

the informants explained that the vigenticimal system is used while counting up to four hundred twenty, the others maintained this opinion as far as only three hundred or even two hundred eighty was concerned.

Last of all, let it be said that there exists a counting by the so-called toman, it being certain variety of the vigenticimal system. The point is that in the neighbourhood of Kandahar the noun score is substituted for toman, once denoting twenty rupees. Therefore, the number forty is equal to two toman — *dwa tumana*, sixty is equal to three toman — *dre tumana*, etc.

A member of the Sapi tribe inhabiting the village Ġaluxeyl applied the vigenticimal system as well as the word *šal* only while counting up to one hundred fifty nine. Since that number up he alternately applied toman. Therefore, one hundred eighty was denoted by nine scores or nine toman — *nəh šale* or *nəh tumana*.

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TWO REMARKS ON THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE

1) The Use of *-enye* in the Swahili Language

The particle *-enye* (alternative form: *-enyi*) is widely used in the Swahili language as a component of the nominal attributive construction with an adjectival meaning, often being the equivalent of a participle (expressed by *-enye*) or denoting an owner in the literal possessive sense as well as somebody possessing a certain feature, attribute or value. In the nominal group, of which *-enye* is a part, this particle is a member of the qualifier. It conforms to the principle of congruency in the structure of substantival classes of the Swahili language, thus adopting the class prefixes of the preceding noun (the qualified member), nominal — in relation to the first class, pronominal — beginning with the second class of nouns. It should be mentioned that as opposed to the partially related possessive construction with the particle *-a*, *-enye* may appear independently (in constructions which may be considered elliptical) in the role of a noun being the first member in the construction. Thus instead of a full construction composed of two nouns between which *-enye* appears with a prefix in concord with the first noun: *m-tu mw-enye mali* = 'a man possessing property' we get: *mw-enye mali* = 'possessing property' in the sense: '(a man) property owner'.

Many Africanists have discoursed on the subject of the particle *-enye*. Swahili Language Grammars discuss its usage though seldom devoting much attention to it, treating it rather unilaterally. H. Jensen¹ gives a slightly fuller account of the particle *-enye*

¹ H. Jensen, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Syntax des Swahili*, Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 13 (1922/23), p. 248.

defining it as follows: *-enye* is "an expression somewhat between an adjective, pronoun and verb". Yet even he fails to mention its frequent usage as a certain kind of participle; (a few authors of Swahili Language Grammars have drawn attention to this fact). Practically nowhere do we find a comprehensive discussion of the usage of *-enye* with locative prefixes characteristic and not infrequent in Swahili texts. Some grammars and dictionaries restrict themselves to giving only the meaning of these words without going deeper into the character of this type of compounds. I should like to devote a little more attention to them on the basis of the general usage of *-enye*.

The use of the word "compound" for the particle *-enye* with the locative prefix does not mean compound in the strict sense because the class prefix preceding any part of speech is temporarily connected with it (structurally as well as semantically) and is a natural phenomenon in the agglutinative Swahili language. But here we have to do with an attempt to look anew at the use of the particle *-enye* with prefixes of the locative class: *mu-*, *pa-*, *ku-* in the complex meaning, being, as it were, the sum of the locative meaning and that which is properly the common translation of *-enye*.

It may be assumed that we have to do here merely with the transformation of one part of speech into another, because *-enye* with locative prefixes does not convey its literary sense: 'owner', 'possessor', but means 'in', 'to', 'at', etc. (the precise defining of place depends, as usual, in this class on the type of locative prefix). This point of view is involuntarily suggested by those very few Swahili dictionaries which manage to give the above mentioned meaning of *-enye* at all.

Practically, however, the use of *-enye* with prefixes of the locative class, expressions such as *mw-enye*, *p-enye*, *kw-enye* (or the alternative forms: *mw-enyi*, *p-enyi*, *kw-enyi*) appears quite frequently in Swahili texts and often raises doubts in the reader accustomed in his perusal of dictionaries and grammars to the unilateral translation of this particle as 'possessor', 'owner'. Nevertheless we know that often in a figurative sense it also means 'the possessor of wisdom' = 'wise', 'clever man'; 'the possessor of strength' = 'strong', 'a strongman', etc. Another example may be

'the possessor of beauty' = 'beautiful', 'beautiful man', i.e. *m-tu mw-enye uzuri*. We have also the meaning: 'a valley possessing, containing, abounding in water' = 'a watered valley'; 'a country possessing inhabitants', 'inhabited land', i.e. *n-chi y-enye wa-tu*.

From the above or related examples we may clearly draw still another meaning of *-enye* as 'containing', 'encompassing', 'abounding', etc. Returning to the use of locative prefixes *mu-*, *pa-*, *ku-*, we notice that when joined to another part of speech they retain, as a rule, the joint meaning of the compound, e.g. *p-enyewe* = 'in itself', *p-engine* = 'elsewhere', *p-etu* = 'by us' ('at our place'), 'near us', *kw-enu* = 'to you', etc. (the meaning of both prefix and possessive pronoun is rendered). A similar case is the form *mw-enye*, *p-enye*, *kw-enye*, denoting in (by, to, from) the place encompassing, containing, abounding...

Here are examples of the use of *-enye* with locative prefixes: ...*a-ka-u-weka p-enye tundu*...² = 'and he put it into the nest...', 'and he put it by the nest...', 'and he put it by the place possessing, containing the nest...'

Wa-li-simama p-enye shina l-a m-buyu...³ = 'they stopped by the root of the baobab tree...', 'they stopped by the place possessing, containing the root of the baobab tree...'

...*na-zi-to-weka kw-enye ch-ombo ki-moja*...⁴ = 'I put them in to the one utensil', 'I put them into the place possessing, containing one utensil'.

2) Penetration of the Swahili *m- wa-* Noun Class into the *n-* and *ma-* Classes

Among Swahili nouns of the first substantival class (the class of human beings) a group of exceptions appears, i.e. with characteristic, untypical structure: without prefixes in singular and plural or with the prefix *ma-* (of the fifth class) in the plural

² David E. Diva, *Hadithi na vitendo, Kitabu cha kwanza, Kunguru hodari wawili*, London 1960.

³ David E. Diva, *Binti wa mfanyi biashara na hadithi nyingine*, London 1962, p. 5.

⁴ *Nchi yetu*, Tanzania, No. 130, Novemba 1974, *Nyumbani kwa mama*, p. 10.

only. In rare cases we also find the prefix *wa-* (of the first class) in the plural. Examples without prefixes show a structure of the third class, i.e. the class of foreign words; examples without prefix in the singular and with the prefix *ma-* in the plural give a construction of the fifth class (so-called *ma-* class), the class of big and round things. Swahili sentences with these nouns generally show congruency according to the rules of congruency for the first class nouns. We now see the separate character of this group of nouns although in most Swahili grammar books and dictionaries this separateness is not shown. Some grammars include it into the class of foreign words or class of big and round things (according to their structure) or in both together; or also in the first and third classes or in the first and fifth classes together. This is correct but not quite. Now we must show formal and semantic connections between these nouns (they are always names of persons) and their penetration into the *n-* and *ma-* Swahili substantival classes.

In the described group we may distinguish nouns in the sense of close relationship, for example: *babu* = 'a grandfather', plural: *ma-babu*⁵, *binti* = 'a daughter', plural: *ma-binti*⁶, *bibi* = 'a wife', plural: *ma-bibi*⁷. (We find also: *babu*, *binti*, *bibi* in the plural).

It seems that the motive of respect, esteem, sometimes fear decided the placing of these words in the fifth substantival class, because we may consider the meaning 'big things' also in a metaphoric sense. In foreign words of the same semantics the plural is the same as the singular; their structure in this case shows the structure of the third class. For example: *bin* = 'a son' (a loan from the Arabic language).

The second meaning of the above spoken words (besides the close relationship) are nouns meaning representatives of different professions, rather of a high social rank or people having high posts or a speciality. Often in this case the nomenclature is taken from the foreign language when the post or profession themselves

⁵ S. Brauner und J. K. Bantu, *Lehrbuch des Swahili*, Leipzig 1964, p. 198.

⁶ D. A. Olderogge, *Suahili-Russkij Slovar (Kamusi ya kiswahili-kirusi)*, Moskva 1961, p. 39.

⁷ D. A. Olderogge, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

are taken from a foreign country of higher culture. The construction of these words is the same as with the words of close relationship. Semantically also the motive of respect or fear occurs. For example: *sultani* = 'a sultan', plural: *ma-sultani* (from the Arabic language), *jumbe* = 'a chief of a tribe', 'a king', plural: *ma-jumbe*, *fundi* = 'a person skilled in any art, craft or profession, and so able to instruct others in it, a skilled workman, one who has learnt his trade, a trained artisan or craftsman', plural: *ma-fundi*⁸.

Finally in this group there are nouns meaning persons having high ecclesiastic posts, for example: *askafu* (*askofu*) = 'a bishop', the plural also with the prefix *ma-* (of the fifth class) for expressing respect or esteem.

We know also that the words of the first noun class in Swahili language mean not only persons but some supernatural beings, as: *malaika* = 'an angel', 'angels' (from Arabic), *shetani* = 'a devil', plural: *ma-shetani* (from Arabic). In these religious notions the prefix *ma-* of the Swahili fifth noun class suggests the motive of respect or fear.

⁸ A. C. Madan, *Swahili-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 75.