectives. So far, this is not a general rule to be carried out mechanically. But the very fact of the existence of such a construction as, for instance, *majani mabichi* 'dunkelgrün' (lit. 'green leaves') proves that this phrase can be regarded as exocentric. Therefore, in the aspect of structure, this group is endocentric and in the aspect of semantic construction it is of the exocentric type.

An additional note: the rule of postposition of a determining element, i.e., of an adjective is one of the basic rules of this type of construction. Rare is the case of the change of order of morphemes; the change being prompted in a statement by some emotional factors, cf. *wewe si mwema mtu!* 'you are not a good man'⁵⁶. But also in this case the qualifier-adjective remains a determinant.

A very important role is played by the aspect of compactness or looseness of a group. In loose groups the appearance of a determining member immediately before or

⁵³ H e i n z, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁴ This can account for the fact that *kidogo* can appear independently in the form *kidogo* 'wenig, etwas, ein wenig' i.e., adverbially.

⁵⁵ G r o o t, op. cit., p. 114.

⁵⁶ Cf. J a k o v l e v a, op. cit., p. 68.

after a basis is not essential since the meaning is retained and can be deduced from the context. In Swahili, it is possible to remove an adjective from a basis by means of a tertiary member, e.g., *kitabu changu kidogo*, but we have a new construction to deal with in this case — a nominal predicate: 'my book is small', since the copula *ni* disappeared: *kitabu changu ni kidogo*. Thus the determination became predicative and such determination lies outside the scope of our discussion.

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|---|------------------------------------|
| 2. a) <i>jela baridi</i> 'a detention camp' ⁵⁷ | b) <i>mwana chuoni</i> 'Gelehrter' |
| <i>askari nidhamu</i> 'a regular soldier' | <i>jembe Ulaya</i> 'Pflug' |
| <i>mtu dufu</i> 'törichter Mensch' | <i>nguruwe mwitu</i> 'Wildschwein' |

A feature common to all these examples is word order with a determinant in postposition. The noun determining the basis fulfills a secondary syntactic and semantic function. In the examples: *jela baridi* 'prison-coldness', *askari nidhamu* 'soldier-discipline' and *mtu dufu* 'man-stupidity' a noun can function as an adjective: 'cold', 'uncovered'; 'stupid', 'unwise'; 'disciplined', 'regular'; thus, the noun defines the basis by the whole bundle of features through a "non-material" factor — postposition.

Sets of this type find numerous applications, e.g., in botanical terminology; cf. *mchani mbawa* 'Albizia', *mchungu ng'ombe* 'Hibiscus', etc.⁵⁸

Here, too, we have to deal with apperceptive unity and habitual connection. Sets of this type cannot be reduced to a simple derivative word, neither do they appear as adjectives. On the other hand, the fact that the elements of a set cannot be separated from one another by a tertiary element, which we observe in the former examples of transformation, is essential. In column b we have to deal with a prepositional type of construction: *mwana chuoni* 'a person from school', i.e., 'a scholar'; *jembe Ulaya* 'a digger from Europe', i.e., a 'plough'; *nguruwe mwitu* 'a swine from wood', i.e., 'a wild swine', 'a boar'. From other sources we know that prepositional relation need not be expressed in a particularly formal way, "sondern es wird der lebendigen Kraft der Zusammensetzung überlassen, den Sinn zu tragen"⁵⁹. Sets of this type can also appear with the exponent of syntactic connotation, cf. *mbwa [wa] mwitu* 'a jackal' (lit. a dog from the wood). Thus, a prepositional phrase can be expressed also by means of -a⁶⁰. It follows that in column a we have to deal with qualitative relation based on equality (cf. 'prison-coldness'), and in column b with relative relation, i.e., with the relation of origin (cf. 'a swine from wood'). The difference between the two columns also consists in the fact that a noun in postposition in column a can fulfill a secondary semantic function (cf. *baridi* 'cold, open'), while in column b — a primary semantic function, which means that it does not cease to be a noun. The relation of equality in column a is further confirmed by the fact that, e.g., *farasi dume* 'Hengst'

⁵⁷ *Suggestions for Swahili Terms for the Building Wave*, Staff of Educ. Depart. (Techn.), "Swahili", no. 28:1, 1958, p. 58.

⁵⁸ *Suggestions...*, p. 64.

⁵⁹ Cf. O. Briegele, *Vom Wesen der Zusammensetzung*, Meiningen 1928, p. 97.

⁶⁰ Ashton, *The 'Idea' Approach to Swahili*, BSOAS, vol. VIII, London 1936, p. 844.

can be replaced by the construction *dume la farasi* 'Hengst', *mtu dufu* 'törichter Mensch' — by *dufu la mtu* 'törichter Mensch'. Identical meaning can be rendered with the help of both types of construction: however, the difference in structure is essential: there occurred the change of function and position of both the members of the set. At one time they fulfilled the function of a determinant and another time — that of a basis. This type of the change of construction is possible since in both cases they express quality, cf. *dume la farasi* 'masculine gender of a horse', *farasi dume* 'a horse [of] masculine gender'⁶¹. The distinction between those two manners of semantic connotation is connected with the problem of the compactness of the junction of a determining member with the one to be determined. The relation of concord expresses a stronger union since the exponent of syntactic connotation (through a pronominal prefix) does not allow of any ambiguity as to what its determined member is.

Clear evidence of this situation can be the example: *fundi cherehani* 'Schneider' and *fundi wa cherehani* 'Nähmaschinenmechaniker'. The first set based on the relation of equality indicates qualitative relation in a vague way, but in the other set we have a situation where the exponent of syntactic connotation clearly specifies the relation, strictly through the relation of belonging to, cf. 'a master- a sewing-machine': 'master of sewing-machine'.

The expressions in both columns have a relatively regular construction. From the semantic point of view they have to be considered sets (with the exception of *mtu dufu*).

Assuming that the sets with the exponent of semantic connotation have a more specified semantic scope (of a set) then, with the help of the examples of such sets we can analyse the degree of overlapping of particular scopes of the elements of sets 'the process of annexing certain meanings', and we can at the same time define their categorial value.

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|--|---|
| 3. a) <i>mwiko wa kulia</i> 'Eßlöffel' | b) <i>kikausho cha wino</i> 'Löschpapier' |
| <i>kiwanja cha mcheza</i> 'Spielplatz' | <i>mwutano wa kamba</i> 'Seilziehen' |
| <i>nafasi ya masomo</i> 'Studienplatz' | <i>maanguko ya maji</i> 'Wasserfalle' |

In column a the verbal nouns (Verbalabstraktum) in their secondary semantic and syntactic function clearly define the range of the basis (a noun in a primary semantic function) and at the same time they narrow the range. *Mwiko wa kulia* means 'a spoon for eating', serving the purpose of eating and no other purpose (cf. 'a shoehorn') *nafasi ya masomo* is a 'place for studying' (lit. for having a class in) and not any other unspecified place or room, etc. Thus, the determinant covers, through its whole field, some part of the field of the basis⁶². The construction is fairly regular. In column b, the verbal noun is to be found in the basis in relation to which the deter-

⁶¹ Cf. genetivus qualitatis and its functions.

⁶² Here, an additional factor is the fact of the isolation of this set from a series of similar occasional sets remaining a group. This sort of isolation makes the semantic compactness between the part of the set easier. Cf. Mir ow i c z, op. cit., p. 102.

minant fulfills the function of an objectival attribute. In this way, therefore, it does not specify the content of the basis but adds to its meaning. The above given nomen agentis or instrumentis does not appear independently (cf. as opposed to *mcheza*, *masomo*, *kulia*); thus we can assume that we deal with a different process than in column a, i.e., the range of action passes into the semantic range of the determining element which in turn gives name to the object, towards which the action is directed, cf. *kikausho cha wino* 'that which makes the ink dry', *mvutano wa kamba* 'pulling of a rope', *maanguko maji* 'falling of water'. Let us return to column a. Also here we find verbal nouns in the function of a nominal attribute. In the examples in column a, from the semantic point of view, we deal with the partitive relation where the content: *kulia* 'a spoon', *kuwanja* 'a square', *nafasi* 'a place', constitute part of the content of *kulia* 'eating', *mchezo* 'sport practising', *masomo* 'teaching'; the relation is, therefore, relative and not qualitative as it is in column b.

An essential conclusion would result from the above analysis, viz., the exponent of syntactic connotation expresses the qualitative relation if there appears the name of action as a determined member — the relative relation if the name of action appears as a determining member.

4. a) *mpenda kula* 'Vielfraß'
mlinda ndege 'Feldhüter'
mpanda baisikili 'Radfahrer'

b) *barua ya mtengenezaji* 'Leitartikel'
udongo wa mfinyanzi 'Töpferton'
kitanda cha mfumi 'Webstuhl'

In column a nomen agentis appears as the member being determined; the determining element is a simple verbal noun (*kulia*). The connotation is similar to those from the position 3, column b — verb object. The only difference is the lack of the exponent of semantic connotation and the fact that there we dealt with nomen actionis. Here a noun-determinant fulfills a primary semantic function, a noun i.e., a member to be determined — a secondary one. The categorial value of the set is specified through the semantic scope of the verb which can connect itself in its semantic field only with specific categories of a noun (cf. *panda baisikili* 'to ride a bicycle', *panda farasi* 'to ride a horse', *panda mlima* 'to climb mountains', etc.). The change was only that of category (verb > noun: *penda* 'being fond of': *mpenda* 'he who is fond of') which in turn, caused the isolation of the syntactic connection from the context of a sentence and caused the formation of a set (cf. *mtu anayelinda ndege* 'a man who keeps an eye on birds').

K r a p f considers the above constructions to be participle constructions and his argumentation is as follows: *mtenda kazi* 'a man making work' = 'a working man' = 'a workman' (cf. *apendai* 'he who loves')⁶³. Hence we can assume that we deal with a shortening of a sentence; the set, owing to the unseparability of its members constitutes a compact unity and can be treated as a compound. There exists, however a tendency for further isolation of a basis, cf. *mgema (tembo) akisifiwa tembo* 'if the

⁶³ L. K r a p f, *A Dictionary of Swahili Language*, London 1882, p. xxii.

winetapper has his to-day praised (in hearing)', by means of omitting a qualifier⁶⁴. This is possible owing to the context which does not allow of any ambiguity in the interpretation of the semantic range of a basis. This is even more evident (and becomes formally sanctioned) in the case of the use of the wordformative suffix *-ji*, cf. *machimbaji* 'a miner'. In this way the basis can be doubly defined: *mchanganyaji dawa* 'Apotheker', 'Pharmazeut' < *changanya* 'to mix', 'to compound', *dawa* 'a medicine', 'he who professionally mixes, compounds medicines' > 'a chemist'.

The class prefix (*m-*) does not change, however, the idea of semantic relation between a verbal noun and an object. The possibility of reducing a set to a simple derivative word proves again the right in putting the construction into the group of compounds. In the column b nomen agentis functions as a determinant of a simple noun and as a result we receive a new concrete notion: 'Leitartikel', 'Töpferton', 'Webstuhl'. The relation is clearly possessive — *barua ya mtengezaji* 'a letter of the editor', *udongo wa mfinyanzi* 'a potter's clay', *kitanda cha mfumi* 'a weaver's frame'. As a result we receive an object — a tool of an editor, potter, weaver. This is the result of complete lexicalisation of a verbal noun where its verbal function ceased to be felt (cf. *kitanda cha kufumua* 'a frame for weaving', also, *leseni ya udereva* 'Fahrerlaubnis' [lit. a license for driving]: *leseni ya kuendeshea motakaa* 'Fahrerlaubnis' [lit. a license to drive a car] — a driving license).

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|--|---|
| 5. a) <i>mkuu wa skuli</i> 'Schuldirektor' | b) <i>mwenye gubu</i> 'aufdringlicher Mensch' |
| <i>mkuu wa chama</i> 'Parteiführer' | <i>mwenye hekima</i> 'Gelehrter' |
| <i>mkuu wa serikali</i> 'Regierungsob- | <i>mwenye govi</i> 'Unbeschnittener' |
| haupt' | |

In column a an adjectival noun is determinant element; the adjective noun is connected with a determinant — simple noun through the exponent of syntactic connotation. In a secondary syntactic function an adjective becomes anaphoric. In our case, then, the adjectival noun is a derivative from an anaphoric adjective; it appears in a secondary syntactic form as well as in a semantic one.

The same concerns a noun in the function of a determinant. The basis already possesses a bundle of features contained in an adjective (cf. — *kuu* 'groß, bedeutend, hervorragend, berühmt, alt, erfahren', > *mkuu* 'a ruler, head, master, governor'). Here we observe the contraction of the *mtu mkuu* 'a great man' to one word — *mkuu*⁶⁵. However, the set *mtu mkuu wa skuli* would not possess the same meaning as does *mkuu wa skuli*. In the former case the set expresses 'a great, famous man of a certain school', in the latter case it says: 'an older man managing (owing to his experience) a certain school'. The content of the determined member as the result of the contraction became general, broad and only the determinant narrows again its semantic range. In column b we deal with a similar process of contraction of a group, cf. *mtu mwenye hekima* 'a man who possesses knowledge' > 'a possessor of knowledge' > 'a man (educated)' > 'a philosopher'. Actually there is no essential difference

⁶⁴ Ashton, *Grammar*, p. 291.

⁶⁵ Cf. Perott, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

except the formal one between *mtu mwenye hekima* and *mwenye hekima*. In both the cases it expresses 'a learned man', 'a philosopher'. We have already pointed out the predicative character of the construction (cf. p. 50). However, we have to proceed further. We have already analysed the possibility of treating the predicative construction as the adjectival one (p. 47). As a matter of fact, also here we deal with a similar case since *-enye* serves here to express the adjectival conception: *-enye giza* 'dunkel', *-enye maji* 'feucht', *-enye watu wengi* 'bevölkert'. In that case, *mwenye hekima* 'an educated (man)' does not differ semantically from — *mkuu* 'experienced, eminent (man)'. In the former case, however, the construction is more compact, i.e., reduced to a simple derivative word and thus it is little defined and general and it can (or must) take a determinant; in the latter case, however, the construction is closed, i.e., it may not take on (and need not) an additional member defining its range.

Conclusions

Our argumentation up to now leads us to the following conclusions:

1. In the Swahili language, compound words cannot be analysed only on the principle of form. The main criterion should be meaning ensuing from the contents of a set, remembering that categorial value cannot be equal to the meaning of its component elements. The latter situation is observed in all the sets mentioned, even in the types which seem to be most occasional (cf. *mtoto mdogo: kitu kidogo*). In the first place a compound word consists of two or more elements and hence semantic analysis should be based on the analysis of syntactic relation. Syntactic analysis indicates that in a compound word there can occur two or more elements, e.g., *pipa la maji ya mtoto* 'Heißwasserspeicher' and thus in this case we deal with a word complex compounded in a complex manner, the type: *kopo la maji ya mvua* 'Dachrinne'. It satisfies the conditions demanded from a compound word: the morphemes are exchangeable, arranged semantically and relevantly and they are joined with the exponent of syntactic connotation *-a*; the elements are unseparable. The presence of all the members is essential for the meaning of a word. (Cf. *kopo la maji* 'a pot for water', *maji ya mvua* 'rain water'). The meaning of the word is lexicalised.

2. Compound words in the Swahili language can be divided into four main groups: I. Compounds, II. Sets, III. Sets of many elements, IV. Complexes.

Compound s⁶⁶

- NOMCO I. Type NOMCO¹ < S+S e.g. *maji-moto* 'boiling-water'
 Type NOMCO² < VS+S e.g. *kipasha-moto* 'kitchen'
 Type NOMCO³ < S^{enye}+S e.g. *mwenye mali* 'a rich man', *mwenyekiti* 'a parliamentarian' (written together or separately)

⁶⁶ The patterns are based on the following short forms: NOMCO = Nominal Compound, NOMCOCOM = Nominal Compound Complex, S = Substantive, Adj = Adjective, VS = Verbal Noun, AdjS = Adjectival Noun, Prep = Preposition, -a = Exponent of Syntactic Connotation, Ad = Adverb.

- Type NOMCO⁴ < S (*mwana*) + S e.g. *mwanachuo* 'a learned man'
 Type NOMCO⁵ < S + Adj e.g. *sikukuu* 'a feast' (written together)

Sets

- NOMCO II. Type NOMCO⁶ < S + -a + Ad e.g. *mtoto wa kike* 'a girl'
 Type NOMCO⁷ < AdjS + -a + S e.g. *mkuu wa chama* 'a leader of a party'
 Type NOMCO⁸ < S + -a + S e.g. *mkufu wa shingo* 'a necklace'
 Type NOMCO⁹ < S + Adj e.g. *kitu kidogo* 'a trifle' (written separately)
 Type NOMCO¹⁰ < S + prep + S e.g. *mtengo katika kazi* 'leave from work'

Sets of many members

- NOMCOCOM Type NOMCOCOM¹ < S + -a + S + -a + S e.g. *kopo la maji ya mvua* 'a rain-pipe'
 Type NOMCOCOM² < S + Adj + -a + S e.g. *makao makuu ya chama* 'party centre'
 Type NOMCOCOM³ < VS + S + -a + S e.g. *mfanyi-kazi ya reli* 'a railway worker'

Complexes

- NOMCO III. Type NOMCO¹¹ < S + S e.g. *mwanamke* 'a woman' (written together)

The criteria of the classification of compound words discussed in the paper and in the above table can be formally put into the following principles:

a) Compounds consist of two elements written together or separately and the meaning of the compound word ensues from the inter-morphemic context. The types, NOMCO⁴ and NOMCO⁵ deserve a closer attention. These types differ from NOMCO⁹ and NOMCO¹¹ in the following respect: the former types formally constitute a uniform entity; the entity is indicated formally by the fact that the class prefix of a determining member remains unchanged when forming its plural number, whereas the latter types change this prefix (cf. *mwanachuo*: *wanachuo*, *mwanamke*: *wanawake*).

b) The sets consist of two or more elements written together or separately. They differ from compounds in the logical and grammatical operation that we have brought out — in forming plural number there appears the change of prefixes of all the members which make up a set.

c) Complexes are a boundary case of compounds and sets. They are characterised by the fact that they are written together and that the prefix of a determining member undergoes further changes in the formation of plural number.