

Continued

<i>b</i>	39% 5 $\begin{smallmatrix} k \\ g \end{smallmatrix}$ (w)	23% 3 !n(w)	31% 4 !	7% 1 $\odot pw$	S 62%	C 23%	N 15%
<i>p & f</i>	57% 8 !k(w)	36% 5 ! $\dot{x}$ (w), (!h !g)	—	7% 1 $\odot pw$	S 64%	C 29%	N 7%
<i>r</i>	57% 8 //k (//')	43% 6 !k	—	—	S 78%	C 15%	N 7%
<i>l</i>	50% 5 // $\begin{smallmatrix} k \\ g \end{smallmatrix}$ (//')	40% 4 ! $\begin{smallmatrix} k \\ g \end{smallmatrix}$ (!')	10% 1 $\neq g$	—	S 70%	C 10%	N 20%
<i>m</i>	57% 8 m	22% 3 /m (/-m, n/x)	14% 2 $\odot mw$ ($\odot$ -m)	7% 1 $\neq n-m$	S 36%	C 57%	N 7%
<i>n</i>	57% 8 n	29% 4 //n	7% 1 !n	7% 1 /n	S 86%	C 14%	—
<i>y</i>	34% 3 si	33% 3 /k (!')	22% 2 //g (k)	11% 1 j	S 56%	C 22%	N 22%
<i>w</i>	84% 5 ! $\begin{smallmatrix} k \\ g \end{smallmatrix} w$	16% 1 !k	—	—	S 84%	—	N 16%

ALICJA MAŁECKA

STRUCTURE OF A SIMPLE SENTENCE IN THE SWAHILI
LANGUAGE WITHIN THE RANGE OF A NOMINAL
PREDICATE AND NOMINAL GROUP

Swahili language, which belongs — as it is known — to the East-African group of *Bantu* languages, has become the official state's, and commercial language on large territories of East Africa from the border of Somali to Mozambique. It is characterized by agglutinative structure, a system of substantival classes, prefixed conjugation, lack of declensions and grammar gender. A dominating role is played by congruency which comprises all nominal parts of speech in a sentence, and the verb too. The word order in denotation of possession is obligatory: the object of possession precedes the subject of possession. Moreover the qualifying member usually follows the qualified one.

The present paper aims to arrange the *Swahili* language into a system of syntactic patterns within the type of sentences with a nominal predicate and nominal group. I intend to elaborate this problem in details analysing simple sentences in *Swahili* within the range of the verbal group and congruency.

*

It is a great pity that my teacher Professor T. Milewski is not among the living any more at the moment when the present work, of which he is the spiritual Father, is going to appear in print. May it then be an homage paid to the memory of this learned Man to whom I owe so much. I am also indebted to Professor R. Stopa who inspired me with deep interest in African problems and for his sincere and friendly criticism.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Brauner S. — Bantu J. K., *Lehrbuch des Swahili* = Brauner S. und Bantu J. K., *Lehrbuch des Swahili*, Leipzig 1964.
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LIST OF SYMBOLS

The nomenclature applied in this paper refers both to the general and detailed symbolics. The first one serves to characterize basic, general phenomena and to denote sentence members which are not the problem under discussion in a particular sentence.

A precise analysis by means of detailed symbols, on the other hand, was carried out with reference to the discussed problem or member of a sentence. In this way patterns became clearer and investigated problems more outstanding.

Subject

S = *Subiectum* = nominal subject in general symbolics;
s = *subiectum* = pronominal subject.

Nominal Subject in Detailed Symbolics:

S *subst. (substantivum)* = nominal subject expressed by a substantive in its basic form;
S *pron. (pronomen)* = nominal subject expressed by an independent pronoun;
S *num. (numerus)* = nominal subject expressed by a numeral in a substantival meaning;
S *loc. (locativus)* = nominal subject expressed by a substantive with a locative suffix;
(i. c.-) = *indicium classis* = index of the substantival class;
(—) = lack of *indicium classis* by a *nomen*.

Note: A class index appears not only with a nominal subject; *nomina* acting as other parts of a sentence are also provided with it. In each case *indicium classis* will maintain the same symbol.

Nominal Predicate

C = *Copula* = copula in general symbolics;

Copula in Detailed Symbolics:

Vc = *Verbum copulativum* = verbal copula (*ku-wa*);
Vd = *Verbum defectivum* = invariable copula (*ni*);

Vd (*neg.*) = *Vd* (*negativum*) = invariable negated copula (*si*);
c = copula expressed by a pronominal element.
N = *Nomen* = predicate nomen in general symbolics.

Predicate Nomen in Detailed Symbolics:

N aeq. (*aequalitatis*) = equivalent predicate nomen;
N atr. (*attributivum*) = attributive predicate nomen;
N loc. (*locativus*) = locative predicate nomen;
N pron. (*pronomem*) = pronominal predicate nomen;
N num. (*numerales*) = numeral predicate nomen;
N adv. (*adverbium*) = adverbial predicate nomen;
neg. = denotation of negation, e.g. *C* (*neg.*).

Nominal Group

Dtm = *Determinatum* = qualified member in general symbolics;
Dns = *Determinans* = qualifying member in general symbolics;

Qualified Member in Detailed Symbolics occurs as:

S = nominal subject;
N = predicate nomen;
O = nominal object;
A = adverbial modifier.

Qualifying Member in Detailed Symbolics:

Dns adj. (*adiectivum*) = adjectival qualifying member;
Dns pron. (*pronomem*) = pronominal qualifying member;
Dns num. (*numerales*) = quantitative qualifying member;
Dns gen. (*genetivus*) = genitival qualifying member;
Dns gen. pos. (*possessoris*) = possessive genitival qualifying member;
Dns gen. qual. (*qualitatis*) = qualitative genitival qualifying member;
Dns gen. ord. (*ordinans*) = ordinating genitival qualifying member;
Gen. = *Genetivus* = possessive particle (genitival particle) by the genitival qualifying member;
Dns atr. (*attributivum*) = attributive qualifying member;
-enye or *-enyi* = attributive particle standing by the attributive qualifying member, preserved in the pattern;
Dns praep. (*praepositio*) = prepositional qualifying member;
Dns subst. (*substantivum*) = substantival qualifying member.

Verbal Group (fragments which occur in the present paper).

Verbal Predicate

P = *Praedicatum* = verbal predicate in general symbolics;

Verbal Predicate in Detailed Symbolics:

V = *Verbum* = verbal stem;
t = *tempus* = tense index;

neg. = *negativum* = negation (in negated forms);
ku-V = infinitive;
ku- = prefix of the infinitive occurring also in some irregular grammatical forms of uni- or bisyllabic verbs, preserved in the pattern.

Object

O = *Obiectum* = nominal object in general symbolics.

Adverbial Modifier

A = *Adverbium* = adverbial modifier in general symbolics.
 (Adverbial modifiers with a preposition are treated as a symbolic unit [one symbol].)

Congruency

_____ = formal congruency (bilateral);
 _____ = logical congruency (bilateral);
 _____, _____ = logical congruency (unilateral).
 + = break between words;
 — = break between affixes.

complex sentence = a simple developed sentence;
 compound subject = subject with a qualifying member;
 compound predicate = predicate with a qualifying member.

Note: The above presented system of symbols has been generally based on the works and methods of Professor T. Milewski. On the other hand some of the particular symbols, their systematization and names, as well as the adaptation of syntactic patterns to the requirements of the Swahili language are the work of the author of the present article.

I. GENERAL CHARACTER OF A SIMPLE SENTENCE AND ITS MEMBERS IN SWAHILI

A. BASIC PATTERN

The basic pattern of a simple sentence in Swahili is constituted of *S* + *P* (*Subiectum* and *Praedicatum*) standing, as a rule, in the given sequence (though cases of inversion are also known). A simple sentence in Swahili runs as follows:

m-tu a-na-lala = *S* + *P* = 'the man is sleeping'.
wa-toto wa-li-andika = *S* + *P* = 'the children wrote'.
ki-ti ki-me-anguka = *S* + *P* = 'the chair fell'.

m-zungu ni m-kali = $S + C + N$ = 'the European is severe'.
m-hindi a-li-ku-wa m-safiri = $S + C + N$ = 'the Hindu was a traveller'.

Note: In the two final examples a nominal predicate was used and therefore the symbol of the predicate was split into two other ones: C , which marks the copula and N — the symbol of the *predicate nomen*.

Even in a simple sentence in its shortest form the problem of *congruency* cannot be overlooked. Congruency is one of the basic problems which will occur almost in every sentence member and it seriously influences syntax. Not only all the *nomina* in a sentence but also verbs (through prefixed pronouns standing by a verb) are congruent according to certain rules. Congruency plays a considerable part in Swahili sentences but it will be an object of discussion of the next publication.

Nominal predicates are frequently used and occur in various sentences sometimes even reduced to two nominal words standing one next to the other and forming an asyndeton.

The main members of a simple sentence i. e. subject and predicate will be now discussed from the view point of syntax patterns.

B. SUBJECT

Following parts of speech function as a subject in a Swahili sentence: substantive in its basic form or with a locative suffix, pronoun and numeral in a substantival meaning. It is, thus, a nominal subject consisting of a separate word marked with symbol S in the patterns. There exists, however, another type of a subject: a pronominal subject which unlike an independent pronoun (occurring as a nominal subject), is a prefixed, personal pronoun standing by a verb, constituting a part of the verbal complex. Its symbol is s .

Both these types of subjects are congruent; this is stressed by using the same letter of the alphabet as their symbols. And there are the respective examples: the sentence with a nominal subject expressed by a substantive in its basic form (symbol: S *subst.*), supplied with the class prefix (symbol: (*i. c.*) = *indicium*

classis) and verbal predicate constituting a complex: s = pronoun standing by a verb acting as a pronominal subject, t = tense index, V = verbal stem: *m-ganga a-na-sema* = (*i. c.*) S *subst.* + $s-t-V$ = 'the physician says'.

Note: According to the adopted principle the complex: $s-t-V$ which is with regard to its value, an equivalent of P , occurs sometimes replacing it only broken into individual elements for a better illustration of the discussed problem.

A sentence with a nominal subject expressed with an independent pronoun (symbol: S *pron.*) and with a nominal predicate: *mimi ni m-soma-ji*¹ = S *pron.* + $C + N$ = 'I am a reader'.

A sentence with a nominal subject expressed with a numeral in a substantival meaning (symbol: S *num.*) prefixed by a class index and with a verbal predicate:

*wa-ka-panda wa-wili*² = $s-t-V$ + (*i. c.*) S *num.* = 'they two climbed up'.

A sentence with a nominal subject in form of a substantive with a locative suffix (symbol: S *loc.*) occurs only in special circumstances. I. P. Yakovleva says: „Every substantive (except the word of the VII class: *ma-hali* = 'place', and substantives denoting living objects) can stand with a locative suffix *-ni* and function as a subject. A locative subject can only be found by a substantival predicate with a conjunctive element of belonging *na*: *ny-umba-ni m-na giza* = 'in the house it is dark'. Such a subject is always placed before the predicate“³.

C. PREDICATE

Two types of predicates are distinguished in Swahili: a verbal predicate expressed by a verbal complex $s-t-V$ or generally: P comprising in itself also an idea of a verbal complex in every possible form, and a nominal predicate of following symbols: $C + N$ (general pattern i. e. copula + predicate nomen); detailed patterns: $Vc + N$ (respectively $s-t-ku-Vc + N$) i. e. *Verbum copula-*

¹ I. P. Yakovleva, *Očerki Sintaksisa*, p. 60.

² I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

tivum (verbal copula) and a required type of the predicate nomen; $Vd + N = Verbum\ defectivum\ ni$ occurring often as a copula also with a required predicate nomen; $c + N =$ copula expressed by a pronominal particle — with a predicate nomen; finally: N following a nominal subject, as a predicate nomen, forming an asyndeton with it.

So, a sentence with a verbal predicate can be presented in general in the following way (pattern form):

jumbe a-me-fika = $S + P$ = 'the chief has come';

and a sentence with a nominal predicate in the following way: *m-ganga ni m-zuri* = $S + C + N$ = 'the physician is good'.

D. COMPOUND SUBJECT AND COMPOUND PREDICATE

In the system of syntax patterns a complex sentence is presented by patterns enlarged by a qualifying member. And so the subject can be enlarged by attributes, the nominal predicate may contain an enlarged predicate nomen, and a verbal predicate — an enlarged object or an enlarged adverbial modifier. Each of these qualifying members is marked by the symbol *Dns* (*Determinans*) with a respective index in dependence on the type it represents. This qualifying member *Dns* usually follows the qualified member marked in general considerations *Dtm* (*Determinatum*), and in detailed ones: S, N, O, A , i. e. subject, predicate nomen, object and adverbial modifier.

Let us consider the conception of a nominal and verbal group. The nominal group is not a sentence, it is only an enlargement of individual members of a sentence, thus it refers to the qualifying and qualified members. Dependence and connections refer here always to *nomina*. In the verbal group, on the other hand, we have to do with a sentence and a verbal predicate. There is the question of dependence between the subject (both nominal and pronominal) and the verbal predicate and various possibilities of its use. At the same time, however, the whole nominal group can occur in an enlarged pattern of the verbal group as its constituent part, e. g. in the form of an enlarged object or an enlarged adverbial modifier. Congruency is a characteristic and predo-

minant feature of the nominal group. The verbal group, which contains a combination of most typical ways of expressing a sentence with a verb, requires a larger and more detailed discussion.

The nominal predicate in a Swahili sentence is discussed separately. It is, before all, largely used in every day speech and plays a considerable role. Another reason for isolating and discussing this problem separately is the fact that it cannot be discussed jointly with the verbal group in which — according to its name — an obligatory verb marked with the symbol V (*Verbum*) occurs. The nominal predicate as it is known — contains a copula: C and a predicate nomen: N (*Nomen*). The verbal copula *ku-wa* can be here regarded as an exception which stands — may be — just on the border of these two groups. It will be discussed separately.

II. TYPES OF NOMINAL PREDICATES IN SWAHILI

Sentences with a nominal predicate constitute a large and differentiated group in Swahili. The system of syntax patterns enables to consider them from various view points and, before all, to carry out their division and apply a systematic arrangement. The basic pattern of a simple sentence with a nominal predicate is: $S + C + N$. By C we understand the copula, N (*nomen*) stands for the *predicate nomen* and S — for the nominal subject which is most characteristic of these sentences. A less typical one but more developed and also common variant of this pattern is: $s + C + N$, which appears in connection with a verbal copula *ku-wa* = 'to be'. A pronominal subject s which belongs to a verbal complex is common too. There exists also its fuller variant with a nominal subject besides the pronominal one: $S + s + C + N$.

The mentioned primary patterns are differentiated into a number of variants. Differences between them depend mainly upon the type of the copula or the lack of the copula and also upon the structure of the predicate nomen. There are, thus, nominal predicates with a verbal copula *ku-wa*, with copula *ni* which is a defective verb and, with a copula expressed by a pronoun, and such predicates whose construction does not include any

copulative element. Within each of these types of nominal predicates differences in the way of expressing the predicate nomen can be distinguished.

A. NOMINAL PREDICATE WITH A VERBAL COPULA

The nominal predicate — which refers in a sense to a predicate expressed by a verb constituting an independent member of a sentence — includes an auxiliary verb of irregular structure: *ku-wa* = 'to be'. In the pattern it is marked by the symbol: *Vc* = *verbum copulativum*. A certain convergence with the full verbal predicate concerns only structure and conjugation of this auxiliary verb; as regards semantics, however, it evidently plays the role of a copula, occurring together with the predicate nomen as it is the case with other non-verbal types of copulae. The verb *ku-wa* is a monosyllabic one. Thus, according to the adopted for irregular verbs principle it maintains the prefix *ku-* in the pattern.

The occurrence of a pronominal subject *s*, besides or without a nominal subject *S* in the syntax pattern is a characteristic feature of a sentence with such a predicate. It is the only case in sentences with a nominal predicate, as other types require an obligatory *S* (unless an ellipsis occurs), whereas *s* is absent.

Note: The pronominal element by the verb *s* which is a component of the verbal complex, is characteristic, as a rule, of verbal predicates.

The copula *ku-wa* in the meaning 'to be' refers only to the imperfect and future (in combination with appropriate infixes). When used in perfect and present it gets the meaning 'to become'.

Following subgroups can be distinguished in nominal predicates with the copula *ku-wa* with regard to the various predicate nomen: nominal predicate with an *equivalent* predicate nomen (*N aeq.*), *attributive* (*N atr.*), *locative* (*N loc.*), *pronominal* (*N pron.*), *numeral* (*N num.*), and an *adverbial* predicate nomen (*N adv.*).

The mentioned subgroups will be discussed below:

1. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and an Equivalent Predicate Nomen

An equivalent predicate nomen expressed with a substantive occurs in the meaning „something was or will be something“,

„somebody was or will be somebody or something“ etc. A sentence with such a type of predicate can appear both with a nominal subject as well as with a pronominal one only. As it has already been mentioned an infinitival prefix of the verbal copula *ku-* remains unchanged in the pattern, e. g.: *mw-alimu a-li-ku-wa m-zungu* = *S + s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N aeq.* = 'the teacher was a European'.

2. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and an Attributive Predicate Nomen

An attributive predicate nomen expressed with an adjective denotes an attribute (quality) of a person or thing. The sense of such a predicate is „to be of some quality“, „to be the owner of a quality, attribute“, e. g.:

a-me-ku-wa m-gonjwa ⁴ = *s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N atr.* = 'he became ill'. A complete pattern of this type with a nominal subject is also frequent, e. g. *jua li-na-ku-wa kali* ⁵ = *S + s-t-ku-Vc + (—) N atr.* = 'the sun becomes sharp'.

And this is an example with the copula *ku-wa* in imperfect in the meaning 'to be': *a-li-ku-wa m-gonjwa* = *s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N atr.* = 'he was ill'.

3. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and Locative Predicate Nomen

Here a substantive with a locative suffix *-ni* functions as a predicate nomen; for example:

a-li-ku-wa ny-umba-ni = *s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N loc.* = 'he was at home'.

wa-toto wa-li-ku-wa shule-ni = *S + s-t-ku-Vc + (—) N loc.* = 'the children were at school'.

m-ganga a-ta-ku-wa m-ji-ni = *S + s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N loc.* = 'the physician will be in town'.

4. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and Pronominal Predicate Nomen

A pronominal predicate nomen is expressed by various types of pronouns, often possessive ones, e. g.:

ki-tabu ki-li-ku-wa ch-angu = *S + s-t-ku-Vc + (i. c.-) N pron.* = 'the book was mine'.

⁴ A. C. Madan, *Swah.-Engl. Dict.*, p. 425.

⁵ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

Another kind of pronoun can also occur, e. g.:

vi-ti hi-vi vi-li-ku-wa vi-ngine = *S* + *Dns pron.* + *s-t-ku-Vc* + (*i. c.*) *N pron.* = 'these chairs were others'.

5. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and Numeral Predicate Nomen

This predicate nomen is expressed by a numeral, e. g.:

hi-vi vi-li-ku-wa saba = *S* + *s-t-ku-Vc* + (—) *N Num.* = 'these were seven'.

6. Nominal Predicate with a Verbal Copula and Adverbial Predicate Nomen

Let us supply an example of a sentence with such a predicate nomen:

wa-li-ku-wa ha-pa = *s-t-ku-Vc* + *N adv.* = 'they were here'.

B. NOMINAL PREDICATE WITH THE COPULA *ni*

Another type of a nominal predicate is presented by a predicate with an invariable copula *ni* = 'is', 'are', referring to present tense. This type is in Swahili much more common and more frequently represented in sentences with a nominal predicate. It is differentiated in a similar way as sentences with the verbal copula *ku-wa*; dissimilarities resulting only from the verbal character of *ku-wa*. The *ni* particle is designated in the pattern by the symbol *Vd*, as a certain kind of a defective verb. One should also mention the negation which appears in the form of a separate negative particle *si* = 'is not', 'there is not'. It is a negated equivalent of *ni*; its symbol is *Vd (neg.)*.

According to the adopted in this paper principle and general presentation of sentence patterns with a nominal predicate, without their detailed analysis, every copula is marked *C*; independent whether it is the verb *ku-wa*, the particle *ni* or the pronominal copula. The negative copula, however, is marked *C (neg.)*.

Examples with the copula *ni* and various predicate nomina are very frequent in Swahili, e. g.:

yeye ni mw-alimu ⁶ = *S* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*) *N aeq.* = 'he is a teacher'.

Ali ni m-tu mw-eusi = *S* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*) *N aeq.* + *Dns adj.* = 'Ali is a black man'.

⁶ H. Höftmann, *Suah-Deutsch. Wört.*, p. 412.

These were sentences with an equivalent predicate nomen. Sentences with an attributive predicate nomen run like this: *ny-umba ni tupu* ⁷ = *S* + *Vd* + (—) *N atr.* = 'the house is empty'. *m-pishi ni m-vivu* ⁸ = *S* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*) *N atr.* = 'the cook is lazy'.

A locative predicate nomen occurs also, e. g.:

yeye ni m-ji-ni = *S* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*) *N. loc.* = 'he is in town'.

A sentence with a pronominal predicate nomen:

wa-tumwa wa-le ni w-ako? ⁹ = *S* + *Dns pron.* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*)

N pron. = 'are those slaves yours?'

n-guo mbili hi-zi ni z-ako? ¹⁰ = *S* + *Dns num.* + *Dns pron.* + *Vd* + (*i. c.*) *N pron.* = 'are these two garments yours?'

A sentence with a numeral predicate nomen:

hi-vi sasa ni 7% ¹¹ = *S* + *A* + *Vd* + *N num.* = 'it is now 7%'.

A sentence with an adverbial predicate nomen:

ninyi ni pa-moja = *S* + *Vd* + *N adv.* = 'you are together'.

The negated copula *si* occurs in identical situations, e. g.: *ny-umba si n-zuri* ¹² = *S* + *Vd (neg.)* + (*i. c.*) *N atr.* = 'the house is not nice'.

sahani si safi ¹³ = *S* + *Vd (neg.)* + (—) *N atr.* = 'the plate is not clean'.

vy-ombo si vi-ngi ¹⁴ = *S* + *Vd (neg.)* + (*i. c.*) *N pron.* = 'there are not many ships'.

Ibrahimu si ha-pa = *S* + *Vd (neg.)* + *N adv.* = 'Ibrahim is not here'.

C. NOMINAL PREDICATE WITH A PRONOMINAL COPULA

Singular and plural personal pronouns of all three persons, which usually act as prefixed pronouns standing by a verb, are understood under the term 'pronominal copula'. In this particular

⁷ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁸ C. Velten, *Suaheli Grammatik*, p. 216.

⁹ C. Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁰ C. Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹¹ S. Brauner, J. K. Bantu, *Lehrbuch des Swahili*, p. 177.

¹² C. Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹³ C. Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁴ C. Velten, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

case, however, they occur independently and form as a matter of fact a conjugation of the auxiliary verb 'to be' in present tense. This way of expressing the copula is much less frequent than the above mentioned ones. This pronominal proclitic is identical in structure with pronominal prefixes used with the conjugation and marked in this text with symbol *s* (except for the third person singular which is *yu*). This copula designated by a symbol *c* occurs in similar situations as *ku-wa* and *ni: wewe u mw-alimu*¹⁵ = *S + c + (i. c.-) N aeq.* = 'you are a teacher'.

*sisi tu wa-gonjwa*¹⁶ = *S + c + (i. c.-) N atr.* = 'we are ill'.

D. NOMINAL PREDICATE BUILT WITHOUT ANY COPULATIVE ELEMENT

In such a nominal predicate, except for the context which enables us to get the meaning, no difference between a sentence with such a predicate and a nominal group is visible. There is no formal differentiation; the predicate nomen makes an impression of a qualifying member of the nominal group. Intonation, position of stress and the context itself are decisive. In spite of all these inconveniences, sentences built in such a way are very frequent in Swahili, e. g.: *mimi m-pishi* = *S + (i. c.-) N aeq.* = 'I am a cook'. *wewe m-kubwa* = *S + (i. c.-) N atr.* = 'you are big'. *asali hi-i y-ako*¹⁷ = *S + Dns pron. + (i. c.-) N pron.* = 'this honey is yours' (literally: 'this honey — yours').

*sisi ha-pa*¹⁸ = *S + N adv.* = 'we are here'.

*ny-ama hi-i n-gumu*¹⁹ = *S + Dns pron. + (i. c.-) N. atr.* = 'this meat is tough'.

III. NOMINAL GROUP

Nominal group which constitutes a componential part of a complex sentence can occur in it as: a compound subject, compound predicate nomen in a nominal predicate, compound object

¹⁵ H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

¹⁶ H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

¹⁷ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁸ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁹ H. Raddatz, *Die Suahili-Sprache*, p. 46.

standing by a verbal predicate and constituting a fragment of the verbal group and compound adverbial modifier which belongs to the verbal group as well.

In the system of syntax patterns the nominal group appears in form of enlarged variants of primary patterns of the subject group and the group of predicate both verbal and nominal.

The qualified member marked by symbol *Dtm* and the qualifying member marked *Dns* are essential for the nominal group.

In Swahili the nomen constitutes the qualified member. It functions as a subject (*S*), predicate nomen (*N*), object (*O*), and adverbial modifier (*A*). This qualified member is at the same time a constitutive member, i. e. it gets into direct syntax combinations with units of higher order, it represents the group externally and cannot be removed from it²⁰. It also is a member connotated by the qualifying member — thus it is independent. It is a rule in Swahili for *Dtm* to be placed in the first place.

The qualifying member marked *Dns*, is a non-constitutive member connoting the qualified member. Six types of qualifying members have been distinguished in the nominal group in Swahili: adjectival (*Dns adj.*), pronominal (*Dns pron.*), of quantity (*Dns num.*), genitival (*Dns gen.*), attributive with element *-enye* (*Dns atr.*), prepositional (*Dns praep.*) Moreover, a substantival qualifying member (*Dns subst.*) expressed by a substantive forming an asyndeton with the qualified member is occasionally found. Qualifying members which could be included into this group are, however, considered to be without greater importance, because they are sporadic and discussible.

The basic pattern of the nominal group is as follows: *Dtm + Dns*. A detailed analysis of these parts of sentences, which can occur as a qualified member (i. e. subject, predicate nomen, object, adverbial modifier) is an object of another discussion. Greater attention will be paid here to the *Dns*, i. e. the qualifying member and to the possibilities of its usage in a Swahili sentence. As it has been mentioned previously this very member constitutes an extension of primary patterns of the subject and predicate groups.

²⁰ T. Milewski, *Językoznawstwo*, p. 102.

A. DIVISION OF QUALIFYING MEMBERS

1. Adjectival Qualifying Member (symbol *Dns adj.*) is one of the most commonly encountered ones in Swahili. The nominal group, composed of a qualified and qualifying member of this type is based upon congruency being here a rule, e.g.: *m-ti m-refu* = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'a high tree'.

wa-toto wa-dogo = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'small children'.

ki-kombe ki-zuri = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'a nice cup'.

In the subject group of a complex sentence the adjectival qualifying member is very often found, e.g.:

m-ti m-refu u-me-anguka = $(i. c.-) S + (i. c.-) Dns adj. + P$ = 'a high tree has fallen'.

wa-toto wa-dogo wa-na-lala = $(i. c.-) S + (i. c.-) Dns adj. + P$ = 'small children sleep'.

In the above given examples the subject appears in the form of a qualified member and the qualifying member plays the part of a pattern extension.

In the predicate group of a complex sentence an adjectival qualifying member referring to the predicate nomen of the nominal predicate can be found; in case of a verbal predicate it stands by the object and adverbial modifier.

And here are examples illustrating usage of an adjectival qualifying member enlarging the predicate nomen:

Ibrahimu ni m-toto m-zuri = $S + C + (i. c.-) N + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'Ibrahim is a nice child'.

wewe u m-tu m-baya = $S + C + (i. c.-) N + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'you are a bad man'.

An adjectival qualifying member — as an enlargement of the sentence pattern placed by the object looks as follows:

ni-na-jua m-tu m-vivu = $P + (i. c.-) O + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'I know a lazy man'.

bwana a-me-lipa m-shahara m-kubwa = $S + P + (i. c.-) O + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'the master paid a high salary'.

The adjectival qualifying member can also refer to the adverbial modifier, e.g.:

a-me-kw-enda katika n-chi n-zuri = $P + (i. c.-) A + (i. c.-) Dns adj.$ = 'he left for a beautiful country'.

wa-ka-lia kwa furaha kubwa = $P + (—) A + (—) Dns adj.$ = 'they cried out of great joy'.

Not every type of adverbial modifiers can be determined by means of an adjectival qualifying member; and so for instance an adverbial modifier expressed by an adverb does not go into such a combination, e.g.:

tu-li-fika upesi = $P + A$ = 'we arrived quickly'.

2. A Pronominal Qualifying Member, marked by *Dns pron.*, forms together with the qualified member a nominal group built on the congruency principle as well. It manifests itself, however, in a slightly different way from the previously discussed type. The adjectival qualifying member adopted an identical class index (*i. c.-*) with that of the qualified member (e.g. *m-ti m-refu*, *ki-kombe ki-zuri* etc.). It was also possible that both members were characterized by a complete lack of *indicium*, e.g. *furaha kubwa*; a certain inconsequency could be the result of an exception only, e.g. *bwana m-kubwa*. The pronominal qualifying member, on the other hand, has as a rule only certain elements of the *indicium*, which change according to the nominal class. Such a transformed prefix constitutes the class index of a given pronoun, which is congruent with the prefix of the qualified member.

A possessive pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, a generalizing one, indefinite adjectival, reflexive and numeral pronoun can act as a pronominal qualifying member in the nominal group. Each of them forms a primary pattern with the qualified member. Some combinations of several of the mentioned pronouns can also occur. Thus, enlarged variants of the above mentioned type are obtained.

And here is a possessive pronoun as a *Dns pron.*:

m-toto w-angu = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns pron.$ = 'my child'.

mi-to y-ako = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns pron.$ = 'your rivers'.

Substantives of the 'loan words and animals' class are usually deprived of class prefixes singular as well as plural. In such a case the difference in pronominal prefixes is — besides the context, the only differentiation of number, e.g.:

kazi y-ake = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.- sing.*) *Dns pron.* = 'his work'.

kazi z-ake = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.- pl.*) *Dns pron.* = 'his works'.

There occurs the phenomenon of congruency, which is called here 'logical congruency'. In the given examples it consists in using a (determined by the rule) pronoun whose prefix refers to the class in question, though the substantive which belongs to it has no *indicium*. Thus, graphically this congruency is a unilateral one. An example of a graphically bilateral logical congruency was previously presented in the nominal group with an adjectival qualifying member in the case of (—) *furaha* (—) *kubwa*. Most frequently, however, a bilateral formal congruency is encountered. The above mentioned problems will be discussed at a larger scale in the work concerning congruency. In the nominal group with a pronominal qualifying member in which a possessive pronoun occurs, an obligatory word order of members is a rule.

Let us characterize possible functions of the discussed qualifying member in a simple Swahili sentence. The nominal group of this type acting as a compound subject is as follows:

m-ganga w-angu a-na-sema = (*i. c.-*) *S* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* + *P* = 'my physician says'.

As a compound predicate: a) a compound predicate nomen:

hi-ki ni ki-tabu ch-angu = *S* + *C* + (*i. c.-*) *N* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'it is my book'.

b) A compound object: *a-na-penda n-chi y-ake* = *P* + (*i. c.-*) *O* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'he loves his country'.

c) A compound adverbial modifier: *katika shamba l-etu wa-na-kaa wa-tu* = (—) *A* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* + *P* + *S* = 'in our plantation live people'.

The other group of pronouns in the role of *Dns pron.* comprises demonstrative pronouns which form two subgroups: pronouns which indicate closer objects and those referring to more distant ones. As a rule, they follow the qualified member. In certain cases, however, this word order may be changed. Patterns of both groups are built in the same way as in the case of pos-

sessive pronouns. There is a small difference in the situation of the *indicium* in relation to the demonstration element in case of demonstrative pronouns indicating closer objects. This element is prefixed and followed by pronominal class indexes, reverse to what was the case with the previously discussed possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns as referring to more distant objects. This small difference is most evident in patterns:

wa-tu ha-wa = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) = 'these people' (just these, these here).

ki-tu hi-ki = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) = 'this thing'.

The above examples illustrate pronouns indicating closer objects. Demonstrative pronouns indicating more distant objects, on the other hand, are suffixing the demonstration element, e.g.:

wa-tu wa-le = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'those people'.

shingo li-le = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'that neck'.

In a simple sentence demonstrative pronouns can be expressed in the following way:

As a qualifying member referring to the subject, e.g.:

wa-tu ha-wa wa-li-soma = (*i. c.-*) *S* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) + *P* = 'these people read'.

wa-tu wa-le wa-li-lala = (*i. c.-*) *S* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* + *P* = 'those people slept'.

As a qualifying member referring to the predicate: a) in a nominal predicate — in enlarged pattern of the predicate nomen:

wao ni wa-tu ha-wa = *S* + *C* + (*i. c.-*) *N* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) = 'they are these people'.

wewe ni m-tumwa yu-le = *S* + *C* + (*i. c.-*) *N* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'you are that slave'.

b) In a verbal predicate — in an enlarged pattern of the object: *a-ta-m-pata n-guo hi-i* = *P* + (*i. c.-*) *O* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) = 'he will get this suit'.

tu-me-leta funguo zi-le = *P* + (—) *O* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns pron.* = 'we have brought those keys'.

c) In a verbal predicate — in an enlarged pattern of the adverbial modifier: *a-ka-fika siku hi-i* = *P* + (—) *A* + *Dns pron.* (*i. c.-*) = 'thus he came on this day'.

m-li-soma barua mw-aka u-le = $P + O + \underline{(i. c.) A} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'you read the letter that year'.

Generalizing pronouns such ones as: *-ote*²¹ = 'all', 'the whole', *kila* = 'every', can also appear in Swahili in the function of a pronominal qualifying member. Each of them, however, behaves in a slightly different way. And so the generalizing pronoun *-ote* = 'all', 'the whole', prefixes the pronominal class indexes but it itself, however, stands in the nominal group in the second position, e.g.:

wa-tu w-ote = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'all people'.

vi-tu vy-ote = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'all things'.

ny-umba z-ote = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'all houses'.

The generalizing pronoun *kila* (resp. *killa*) = 'every', 'everybody', which is a loan word from the Arabic language, does not take any affixes and preceeds the qualified member obligatory. Such a word order is not typical of Swahili. And these are the respective examples:

kila m-tu = Dns pron. + $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm}$ = 'every man'.

kila askari = Dns pron. + $\underline{(-) Dtm}$ = 'every soldier'.

These pronouns can also be used in a simple sentence, e.g.:

As a compound subject: *wa-tu w-ote wa-na-simama* = $\underline{(i. c.) S} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. + P = 'all the people stand'.

kila m-tu a-na-simama = Dns pron. + $\underline{(i. c.) S} + P$ = 'every man stands'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a compound predicate nomen: *hi-vi ni vi-tabu vy-ote* = $S + C + \underline{(i. c.) N} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'these are all books'.

hi-ki ni kila ki-tabu = $S + C + Dns$ pron. + $\underline{(i. c.) N}$ = 'this is every book'.

b) In a verbal predicate as a compound object: *ni-na-penda wa-tu w-ote* = $P + \underline{(i. c.) O} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'I love all the people'.

ni-na-penda kila m-tu = $P + Dns$ pron. + $\underline{(i. c.) O}$ = 'I love every man'.

²¹ H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 236; A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

c) In a verbal predicate as a compound adverbial modifier: *a-me-lia mi-aka y-ote* = $P + \underline{(i. c.) A} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'he cried through all years'.

hu-fika kila siku = $P + Dns$ pron. + $\underline{(-) A}$ = 'he came every day'.

Adjectival indefinite pronoun: *-ingine* (resp. *-ngine*)²² = 'another', obeys the rules of class congruency in the nominal group and the regular order, e.g.:

m-tu mw-ingine = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'another man'.

vi-ti vi-ngine = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'other chairs'.

In Swahili sentences this pronoun works as follows:

As a compound subject: *m-tu mw-ingine ni ha-pa* = $\underline{(i. c.) S} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. + $C + N$ = 'another man is here'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a compound predicate nomen: *hi-vi ni vi-ti vi-ngine* = $S + C + \underline{(i. c.) N} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'these are other chairs'.

b) In a verbal predicate as a compound object: *m-me-kata m-ti mw-ingine* = $P + \underline{(i. c.) O} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'you cut another tree'.

c) In a verbal predicate as a compound adverbial modifier: *a-na-kaa katika ny-umba ny-ingine* = $P + \underline{(i. c.) A} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'he lives in another house'.

Reflexive pronoun: *-enyewe*²³ = 'self', 'self personally', acts also as a *Dns* pron. It obeys the rules of congruency and the generally accepted order, e.g.:

m-tu mw-enyewe = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'the man himself'.

vi-tu vy-enyewe = $\underline{(i. c.) Dtm} + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. = 'things themselves'.

A reflexive pronoun like other previously discussed ones can be also found in a compound subject and predicate of a simple sentence, e.g.:

In a compound subject: *mimi mw-enyewe ni-na-sema hi-ki* = $S + \underline{(i. c.) Dns}$ pron. + $P + O$ = 'I myself tell it'.

²² H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 80; A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

²³ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 61; H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a compound predicate nomen: *hi-ki ni ki-tu ch-enyewe* = $S + C + (i. c.) N + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'this is the thing itself' (the heart of the matter, the thing in itself).

b) In a verbal predicate as a compound object: *a-li-leta kasha l-enyewe* ²⁴ = $P + (—) O + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'he brought a true box (chest)' (a real box; this what he brought is simply a box).

c) In a verbal predicate as a compound adverbial modifier: *tu-me-mw-ona ny-oka karibu na mw-embe mw-enyewe* = $P + O + (i. c.) A + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'we saw a serpent near a genuine mango tree' (near the mango tree itself).

Numeral pronoun: *-ingi* (resp. *-ngi*) ²⁵ = 'many, much', in the nominal group as a pronominal qualifying member it obeys the same laws, e.g. *wa-zungu we-ngi* = $(i. c.) Dtm + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'many Europeans' (*we-ngi* was formed from *wa-ingi* on the grounds of contraction).

In a compound subject this pronoun looks as follows:

wa-tu we-ngi wa-na-kw-enda = $(i. c.) S + (i. c.) Dns\ pron. + P$ = 'many people are going'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a compound predicate nomen: *wa-hindi ni wa-tu we-ngi* = $S + C + (i. c.) N + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'Hindu are numerous people' ('there are many Hindu').

b) In a verbal predicate as a compound object:

ki-swahili hu-tu-let-e-a faida ny-ingi ²⁶ = $S + P + (—) O + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = '(usually, often) Swahili language brings us much profit'.

c) In a verbal predicate as a compound adverbial modifier: *wa-li-ngoja katika mi-ji mi-ngi* = $P + (i. c.) A + (i. c.) Dns\ pron.$ = 'they waited in numerous (many) towns'.

And this is what the nominal group with a pronominal qualify-

²⁴ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁵ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 107; H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁶ D. V. Perrott, *Teach Yourself Swahili*, p. 139.

ing member looks like from the view point of syntax patterns. There are very often enlarged variants of the above discussed primary patterns consisting of several pronominal qualifying members used concomitantly in one sentence. This, however, will be discussed in the next chapter concerning the order of qualifying members.

3. Nominal Group with a Quantitative Qualifying Member (symbol *Dns num.*). As it was the case with the two previously discussed members this one also obeys the rules of either formal or logical congruency. A cardinal numeral functions here as a qualifying member, standing in the second position. Native numerals possess the class prefixes, whereas the loan ones remain unprefixes. And so formal congruency occurs in following examples:

m-zungu m-moja = $(i. c.) Dtm + (i. c.) Dns\ num.$ = 'one European'.

mi-ti mi-wili = $(i. c.) Dtm + (i. c.) Dns\ num.$ = 'two trees'.

A bilateral logical congruency can be found, on the other hand, in some cases of this type of the nominal group, where the qualified member is constituted by a substantive of 'round and big things' class; the numeral agrees with it, e.g.:

shoka moja = $(—) Dtm + (—) Dns\ num.$ = 'one ax'.

A unilateral logical congruency can be caused in the described group by use of a loan numeral combined with a prefixed substantive, e.g.:

vi-kombe sita = $(i. c.) Dtm + (—) Dns\ num.$ = 'six cups'.

The quantitative qualifying member is used like the previously discussed ones in the subject and predicate, e.g.:

As a compound subject: *ma-hali pa-tatu ni pa-zuri* = $(i. c.) S + (i. c.) Dns\ num. + C + N$ = 'three places are nice'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as an enlargement of the predicate nomen: *juma ni siku saba* = $S + C + (—) N + (—) Dns\ num.$ = 'a week is seven days'.

ruhusa y-ake ni siku ishirini na nane ²⁷ = $S + Dns\ pron. + C +$

²⁷ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

(—) *N* + (—) *Dns num.* = 'his leave (days of absence) equals 28 days'.

b) In a verbal predicate as an enlargement of the object:
*ni-na n-g'ombe kumi na m-moja...*²⁸ = *P* + (*i. c.*) *O* + (—) *Dns num.* = 'I have 11 cows'.

wa-me-haribu mi-ji saba = *P* + (*i. c.*) *O* + (—) *Dns num.* = 'they destroyed (pulled down) seven towns'.

c) In a verbal predicate as an enlargement of an adverbial modifier:

wa-tu wa-na-kaa katika ny-umba tisa = *S* + *P* + (*i. c.*) *A* + (—) *Dns num.* = 'people live in nine houses'.

4. Nominal Group with a Genitival Qualifying Member (its symbol is *Dns gen.*). It consists of two *nomina*, generally substantives (in rare cases a quite different part of speech occurs), joined with a particle, in previous papers called 'possessive particle' or 'particle of the genitive' (here its symbol is *Gen.*). The word order of this nominal group is obligatory. This structure can express belonging, state of ownership, characteristic, feature, attribute, sequence, order. The following word order is a rule in Swahili: the object of possession precedes the subject of possession. The genitival (possessive) particle is in agreement with the qualified member, thus with the object of possession which stands in the first place.

This type of nominal group is very common and largely used in Swahili. The genitival qualifying member performs semantically three main functions; with regard to these three functions a following division into three types has been introduced: a) *Dns gen. pos.* (*possessoris*) = possessive genitival qualifying member expresses ownership, belonging, state of possession; b) *Dns gen. qual.* (*qualitatis*) = qualitative genitival qualifying member denotes feature, quality; c) *Dns gen. ord.* (*ordinans*) = ordinating genitival qualifying member gives a sequence, order and acts simultaneously as an ordinal numeral.

All the above mentioned types will now be considered.

a) Possessive Genitival Qualifying Member: *Dns gen. pos.*

²⁸ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

The possessive structure, most characteristic of the genitival qualifying member, manifests itself most distinctly in this type, both in the literal and figurative meaning, e.g.:

*mi-guu y-a ki-boko*²⁹ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'legs of a hippopotamus'.

*ny-umba y-a Ali*³⁰ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + *Dns gen. pos.* = 'a house of Ali'.

*u-kuta w-a ny-umba*³¹ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'wall of a house'.

In the described construction not only a substantive but also a pronoun can be found after the possessive particle in the role of a qualifying member, e.g.:

*mali y-a mw-enyewe*³² = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'property of the owner' (i.e. of somebody else, of another one, neither mine nor yours).

A possessive genitival qualifying member is often translated figuratively, less literally, creating new meanings, sometimes new conceptions as a final result, e.g.:

*wa-tu w-a kazi*³³ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'working people' (people of work, people belonging to work) = 'workers', 'workmen'.

*wa-toto w-a shule*³⁴ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'children of school' (children belonging to school) = 'pupils'.

*m-lango w-a m-to*³⁵ = (*i. c.*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'doors of the river' = 'mouth of the river'.

b) Qualitative Genitival Qualifying Member: *Dns gen. qual.*

Owing to the content it expresses it is translated adjectively; it may also be that the whole construction contains the sense of

²⁹ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁰ V. Skalička, *O Tipologii*, p. 159.

³¹ E. N. Myačina, *Kratkiy Očerik Grammatiki*, p. 520.

³² A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³³ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *Elementary Kiswaheli Grammar*, p. 60.

³⁴ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁵ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

one new substantive of a slightly different meaning than individual elements in the whole structure, e.g.:

ma-ji y-a m-oto ³⁶ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns gen.*

qual. = 'hot water', 'warm water' (literally: 'water of fire').

ma-neno y-a furaha ³⁷ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen.*

qual. = 'joyful words' (literally: 'words of joy').

In the above given examples the qualitative qualifying member is translated adjectively; it occurs, however, that it is given a certain substantival shade, e.g.:

m-tu w-a haki ³⁸ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen.*

qual. = 'an honest man', 'honest' (in the meaning: someone honest);

lit.: 'a man of honesty'.

c) Ordinating Genitival Qualifying Member: *Dns gen. ord.*

It is the third possibility of using the structure in question and serves to form ordinal numerals before all, e.g.:

mw-ezi w-a saba ³⁹ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen.*

ord. = 'seventh month' (lit.: 'the month of seven').

m-zungu w-a kw-anza = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns*

gen. ord. = 'the first European'.

This member can also express a sequence or an order, e.g.:

m-tu w-a mw-isho ⁴⁰ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns*

gen. ord. = 'the last man' (literally: 'the man of the end').

A certain difference in structure and meaning is noticed if the nomen of the genitival qualifying member is provided with a prefix of infinitive or verbal substantive of VIII class: *ku-*. A preposition often constitutes the qualified member in the nominal group with such a qualifying member.

H. Jensen ⁴¹ who is greatly concerned with this subject mentions e.g. that: „Infinitive can also be made dependent on the nomen

³⁶ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 85; A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 204; C. Velten, *Tasch-Wört. d. Suaheli-Spr.*, p. 47.

³⁷ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

³⁸ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

³⁹ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁴⁰ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 89; A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁴¹ H. Jensen, *Syntax d. Suaheli*, p. 242—254.

by means of a conjunctive particle *-a* for instance as an attributive qualifying member of the substantive, e.g. ⁴²:

sababu y-a ku-fa = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns gen.* =

'the cause of death'.

kazi y-a ku-lima = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns gen.* =

'the work of ploughing'.

siku y-a ku-rudi = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns gen.* =

'the day of return'.

H. Jensen also mentions a reverse situation ⁴³: the infinitive which in Swahili does not formally differ from a verbal substantive can stand in the nominal group in the first position, playing the role of a qualified member, e.g. *ku-lewa kw-a m-pishi* ⁴⁴ = (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.-*) *Dns gen.* = 'the getting drunk of the cook'.

At the end one should give some attention to a very characteristic phenomenon of ellipsis in the nominal group. Ellipsis can be sometimes observed in commonly used expressions and idioms; it also can be sporadic. It seems that the abbreviated, on the way of ellipsis, genitival qualifying member is misinterpreted as a substantival one; this, however, will be mentioned at a later time.

Ellipsis in a genitival qualifying member consists in missing out the possessive particle which gives as a result the impression of an asyndeton of nominal structure. W. Planert ⁴⁵ regards also such abbreviated phrases as transformed genitival qualifying members; e.g.:

ma-ji baridi = 'cold water', what W. Planert deduces from: *ma-ji*

y-a baridi = (schematically): (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns*

gen. qual. = 'cold water', 'water of cold'.

m-guu shoto = 'left leg'; W. Planert ⁴⁶ deduces it from:

m-guu w-a shoto = (schematically): (*i. c.-*) *Dtm* + (*i. c.-*) *Gen.* + (—)

⁴² H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴³ H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁴⁴ H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁴⁵ W. Planert, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Suaheli*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Dns gen. qual. = 'left leg', 'leg of the left side' ('of the left').
mbwa w-a mw-itu ⁴⁷ = (—) *Dtm* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. qual.* = 'jackal', 'wild dog' (lit.: 'dog of the forest', 'forest dog'). This construction is often transformed on the way of ellipsis and forms an asyndeton: *mbwa mw-itu* ⁴⁸, of the same meaning.

A nominal group with a genitival qualifying member occurs in a simple Swahili sentence like the previously discussed groups, as an enlargement of the subject and predicate, e.g.:

As a compound subject:

ki-su ch-a m-pishi ki-me-vunj-ika = (*i. c.*) *S* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* + *P* = 'the knife of the cook has been broken'. In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a development of the predicate nomen: *u-so w-ake si w-a m-tu mw-eusi* ⁴⁹ = *S* + *Dns pron.* + *C (neg.)* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* + *Dns adj.* = 'his face is not of a black man' (his face is not the face of a black man).

The above given sentence is an example of still another type of the ellipsis of the genitival qualifying member: lack of the qualified member (it is constituted here by the predicate nomen *u-so* = 'face', which was omitted in this sentence. This word was not repeated after the negative copula *si* = 'is not', maybe out of stylistic reasons). Thus, the full sentence would be like this: *u-so w-ake si u-so w-a m-tu mw-eusi*. Nevertheless the genitival particle is just in agreement with this missed out word *u-so* (which belongs to the nominal class of 'abstracts'). The fact that this particle behaves as though it were preceded by a predicate nomen *u-so* is a supplementary support to the existence of an ellipsis.

salama ni habari y-a furaha = *S* + *C* + (—) *N* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (—)

Dns gen. qual. = 'peace is joyful news'.

b) In a verbal predicate as a development of the object:
m-ngoje a-na-chunga wa-tu w-a m-falme =

S + *P* + (*i. c.*) *O* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (*i. c.*) *Dns gen. pos.* = 'the

⁴⁷ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁴⁸ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 85; R. A. Snoxall, *Engl.-Swah. Dictionary*, p. 143.

⁴⁹ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

guard watches the people of the king' (the guard watches the people belonging to the king).

c) In a verbal predicate as a development of the adverbial modifier:

siku y-a pili a-ka-pata n-dege m-moja...⁵⁰ = (—) *A* + (*i. c.*) *Gen.* + (—) *Dns gen. ord.* + *P* + *O* + *Dns num.* = 'on the second day he got one bird...'

5. Nominal Group with an Attributive Qualifying Member

The attributive qualifying member with an element *-enye*, *-enyi*, is marked by *Dns atr.* It is a peculiar structure characteristic of Swahili; because of its specific character the element *-enye* was left unchanged in sentence patterns. This particle of an approximate meaning 'possessor', 'possessing', is according to H. Jensen ⁵¹ „an expression something between an adjective, pronoun and verb“.

The nominal group with this qualifying member is to a certain extent semantically connected with the nominal group with a genitival qualifying member: the attributive qualifying member has also a possessive character and can be translated by an adjective. It differs from the genitival one mainly by structural details.

The group in question consists as a rule of two substantives with *-enye* between them. The latter substantive determines the state, condition, feature of the first member; *-enye* adopts a nominal prefix of the qualified member with reference to class I and class II (in singular); the other remaining classes from the plural of the II class on, with which *-enye* occurs, require pronominal prefixes. It happens, however, that sometimes the first member is missing and *-enye* stands in the first place as if replacing the qualified member, in the sense: 'possessor', 'owner'. It is followed by a substantive. Such structures are considered to be elliptic. The *-enye* particle adopts the prefix of the I class ('human beings') and denotes an owner both in the literal possessive sense and figuratively, somebody possessing a certain feature, attribute or value.

⁵⁰ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵¹ H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

A selection of examples will illustrate best the specific and non-uniform qualities of this qualifying member:

m-tu mw-enye mali = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ =

'a man possessing a property (fortune)', 'a wealthy man'.

wa-zungu w-enye fedha = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'Europeans possessing money (silver)', 'Europeans — possessors of money (silver)'.

The described structure often expresses a feature, attribute, quality, e.g.: *ch-umba ch-enye giza* ⁵² = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'a dark room' (lit.: 'a room possessing darkness').

ny-uzi z-enye n-guvu = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) enye + (i. c.-) Dns atr.$ = 'strong threads' (lit.: 'threads possessing strength').

An attributive qualifying member can also be translated with one substantive or adjective which semantically is of a slightly different notion than the literal translation, e.g.:

m-tu mw-enye hekima ⁵³ = $(i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'a sage', 'a wise man' (lit.: 'a man possessing knowledge').

Finally there are examples of this elliptical structure without a qualified member:

mw-enyi u-zuri ⁵⁴ = $(i. c.-) enyi + (i. c.-) Dns atr.$ = 'pretty, beautiful' (literally: 'possessing beauty').

mw-enye mali ⁵⁵ = $(i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'rich man'.

mw-enye wa-tu we-ngi ⁵⁶ = $(i. c.-) enye + (i. c.-) Dns atr. + Dns pron.$ = 'populated'.

mw-enye akili ⁵⁷ = $(i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'wise'.

This qualifying member is also found in a simple Swahili sentence, in the subject and predicate, e.g.:

As a compound subject: *m-tu mw-enye askari a-ka-m-jibu* =

⁵² D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵³ R. A. Snoxall, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁵⁴ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁵ A. I. Kutuzov, *Suahili-russkiy i russko-suahili Slovar*, p. 32.

⁵⁶ H. Höftmann, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ R. A. Snoxall, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

$(i. c.-) S + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr. + P$ = 'a man possessing (who possesses) soldiers answered him'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a development of the predicate nomen: *yeye ni m-toto mw-enye hekima* = $S + C + (i. c.-) N + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'he is a wise child'.

b) In a verbal predicate as a development of the object: *ni-na-jua m-tu mw-enye akili* = $P + (i. c.-) O + (i. c.-) enye + (-) Dns atr.$ = 'I know a wise man'.

c) In a verbal predicate as a development of the adverbial modifier:

a-li-kaa katika ny-umba y-enye u-zuri = $P + (i. c.-) A + (i. c.-) enye + (i. c.-) Dns atr.$ = 'he lived in a beautiful house'.

6. Nominal Group with a Prepositional Qualifying Member

The prepositional qualifying member is marked *Dns praep.* and is expressed by a substantive with a preposition, e.g.:

siku pasipo jua = $(-) Dtm + (-) Dns praep.$ = 'a day without sun'.

ki-fiko toka Mombasa = $(i. c.-) Dtm + Dns praep.$ = 'arrival from Mombasa'.

In a simple sentence this group may occur in situations analogous to the previously discussed nominal groups, e.g.:

As a compound subject: *siku pasipo jua ni huzuni* = $(-) S + (-) Dns praep. + C + N$ = 'a day without sun is sad'.

In a predicate: a) in a nominal predicate as a development of the predicate nomen: *mw-aka hu-u ni mw-aka pasipo jua* = $S + Dns pron. + C + (i. c.-) N + (-) Dns praep.$ = 'this year is a year without sun'.

b) In a verbal predicate as a development of the object: *Ali a-na-fahamu ki-fiko toka Mombasa* = $S + P + (i. c.-) O + Dns praep.$ = 'Ali remembers the arrival from Mombasa'.

c) In a verbal predicate as a development of the adverbial modifier:

a-me-ku-ja siku pasipo jua = $P + (-) A + (-) Dns praep.$ = 'he came on a day without sun'.

7. Nominal Group with a Substantival Qualifying Member

On the grounds of investigations on Swahili texts it seems that a substantival qualifying member (marked *Dns subst.*) is a very rare phenomenon in this language. Its existence has been treated in the present paper as discussible and marginal only in order to discuss situations in which it apparently occurs. This question, however, cannot be neglected just because of it being discussible and mentioned in the majority of scientific papers concerning Swahili. The nominal group with this substantival qualifying member is an asyndeton with the substantive being the qualifying member placed after the qualified one.

Though apparently commonly found it is in most cases, however, an elliptically abbreviated nominal group with a genitival qualifying member, which has already been discussed, e.g.:

mama ma-kinda = (—) *Dtm* + (i. c.-) *Dns gen.* = 'mother of the nestlings'.

It seems, however, that the true substantival qualifying member is sometimes used for determining the title, position, office, surname, a name added to a proper name, e. g. ruler, principal (to express esteem), etc. For example: *bibi m-zungu* = (—) *Dtm* + (i. c.-) *Dns subst.* = 'European lady' (in this case a remark on sex may also be made).

This example runs in the text as follows:

bibi m-zungu a-na-taka yaya m-moja ⁵⁸ = (—) *S* + (i. c.-) *Dns subst.* + *P* + *O* + *Dns num.* = 'a European lady (European woman) wants one nurse (to get)'.

The mentioned title, office, position is very often preceeded by the word *bwana* = 'mister' or *bwana m-kubwa* = 'great mister', e. g.: *bwana shauri* = 'governor', *bwana m-ganga* = 'doctor', 'physician' (literally: 'mister doctor'), etc.

Following sentence examples are found in the text:

bwana shauri a-na ma-boy wa-tatu ⁵⁹ = (—) *S* + (—) *Dns subst.* + *P* + *O* + *Dns num.* = 'governor (mister governor) has three servants'.

⁵⁸ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵⁹ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

bwana m-ganga w-etu ni m-tu m-zuri sana ⁶⁰ = (—) *S* + (i. c.-) *Dns subst.* + *Dns pron.* + *C* + *N* + *Dns adj.* + *A* = 'our mister doctor is a very good man'.

A similar asyndetic structure, which consists of two substantives, occurring in situations of this kind is relatively frequent in Swahili. Still, only a marginal role, at the best, can be ascribed to it. They only seem to be expressions supplementing (completing) the basic substantive indicating a title, office, proper noun but not determining it. They may be compared to double proper nouns. The apparent substantival qualifying members, on the other hand, which really determine, prove to be at closer investigation elliptic genitival qualifying members as e. g.:

m-shona vi-atu = 'shoemaker' (literally: 'a tailor of shoes'), or: *m-shona n-guo* = 'tailor' (literally: 'a tailor of clothes').

There exists still a nominal group of a specific, individual structure. In this group the qualifying member is a genitival one, at least from the semantic view point. Its structure is different: the order of members is inverse, there is no possessive particle, there appears, however, an obligatory possessive pronoun, standing in congruency with the qualified member, which occurs here in the second position. Finally a following structure is obtained:

m-pishi kazi y-ake ⁶¹ = (i. c.-) *Dns gen.* + (—) *Dtm* + (i. c.-) *Dns pron.* = 'work of a cook' (literally: 'the cook, his work').

The proper pattern of the nominal group with a genitival qualifying member can be, thus, obtained after transformation:

kazi y-a m-pishi = (—) *Dtm* + (i. c.-) *Gen.* + (i. c.-) *Dns gen.* = 'work of a cook'.

Such a nominal group of an untypical structure is relatively common, e. g.: *boy w-a m-zungu kazi y-ake* ⁶² = 'work of a servant of a European' (literally: 'servant of a European, his work').

The occurrence of the object of possession in the first position preceeding the possessor in the possessive structure is very characteristic of *Swahili*. A. Werner ⁶³ mentions it as one of the

⁶⁰ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶¹ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶² A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶³ A. Werner, *Struct. a. Relat. of Afr. Lang.*, p. 17; and p. 39—48.

features distinguishing the structure of *Swahili* language and all other languages of the *Bantu* from the structure of other great language families of Africa. In the recently given examples of the transformed nominal group, however, a phenomenon of inversivity has been observed; the meaning remaining unchanged.

Thus, a suggestion arises that this may be an intermediate structure, maybe a relict of an older structure in which the possessor, as it is the case here, stood in the first position.

Note. Examples of a nominal group of such a structure are also found in other languages, e. g. in the North American *Ojibway* language from the *Algonkin* family: *māpa enimi u-wītekēmākenan* = 'this man his wife', i. e. 'the wife of this man', comp. *māpa* = 'this', *enimi* = 'man', *u-* = 'his', *wītekēmākenan* = 'wife'.

This is mentioned by T. Milewski⁶⁴. Such a type of a nominal group exists also in the Arabic language, e. g.: *هَذَا الْمَكَانُ صَاحِبُهُ* (*fa hadā 'l-makānu ṣāhibuhu*) = 'and this place its owner', i. e. 'the owner of this place', comp. *fa* = 'and', *hadā* = 'this', *'l-makānu* = 'place', *ṣāhibu* = 'owner', *hu* = 'its'⁶⁵.

And such is the structure and range of usage of the nominal group which plays an outspoken role in *Swahili*, both with regard to the dominating part of the congruency and its presence in individual members of a complex sentence.

B. WORD ORDER OF QUALIFYING MEMBERS

Considering the sequence of qualifying members in *Swahili* we can notice that the obligatory word order is not always found where it could be expected.

And so e. g. despite the generally adopted principle: qualified member + qualifying member, in the nominal group in *Swahili*, an inversed form is often found in practice. The inversion may before all affect the position of the pronominal qualifying member with demonstrative pronoun, which stands in the first position, before the qualified member in case the speaker wants to emphasize this pronoun, e. g.:

⁶⁴ T. Milewski, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁶⁵ *Les Voyages de Sindebad le Marin*, p. 5.

*yu-le kunguru*⁶⁶ = (i. e.) *Dns pron.* + (—) *Dtm* = 'that crow' ('just that crow').

The demonstrative pronoun is relatively frequent in this inversed order in folks tales, fairy tales, quick reports, stories, etc.

A certain curiosity and exception at the same time is observed in the obligatory word order: *Dns* + *Dtm* by the qualifying member with a generalizing pronoun: *kila* = 'every'.

An adjectival qualifying member or a quantitative one, stands in the first position exceptionally and even then it seems to be in a substantival meaning, e. g.:

m-dogo w-etu ni m-toto w-a shule = 'our small one is a pupil', in the meaning: 'our younger brother is a pupil'.

A definitely obligatory word order, congruent with the prevailing principle: *Dtm* + *Dns*, can be observed in the nominal group with a pronominal qualifying member with a possessive pronoun; in the group with a genitival qualifying member, in which the object of possession precedes the subject of possession; in the group with an attributive qualifying member with element *-enye*, and in the group with a prepositional qualifying member.

In a developed simple sentence (i. e. complex sentence) with several various qualifying members or with two or more qualifying members of the same type principles concerning these of the I, II, III degree are valid in their arrangement. Among others the phenomenon of a „qualifying member of a qualifying member“ is here observed.

The basic sequence of qualifying members is as follows: the qualified member is immediately followed by a pronominal qualifying member (demonstrative or possessive pronoun) which in turn is followed by an adjectival one. As regards this sequence, however, opinions are not unanimous. This view point is represented by I. P. Yakovleva; W. Planert, on the other hand, maintains that the regular position of an adjectival qualifying member is after the qualified member. The next to come is the quantitative qualifying member, though it also can be placed immediately after the qualified member. These qualifying members are followed by genitival one.

⁶⁶ R. Ohly, *Język suahili*, p. 3.

Note. The position of a genitival qualifying member is relatively most constant, but this word order, too, undergoes some changes under some circumstances. This question will be, however, discussed further on. Some examples serve to illustrate the observed regularities. Sequence: demonstrative pronoun referring to distant things — immediately after the qualified member and followed by an adjectival qualifying member is demonstrated in the following sentence:

sultani yu-le m-zee a-na mali ⁶⁷ = *S* + *Dns pron.* + *Dns adj.* + *P* + *O* = 'that old sultan has a fortune' (literally: 'sultan that old has a fortune').

The possessive pronoun after the qualified member followed by the adjectival qualifying member:

farasi z-ao wa-zuri ⁶⁸ = *Dtm* + *Dns pron.* + *Dns adj.* = 'their good horses' (literally: 'horses their good').

In case when a pronominal qualifying member with a possessive pronoun is one of the two qualifying members and a quantitative qualifying member is the other one, priority is given rather to the pronominal one, e. g.: *rafiki z-angu wa-wili* ⁶⁹ = *Dtm* + *Dns pron.* + *Dns num.* = 'my two friends' (literally: 'friends my two'). With regard to adjectival and quantitative qualifying members, on the other hand, the first place will be taken by the adjectival one, e. g.:

tembo m-kubwa m-moja ⁷⁰ = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* + *Dns num.* = 'one big elephant' (literally: 'elephant big one').

What regards an adjectival qualifying member and a pronominal one with a generalizing, indefinite or numeral pronoun, priority will be given to the adjective, e. g.:

wa-tu w-eusi w-ote ⁷¹ = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* + *Dns pron.* = 'all black people' (literally: 'people black all').

wa-tu w-eusi we-ngine ⁷² = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* + *Dns pron.* = 'other black people' (literally: 'people black other').

⁶⁷ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁶⁸ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁶⁹ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁷⁰ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁷¹ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁷² A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

wa-tu wa-geni we-ngi ⁷³ = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* + *Dns pron.* = 'many strange people' (literally: 'people strange many').

The observed regularity may be put in the following way: not all types of pronouns stand in the same position in the order of qualifying members, specially what concerns the adjectival one; and so possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns usually follow the qualified member immediately, whereas indefinite pronouns, generalizing and numeral ones may occur after an adjectival qualifying member (or after a pronominal one with a possessive or demonstrative pronoun).

As regards the quantitative qualifying member I. P. Yakovleva ⁷⁴ among others says: „The qualifying member — numeral is usually placed nearer to the qualified word than the qualifying member — adjective or substantive with an attributive copulative element“:

m-zinga m-moja w-a asali ⁷⁵ = *Dtm* + *Dns num.* + *Dns gen.* = 'one bee-hive of honey' (literally: 'bee-hive one of honey').

And further: „The normal order of the qualifying members can easily be changed“: *mi-stari y-a fito mi-refu mi-wili* ⁷⁶ = *Dtm* + *Dns gen.* + *Dns adj.* + *Dns num.* = 'two long porches of planks' (literally: 'porches of planks long, two').

Greatest changes in the order of qualifying members are introduced by the „qualifying member of the qualifying member“. These changes refer, first of all, to the position of the genitival qualifying member. In their normal order the genitival one occurs, as it has already been mentioned, in the final position. A change in the normal order, however, is observed when the genitival qualifying member itself is qualified by a qualifying member of another type.

Three situations can be distinguished:

1) The genitival qualifying member occurs in the order of these members in the final position in cases when it itself is not qualified, e. g.:

⁷³ A. Reichart, M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁷⁴ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁷⁵ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁷⁶ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

I I I I I

kando moja n-zuri y-a m-to = *Dtm* + *Dns num.* + *Dns adj.* +
I

Dns gen. = 'a certain (one) beautiful bank of the river' (literally: 'bank one, beautiful, of the river').

In this example the word *kando* = 'bank' only is qualified (in three ways). Therefore the position of the genitival qualifying member was not changed. The occurring here qualifying members have been marked with Roman figures I as qualifying members of the I degree.

2) The genitival qualifying member occurs in the order of qualifying members in the first place in cases when it is the only one qualifying directly the qualified member, and all the other ones are qualifying members of the first one (i. e. of the genitival one), e. g.:

I II II I II

kando y-a m-to m-moja m-zuri = *Dtm* + *Dns gen.* + *Dns num.* +
II

Dns adj. = 'the bank of a certain (of one) beautiful river' (literally: 'the bank of the river, of one, of beautiful').

Both the quantitative qualifying member *m-moja*, and the adjectival one *m-zuri* have been determined as qualifying members of the II degree because they qualify the genitival qualifying member: *y-a m-to*.

3) The genitival qualifying member occurs in the order of qualifying members in the middle position in cases when it is the last one qualifying directly the qualified member and it itself is qualified at the same time; this is a combination of the two former variants, e. g.:

I I II II I

kando n-zuri y-a m-to m-moja m-kubwa = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* +
I II II

Dns gen. + *Dns num.* + *Dns adj.* = 'beautiful bank of a certain (one) great river' (literally: 'bank beautiful of the river, of one, of great').

The qualified member: *kando* has two qualifying members (degree I): a) adjectival: *n-zuri* and b) genitival: *y-a m-to*; in turn the

genitival one has also two qualifying members (i. e. degree II): a) quantitative: *m-moja* and b) adjectival: *m-kubwa*.

It results from the above outline that the order of qualifying members in the Swahili language is subject to certain rules and regularities which are generally observed, but deviations from these rules and regularities, conditioned by various circumstances, are not exceptional; they should not be regarded in every instance as a result of a faulty and careless colloquial pronunciation, though this also may sometimes be the case.