

šelāmîm, emprunté par les Israélites aux Cananéens²⁵, après leur entrée dans la terre de Canaan, se fondirent en un seul nom, indiquant, à cause du repas qui les accompagnait, la communion des convives entre eux, et avec l'autel, c'est-à-dire avec la divinité. C'est à ce sacrifice que songeait Paul de Tarse, quand il écrivait aux Corinthiens: „Ceux qui mangent les victimes ne sont-ils pas en communion avec l'autel?“ (1 Cor 10, 18).

²⁵ R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, Paris 1941, 326 ss.; D. M. Urie, *Affinities between Israel and Ras Shamra Ugaritic Texts*, „Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft“ 62 (1950), 207—220; A. De Guglielmo, *Sacrifice in the Ugaritic Texts*, „Catholic Biblical Quarterly“ 17 (1955), 196—216; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, dans *Supplement to the VT* 5 (1957), 140—152.

ALICJA MAŁECKA

ELLIPSIS IN THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE

Ellipsis occurs quite frequently in Swahili, especially in certain specified grammatical categories, phrase-groups and expressions. In considering this phenomenon we must however bear in mind, that sometimes in a given sentence what may appear to be an ellipsis is often the result of lax colloquial pronunciation, an incorrect recording, a chance mistake, dialect form or perhaps the transformation process of a particular grammatical category. Nevertheless such cases arise only rarely — generally it is easily possible to recognize an elliptical form from another, and what is more, we may even discover an ellipsis where one was not previously noticed.

By comparing the results of previous observations, it may be ascertained that in Swahili, within the nominal group, we most frequently encounter ellipsis in the possessive construction (this mostly concerns the possessive particle, though sometimes the first element of the construction too); also, we find it in the attributive construction, which has much in common with the former; ellipsis takes place here in a similar way. On examining examples of ellipsis in the possessive construction, it may be noticed that we are dealing precisely with this phenomenon and not, as was formerly supposed, with a nominal group containing a substantival qualifying member. In fact this is one of the most recent findings. In the nominal predicate ellipsis most frequently affects the copula. This kind of elliptical sentence containing a nominal predicate gives the impression of being a nominal group. Moreover, in the nominal predicate the

predicate nomen is sometimes omitted, perhaps for stylistic reasons, in order not to repeat it for a second time in a longer sentence. In this case we can occasionally observe a convergence with the ellipsis in a possessive construction affecting its first element, which is at the same time the predicate nomen in a nominal predicate.

As regards the verbal group in Swahili, it is the object — whether nominal or pronominal — which most frequently undergoes ellipsis, though most normal would seem to be the simultaneous existence of both object complements in one sentence. And finally we meet ellipsis in some set expressions and idioms. In such cases, as a result of frequent colloquial pronunciation, (whether in order to facilitate articulation, whether from haste or for any other everyday reasons), ellipsis has a chance of being preserved.

The simplest way of examining the occurrence of ellipsis is to convert sentences into syntactical patterns based on symbolic representation. Our conception of the ellipsis we then derive directly from the pattern, which suggests to us the particular element omitted in a given case. When omission becomes obligatory, a change takes place in the language at this point, and consequently the pattern also undergoes a change.

Now let us turn our attention to an example illustration and take a closer view of the situations in which ellipsis may arise.

Within the possessive construction omission of the possessive particle in a genitive phrase gives the impression of an asyndeton of nominal construction. It would appear that the genitival expression, often abbreviated by means of ellipsis, is mistakenly held to be a nominal group with a substantival qualifying member. This is by no means an isolated view. For example: the full pattern of the possessive construction looks as follows: *Dtm + gen. + Dns gen.* (*Dtm* = *Determinatum*, signifying the qualified member; *gen.* = *genetivus*, is in actual fact the possessive, or genitive particle appearing here facultatively; *Dns gen.* = genitival qualifying member; *Dns* = *Determinans*), e.g.: *ma-ji y-a baridi* = 'water of the cold'. And here is the shortened, elliptical pattern: *Dtm + Dns gen.*, e.g.: *ma-ji baridi* = 'cold water', 'water

of the cold' (in this case without the particle *y-a* = *gen.*). W. Planert¹ also considers such shortened phrases as transformed genitival expressions; he derives the same example: *ma-ji baridi* from *ma-ji y-a baridi*. In another expression we may schematically represent this change as follows: *mbwa w-a mw-itu*² = *Dtm + gen. + Dns gen.* = 'jackal', 'wild dog' (literally: 'dog of the forest', 'forest dog'). This construction also often undergoes ellipsis, forming the asyndeton: *mbwa mw-itu*³ = *Dtm + Dns gen.*, of the same meaning. A similar thing also happens with the two following nouns in juxtaposition: *mama ma-kinda* = *Dtm + Dns gen.* = 'mother of the nestlings'. This kind of the nominal group ostensibly appears to be a qualified member together with a substantival qualifying member. But probably even here the possessive particle has undergone ellipsis. Hence the conclusion that a true substantival qualifying member (*Dns subst.* — *Subst.* = *substantivum*) occurs in Swahili extremely rarely. When it does, it concerns title, rank, office, cognomen, or name added to the personal name of a ruler or superior, in order to express respect etc., for example: *bibi m-zungu* = *Dtm + Dns subst.* = 'lady European', *bwana m-ganga* = *Dtm + Dns subst.* = 'doctor', 'physician' (literally: 'the gentleman doctor').

As can be seen from the examples above, we cannot always isolate cases of ellipsis and ascribe them to a concrete grammatical category. A theoretical division was given at the beginning; nevertheless on closer examination we notice that the particular types of ellipsis overlap one another, as for example the ellipsis in the possessive construction which coincides with a substantival qualifying member. The same is true of another kind of ellipsis in the possessive construction and of that in the nominal predicate. Sometimes it may happen that the first element of the possessive construction undergoes ellipsis (often for stylistic reasons) and is at the same time the predicate nomen in a nominal predicate,

¹ Planert W., *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Suaheli*, Glückstadt 1907, p. 45.

² A. C. Madan, *Swahili-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 218.

³ D. V. Perrott, *Teach Yourself Swahili*, London 1964, p. 85; R. A. Snoxall, *A Concise English-Swahili Dictionary*, London 1958, p. 143.

e.g.: *u-so w-ake si w-a m-tu mw-eusi*⁴ = *S* + *Dns pron.* + *c(neg.)* + *gen.* + *Dns gen.* + *Dns adj.* = 'his face is not (the face) of a black man'. *S* = *Subiectum* = nominal subject; *pron.* = *pronomen*; *c* = *copula*; *neg.* = *negativum* = negation; *gen.* = *genetivus* = genitive (possessive) particle; *adj.* = *adiectivum*; *Dns* = *Determinans*. Ellipsis here affects the expression *u-so* = 'face', which ought to be repeated after the negative copula *si*, giving the predicate nomen ('is not the face...') and at the same time, the first part of the possessive construction ('the face of the man').

Moreover, in a nominal predicate we often encounter ellipsis of the invariable copula *ni* = 'is', 'are'. Sentences of this type in which the copula *ni* is omitted are completely indistinguishable from nominal groups. The correct sense is obtained from the context, e.g.: *sahani safi* = 'clean plate' is exactly identical with a sentence containing a nominal predicate: *sahani (ni) safi* = 'the plate is clean', in which the copula *ni* is omitted. Schematically this sentence looks as follows: *S* + *c* + *N* (*N* = *Nomen* = predicate nomen); without the copula (*c*): *S* + *N* = *sahani safi*; and the same Swahili phrase expresses the nominal group: *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* = 'clean plate'. Here are another examples: *ny-umba ni tupu* = *S* + *c* + *N* = 'the house is empty'; with ellipsis: *ny-umba tupu* = *S* + *N* = 'the house is empty', or: *ny-umba tupu* = *Dtm* + *Dns adj.* = 'empty house'. *m-pishi ni m-vivu* = *S* + *c* + *N* = 'the cook is lazy'; *m-pishi m-vivu* = *S* + *N* = 'the cook is lazy' (elliptical sentence); *m-pishi m-vivu* = *Dtm* + *Dnd adj.* = 'lazy cook' (nominal group).

The attributive construction, named so in order to distinguish it from the possessive construction with which it shows certain affinities, is also an example of where ellipsis occurs. This is a very specific construction, characteristic of Swahili. Both of its nominal phrases are divided by the element *-enye* or *-enyi*, subject to congruency of noun types. This element, of which the approximate meaning is 'possessor', 'possessing', is, according to

⁴ A. Reichart and M. Küsters, *Elementary Kiswahili Grammar*, London—Heidelberg 1926, p. 225.

H. Jensen⁵, „an expression somewhere in between an adjective, pronoun and verb“. The order of the sentence members is obligatory (just as in the possessive construction).

Here is an example: *m-tu mw-enye mali* = *Dtm* + *enye* + *Dns atr.* = 'a man possessing wealth', 'a wealthy man', 'a rich man'. In the pattern the symbol *enye* or *enyi* marks the attributive particle standing by the attributive qualifying member, preserved in the schema; *Dns atr. (attributivum)* = attributive qualifying member.

Ellipsis, comparatively frequent here, concerns the first member of the phrase (that which is qualified); in this case *-enye* appears at the beginning, as if to replace the missing part, in the sense: 'possessor', 'owner'. For example: *mw-enye mali* = *enye* + *Dns atr.* = 'rich man'; *mw-enyi u-zuri* = *enyi* + *Dns atr.* = 'handsome', 'beautiful' (literally: 'possessing beauty', 'possessor of beauty'); *m-tu mw-enye hekima* = *Dtm* + *enye* + *Dns atr.* = 'a sage', 'a wise man' (literally: 'a man possessing knowledge'); the same example with ellipsis: *mw-enye hekima* = *enye* + *Dns atr.* = 'a sage', 'a wise man'.

As regards the verbal group, ellipsis often affects one of two objects. Basically, in a fully transitive Swahili sentence containing an object, we ought to find simultaneously both a nominal and pronominal complement. This has most probably been historically conditioned, and is also shown by the present situation in other Bantu languages, in which this sort of double object is the rule. In present-day Swahili we encounter it equally often, but frequently there is also an ellipsis of one of them. Here are some examples: *a-na-m-piga m-tu* = *s-t-o-V* + *O* = 'he is beating that man' (literally: 'he is beating him, the man'). The symbol *s* marks the pronominal subject (*subiectum*); *t* = tense index (*tempus*); *V* = verbal stem (*Verbum*); *o* = pronominal object (*obiectum*); *O* = nominal object (*Obiectum*). This sentence contains a double object. The elliptical transformations are: *a-na-piga m-tu* = *s-t-V* + *O* = 'he is beating the man'; *a-na-m-piga* =

⁵ H. Jensen, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Syntax des Swahili*, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Band XIII — 1922/23, p. 248.

$s-t-o-V$ = 'he is beating him'. $ni-me-mw-ona\ fisi = s-t-o-V + O =$ 'I saw (it) a hyena'; the same example with ellipsis: $ni-me-ona\ fisi = s-t-V + O =$ 'I saw a hyena'; or: $ni-me-mw-ona = s-t-o-V =$ 'I saw it'.

W. Planert gives an alternative explanation of the dual object: according to him it occurs when we are dealing with a definite person or thing.

By way of conclusion one should mention the sporadic cases of ellipsis occurring in idioms, set phrases, etc., for example: $kw-enda\ z-ao =$ 'to go off', 'to go one's way'. In this frequent saying the word $n-jia =$ 'way', is omitted; nevertheless the possessive pronouns used here in the various persons and numbers are still adapted to it, according to the rules of congruency.

To recapitulate: it is possible to say that grammatical ellipsis is comparatively frequent in Swahili; moreover, we can also find stylistic ellipsis, according to which for reasons of correct style one does not repeat the same word in a single sentence.

TOMASZ MARSZEWSKI

THE „CEDAR-LAND“ MOTIF IN THE SUMERIAN POEM ABOUT GILGAMESH. THE PROBLEM OF ITS ORIGIN

The problem of the localization of the „Cedar Land“, which motif is one of the fundamental items of the poem „Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living“, as entitled by Kramer¹, and has been alluded to in some other Sumerian texts², had given rise to a controversy which has even affected the dispute concerning the identification and location of *Dilmun* (*Tilmun*). According to the author's suggestion an ethnobotanical approach may provide a possibility of a solution, though in the present stage of research it must be considered as hypothetical, if not even only theoretical. In any case that solution should not be excluded, and, if correct, it could not only reconcile, under some provisions, the views concerning certain aspects of the „Dilmun problem“ but also add new elements to the discussion on the pre-Mesopotamian seats of the Proto-Sumerians.

Before entering into the matter it should be recalled that the Sumerian text of the above mentioned poem about Gilgamesh is reconstructed from the inscriptions to be found on the fourteen tablets or their fragments — the bulk of which has been excavated at Nippur — all dated for the first half of the IInd millennium B.C.³ The discussed poem describes the journey of Gilgamesh, a semi-

¹ *Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales* (translator: S. N. Kramer), *ANET*, pp. 47—49.

² See: *infra*.

³ *Sumerian Myths...*, Kramer's annotation, p. 48.