

Compound Words in Kisukuma in Sengerema District in Mwanza-Tanzania

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on word structure theory for analysing the types and formation of compound words in Kisukuma and their meanings. The study used the compositionality principle in a descriptive research design to analyse the meanings of compound words in Kisukuma. The data was obtained through a documentary review and focused group discussion whereby 8 respondents were involved in the discussion. Moreover, the researcher used a purposive sampling method to get proficient people for the given concepts. Notwithstanding, the validity and reliability of the instrument were checked through the triangulation method whereby two indigenous from the Sukuma tribe were interviewed. The findings show that the analysis of compound words in Kisukuma has two functional types of compound words such as compound nouns and compound adjectives. Semantically both endocentric and exocentric compounds are demonstrated in Kisukuma. In most cases, compound words in Kisukuma are formed by the combination of noun + noun, noun + verb, verb + noun, noun + adjective and verb + adjective. Thus, verbs and nouns are the word categories that are more productive in compound formation in Kisukuma. Likewise, verbs are nominalized by noun class prefixes before being combined with nouns to form compound words. The researcher concluded linguistic researchers carry out more studies in Bantu languages using morpheme-based morphology and word-based theory to widen the morphological knowledge in Bantu languages. Apart from that, the researcher added that the study of compound words in Kisukuma makes identification of denotative and affective meanings.

Key Words: Compound word, Kisukuma

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Kisukuma is a western Tanzania Bantu language belonging to the Niger-Congo language family (cf. Batibo, 1985). It is the largest language in terms of the number of speakers in Tanzania (Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania, 2009). In Guthrie's (1948) classification of Bantu languages, Kisukuma belongs to group 20 of zone F of the Bantu languages and is classified as F21 along with Kinyamwezi (F22), Kisumbwa (F23), Kimbu (F24) and Bungu (F25).

According to Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania (2009), Kisukuma is considered the largest Bantu ethnic group in Tanzania which is estimated to have more than 5.1 million native speakers. Kisukuma is primarily spoken in the south and southeast of Lake Victoria in Mwanza, Mara,

Simiyu, Shinyanga, Kagera, Tabora, and in some parts of the Mbeya and Rukwa regions in Tanzania. Batibo (1985) argued that Kisukuma has four major dialects spoken in different geographical locations. Such dialects include Kimunasukuma (Northern dialect), Kimunangweli (Western dialect), Kimunakiiya (Eastern dialect) and Kimunadakama (Southern dialect). The four Kisukuma dialects mentioned above are mutually intelligible. Matondo (2003) asserts that Kimunasukuma is primarily spoken in the Mwanza region and it is considered to be a standard dialect. It is this dialect from which the data on compounding in Kisukuma were collected. Since compound words are classified into word categories like nouns, verbs, adjectives etc., the researcher found it important to present the structure of the two major word categories of nouns and verbs in Kisukuma in which most of the compound words are likely to be found.

Compounding is a morphological process that has been variously described as the combination of two bases or more lexemes (Katamba and Stonham, 2006). For example, the compound word 'greenhouse' contains the bases 'green' and 'house' which can occur separately as words. Lawyer (2017) asserts that the definition of the compound in most cases depends on the units that are assumed to form the compound. The same idea is discussed by Barber and Beal (2009) who declare that compounding is the combination of two or more free morphemes to form a single word. Hacken (2017) comments that compounding is a word formation process based on the combination of lexical elements (words or stems). This causes some difficulties in determining the exact elements that form compound words. The researchers are not in agreement on the basic morphological components (lexemes, roots, bases, stems or words) that form compounds.

Compound words are of different types based on functions and semantics. In semantics, compounds are categorised into endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds (Katamba & Stonham, 2006). Endocentric compounds are headed compounds where the part of the compound contains a head that determines the word category of the compound and its basic meaning with the second part being a modifier. On the other hand, exocentric compounds are headless compounds which do not contain a constituent that function as a head as illustrated in examples (3) and (4) from English;

3) Endocentric compounds

- a. Bedroom
- b. Teapot
- c. Nightdress

4) Exocentric compounds

- a. bluebottle
- b. bluenose
- c. butterfingers

Source: Katamba and Stonham, (2006, p. 317 & 332)

The endocentric compound words in 3) have heads that determine the word category of the compound. For example, in 3a), 'bedroom' has a base 'room' which is the head and 'bed' which is a modifier. Therefore, the rightmost word (room) is the one which determines the type of a word class of the compound word. Each of the exocentric compound words in 4) does not have a head that determines the grammatical category of the compound. For example, in 4a),

'bluebottle' does not mean that the bottle is blue but it rather means a kind of insect. Thus, the meaning of a compound is external, it is not predictable from its constituents.

Similarly, Christianto (2020) asserts that exocentric compounds do not consist of a head and their meanings cannot be transparently predicted from their constituent parts. For example, the English compound 'white-collar' is neither a kind of collar nor a white thing. The discussion above indicates that both endocentric and exocentric compounds carry free morphemes. This situation of carrying free morphemes makes it difficult for a reader to differentiate endocentric from exocentric compounds. This study investigated Kisukuma compound words to see which types exist in this language and how they are presented. The formation of compound words differs across languages. Different scholars provide different ideas on how compound words are formed. Scholars like (Katamba & Stonham, 2006; Selkirk, 1982 & Kisoso, 2014) are of the view that the formation of compound words based on the combination of lexical categories (noun, verb, adjective, or Preposition) to create new words.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Compounding is the word formation process which is common in different languages. However, the structure of compound words has often been built upon inconsistent criteria and therefore, the structures of compounds cannot be compared in different languages. On the other hand, the presentations of types of compound words differ from one language to another which brings contradiction in the identification of types of compound words as well as their semantic relations. The variations of structure and identification of types of compound words in different languages including Bantu in which Kisukuma is found have made the researcher curious to conduct the current study to find out what is happening with Kisukuma compound words. This problem is accentuated by the fact that the variation in forms and types of compound words causes a contradiction in identifying the exact formation and meanings of the same.

III. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

This study was guided by two specific objectives specifically;

- i. To investigate types of compound words in Kisukuma.
- ii. To analyse the formation of compounds in Kisukuma.

IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study provided a description of the structure of compound words as well as semantic inference related to the compounded elements. Empirically the data in this study can benefit linguistics researchers to be interested in studying Bantu compound words. Apart from that, the study will add information to historical linguistics, particularly on Bantu Compound words. Theoretically, this study also contributes to the existing knowledge in Linguistic studies and the researchers will broaden their linguistic knowledge of compound words using the compositionality principle and word structure theory.

V. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section contains a review of the literature on the types of compound words in Kisukuma and their formation. The reviewed literature focuses on linguistic analysis of the compound words in Kisukuma.

5.1 Types of compound words

The researcher has reviewed different literature on types of compound words. The most discussed types are of two bases; compound words based on semantics which is endocentric, exocentric and copulative, and those based on word categories such as compound nouns, compound adjectives and compound verbs. However, there are scholars who discussed neoclassical compounds among types of compounds in English. For instance, Yanti (2018) examines compound words in “Gray’s Basic Anatomy” a medical textbook. Yanti analyses three types of compound words including nominal, adjectival, and neoclassical compounds. A nominal compound is a compound that has a noun as its head combined with another noun, verb, adjective, or preposition as its modifier. The adjectival compound is a type of compound word having an adjective as its head. The neoclassical compound is a special type of compound word formed by combining forms derived from the Greek or Latin origin in the same line

Semantic types of compound words

(i) Endocentric Compound

The endocentric compound is the headed compound. According to Katamba and Stonham (2006), endocentric compounds are headed, where the headword of an endocentric compound determines the grammatical category of the compound. Similarly, Selkirk (1982) comments that the head is the dominant part of the endocentric compound. Also, in most cases; it determines the lexical category of the entire compound. Supporting the idea, Snyder (2016) asserts that a compound word will be called ‘endocentric’ if it contains a head morpheme that determines its morphosyntactic features and general semantic type. For instance, in a compound ‘flowerbook’, the head is the book. Hence, the compound is a noun (like a book) and names a type of book.

Various studies have made an attempt in identifying endocentric compounds. The studies reveal that most compound nouns are endocentric and the identification of endocentric compounds is as simple as their meanings are explicit. Studies undertaken by Christianto (2020), Jameson (2018), Lusekelo (2019) & Milaku (2017) submit that endocentric compounds have modifiers that modify the heads. Christianto (2020) conducted a study in Indonesia to investigate types of compound words in English. The findings reveal that endocentric compounds have hyponym meanings. Thus, an endocentric compound in English has a head that provides the meaning of the whole compound and a modifier that gives extra information on the compound. Similarly, Milaku (2017) submits that endocentric compounds found in Albanian and English are characterised by a head which is part of a compound that contains the basic meaning of it, and modifiers which restrict a given meaning. For example, the endocentric compound ‘chicken house’, where ‘house’ is the head and ‘chicken’ is the modifier. Therefore, the modifier helps to understand that a house is intended for the chicken. This is in line with Jameson (2018) who conducted a study on word formation processes in Bisa. The findings display that majority of compound nouns in Bisa are endocentric. To confirm his assertion, Jameson presents some examples from Bisa as illustrated in 11.

- (11) a. *bátá-mwáicé* ‘father child’ (literal translation) ‘paternal uncle’
b. *mwáná-wánsiwá* ‘baby left’ (literal translation) ‘orphan’
c. *bémbá-wásyétá* ‘sea red’ (literal translation) ‘red sea’

Source: Jameson (2018, 58).

The data in 11 indicate that endocentric compounds in Bisa have heads which determine the meaning of the compound and the modifier that provides extra information on the compound. The **leftmost** word is the head of the compound as seen on the **headwords** *bátá* ‘father’, *mwáná-* ‘baby’ and *bémbá-* ‘sea’ in (11).

On the same view, (Lusekelo, 2019) investigates endocentric and exocentric compounds in Kiswahili focusing on compound nouns. Lusekelo identifies endocentric compound words as the semantic type of compound words that have **a** semantic relationship, having the head that **determines** the word category of the compound. The findings indicate that endocentric compounds split into left-headed, double-headed and right-headed structures due to the composition that **contributes** to **their** formation. For example, noun + noun (N+N) as in *Gari-Moshi* ‘train’ is left-headed.

The discussion by several scholars above presents the presence of endocentric compounds in different languages. Moreover, the presented endocentric compounds have different ways of being headed in a particular language. One language may have endocentric compounds which split into right-headed, left-headed and double-headed while other languages have both left and **right-headed** compounds. However, there are languages which have only left-headed compounds. Therefore, this study attempted to analyse how endocentric compounds are realized in **the** Kisukuma language.

(ii) Exocentric Compound

Katamba and Stonham (2006) define an exocentric compound as a headless compound which does not contain an element that functions as the semantic head which is modified by the non-head element. This **means** the meaning of the compounds is not determinable from the head. Several studies (Jameson, 2018; Lusekelo, 2019; & Milaku, 2017 among others) have discussed exocentric compounds in various languages.

Milaku (2017) comments that exocentric compounds found in Albanian and English do not consist of heads and their meanings cannot be transparently predicted from their component parts. He adds that in an exocentric compound, the word class is determined lexically regardless of the class of the constituents. For example, a ‘must-have’ is not a verb but a noun. Also, ‘white-collar’ is neither a kind of collar nor a white thing. Similarly, Jameson (2018) illustrates some exocentric compounds from Bisa. Jameson argues that **an** exocentric compound is a headless compound. It is a compound which does not have a head and a modifier. An example of those compounds includes *mpángá-yásápá* ‘bush dirt’ ‘a person found in the bush’. The compound is exocentric as its referent is not the referent of the head. On the same view, Lusekelo (2019) investigates endocentric and exocentric compounds in Kiswahili. The findings reveal that exocentric compounds have metaphoric **interpretations** of combined words. Thus, they need special consideration in that the head of the compound is expected from the semantic-pragmatic context in the speaker community. Examples in 12 illustrate some Kiswahili exocentric compounds.

- 12) a. *mlalahoi* “proletariat, labourer”
 lala “sleep”
 hoi “exhausted”
 b. *mvujajasho* “day worker”
 vuja “leak”

- jasho* “sweat”
d. *kirukanjia* “prostitute”
ruka “jump”
njia “path”

Source: *Lusekelo, (2019, 36)*

The compound *mlalahoi* ‘proletariat’ represent poor labourers. These are people who sleep exhausted due to hard work. Therefore, the verbs *lala* ‘sleep’ and *hoi* ‘exhausted’ are combined to infer the poor labourers. Likewise, *wavujajasho* ‘day-workers’ represent a class of people who have no permanent jobs and keep looking for jobs daily. The verb *vuja* ‘leak’ and the noun *jasho* ‘sweat’ combine together to infer the continued status of the day worker. On the other hand, *kirukanjia* ‘a sex commercial woman or prostitute’ created from the verb *ruka* ‘jump’ is used to mean the proper custom of the community and *njia* ‘path’. The name is used figuratively to avoid a bad face in society. As observed in the example from Kiswahili, the exocentric compounds have no head and modifiers that could add meanings to the head. Thus, the meaning of the exocentric compound is external.

The discussion above implies that there is a contradiction in the identification of exocentric compounds as they do not contain the head. Moreover, there are no specific criteria that can assist in its identification. Therefore, this study intends to find how this type of compound is revealed in Kisukuma.

(iii) Copulative compound words

Several scholars such as Olsen (2001), Katamba and Stonham (2006) & Joseph (2014) discuss copulative compound words in different languages. For instance, Katamba and Stonham (2006) assert that copulative compounds are compounds that have two words which are coupled or conjoined. They have the following structure;

13)

- a) north (N) + west (N) = north-west (N)
- b) Bitter (Adj) + sweet (N) = bitter-sweet (Adj).

Source: *Katamba and Stonham (2006, 333)*

Semantically, copulative compounds have components with equal status as observed in examples 13a) and b) in the copulative compound words ‘north-west’ and ‘bitter-sweet’, there is no component between them that is considered as the head that dominates the compound. In the compound ‘north-west’ for instance, both words are equally important as they indicate different directions. Olsen (2001) states that copulative compounds encompass a coordinative relationship between the two constituents such that both concepts are attributed simultaneously to one individual. For example, a ‘Poet-doctor’ is someone who is both a ‘poet’ and a ‘doctor’.

The identification of copulative compounds brings contradiction to interlocutors because from a syntactic point of view, they are headed while from the semantic point of view, they are of equal

status and not opaque. This contradiction makes the current researcher curious to find out what is happening in Kisukuma.

Types of compound words based on word categories

Different scholars have made a discussion on types of compound words based on word categories including McCarthy (2002), Plag (2003), Kisoso (2014), Burdiata (2016), Lawyer (2017) & Yanti (2018). For instance, Plag (2003) comments on four types of compound words namely nominal, adjectival, verbal and neoclassical compounds. On the same view, McCarthy (2002) divides compound words into three categories namely compound nouns referred to as noun headwords, compound verbs commonly known as verb headwords, and compound adjectives commonly known as adjective headwords. For instance, in English, compound words can be found in all major lexical categories including nouns, verbs, adjectives, and prepositions. This presentation is in line with Yanti (2018) who examines compound words in “Gray’s Basic Anatomy” a medical textbook and analyses three types of compound words such as; nominal, adjectival, and neoclassical compounds. A nominal compound is a compound that has a noun as its head combined with another noun, verb, adjective, or preposition as its modifier. The adjectival compound is a type of compound word having an adjective as its head. The neoclassical compound is a special type of compound word formed by combining forms derived from Greek or Latin origin.

On the other hand, Budiarta (2016) conducted a study on compound words in Dawan. The study aimed to identify types of compound words. The findings realized that in the Dawan language compound words are categorised into three types such as compound nouns, compound verbs and compound adjectives. Similarly, Lawyer (2017) using Construction Morphology theory classified Dangme compound words syntactically into nominal, verbal and adjectival compounds.

In the same view, compound types based on word categories are also discussed by Rahayu et al. (2016), in their study of English Compound Words in Five Articles of BBC News. The findings of the study show that there are five types of compounds from the chosen articles such as compound nouns, compound verbs, compound adjectives, neo-classical compounds, and other form classes. The combination of neo-classical compounds cannot stand alone in a sentence. They must be combined with a word or another combining form to form a new term. This is justified by the examples in 14) from the English language.

- (14) a. Proton-rich (Adj) (b) Trigger Finger
Proton (N) rich (Adj) Trigger (N) finger (N)
Source: Yanti, (2018, 1101-1102)

Similarly, Kisoso (2014) describes three types of compound words in Kihehe, such as compound nouns, verbs, and adjectives which are made up of two different word categories.

From the discussion above, it is observed that compound types based on word categories vary across languages. For example, Dawan has three types of compound words while English has more than three types. However, in all types discussed, compound nouns become the most dominant type of compound word.

Generally, this type of compound word which is formed by word categories of **the** noun, adjective and verb can also be found in compound types formed from **a** semantic point of view which comprises endocentric, exocentric and copulative. However, all the types of compound words discussed above are useful, the current study intended to investigate the type of compound words found in Kisukuma.

5.2 The formation of compound words

A compound word is a lexeme that consists of more than one stem. The formation of compound words differs across languages depending on word categories used to form compounds. Studies by Mbapuun (2021), Kisoso (2014), Lawyer (2017), Jameson (2018), & Chulu (2019) reveal the formation of compound words in different languages. Lawyer (2017) explains the process of compounding in Dangme; a Bantu language **is** spoken in Zambia. Lawyer comments that most compound words in Dangme are nominals formed from word categories of **nouns**, verbs and **adjectives**. From that view, the formation of compound words in this language involves **nouns with nouns**, nouns with **postpositions**, nouns with **adjectives**, **nouns with verbs** and **verbs with nouns**. Thus, verbs and **nouns** are more productive in compound formation in Dangme. This is in line with Chulu (2019) who establishes the grammatical properties of compound nouns in Bemba language, specifically the internal structure of compound nouns. The findings present morphological structures of compound nouns in Bemba that connected with root nominal. From the findings, the formation of compound nouns in Bemba comprises a noun with **a** noun combination. The compounds in Bemba are illustrated in 7.

- 7) a. *nakulu-bantu* ‘elderly’ (distinguished) woman’
 b. *shikulu-bantu* ‘elderly’ (distinguished) man’
 c. *noko-lume* ‘uncle’ (on **mother’s** side)
 d. *impundu-busushi* ‘fruit’
 e. *noko-senge* ‘aunt’ (on father side)

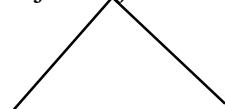
Source: Chulu (2019)

The above examples reveal that compounds have a structure of noun with noun in their arrangement that describes the kind of person, as in examples 7a, b, c and e. For instance, *noko-lume* ‘uncle’ is made up of *noko* ‘mother which is a root noun and *-lume* ‘male’ which is also a root noun. These two nouns are combined to form a single compound noun. In the case of *noko-lume* ‘uncle’, *-lume* ‘male’ helps to recognize the kind of mother ‘*noko*’ being communicated.

On the same view, the study conducted in Nigeria by Mbapuun (2021) observed that in Tiv; a West Benue-Congo language, an adjective is reduplicated to form an adjectival compound as illustrated in the examples in 8);

- (8) Adj + Adj
 a. *gbáng* ‘strong’ + *gbáng* ‘strong’ > *gbánggbáng* ‘very strong’
 b. *dough* ‘loose’ + *dough* ‘loose’ > *dôúghdôúgh* ‘very loose’
 c. *Kúndú* ‘cool’ + *kúndú* ‘cool’ > *Kúndúkúndú* ‘very gentle’

Adj + Adj = Adjectival Compound





Source: Mbapuun, (2021, 81)

The formation of compound words in Tiv is normally done through the process of reduplication as presented in example 8. The adjective *Kúndú* 'cool' is reduplicated to form **the** adjectival compound *KúndúKúndú* "very gentle". The presented formation is different from what is presented by Jameson (2018), who conducted a study in Zambia to describe the word formation processes specifically noun formation in Bisa; a Bantu language spoken in **the** Mpika district in Zambia. From the findings, the researcher recognized that the combination of two nouns is more productive than adjectives in forming compounds in Bisa as illustrated in examples in (9) from Bisa where noun + noun form a compound noun.

(9)

- a. *bámáyó* 'mother' + *mwáice* 'child' > *bámáyó-mwáice* 'mother child' 'aunt'
- b. *nzálá* 'hunger' + *mákángá* 'guinea fowl' > *nzálá-mákángá* 'hunger guinea fowl' 'bird'.

Source: Jameson, (2018, 59)

The findings from Bisa reflect that some Bisa compounds are created from the combination of two nouns. As illustrated in 9a) *bámáyó* (N) 'mothers' + *mwáice* (N) 'child' > *bámáyó-mwáice* 'mother child' and 9b) *nzálá* (N) 'hunger' + *mákángá* (N) 'guinea fowl' > *nzálá-mákángá* 'hunger guinea fowl' are formed from two nouns each. Apart **from** noun + noun **combination**, the study demonstrated some Bisa compounds which are formed by the combination of nouns + verbs. For instance, *máfútá* (N) 'oil' + *yákúsúbá* (N) 'anointing' from the verb 'anoint' > *máfútá-yákúsúbá* 'anointing oil' (literal translation 'oil anointing'). This is also supported in the study of word formation in Kihehe done in Tanzania by Kisoso (2014). The study aimed to identify compound words in Kihehe using word-based and morpheme-based **approaches**. It was found that in Kihehe, compound words made up of noun + noun and noun + verb are more productive than other word categories like adjectives as illustrated in example 10;

- (10) a. *i* + *kanga* + *mwani* = *ikangamwani* 'the place where people try to live town life'
i- 'noun class 5'
kanga (V) 'try'
mwani (N) 'town'
- b. *ma* + *dinda* + *matwe* = *madindamatwe* 'terminate'
ma- 'noun class 6'
dinda (V) 'close'
matwe (N) 'heads'

Source: Kisoso (2014:56)

The situation is similar to Kihehe where compound nouns generated from different word category are observed, mostly **verbs** and **nouns** as presented in example 9 a) and b. However, in Kihehe, the combination of words involves the occurrence of prefixes as observed in **examples**

9a) and b) above. The compound word *ikangamwani* has a prefix *i-* and the compound word *madindamatwe* has a prefix *ma-*.

What is implied in the arguments above is that the structure of compound words is complicated though in most languages, the structure involves two free morphemes from word categories noun, verb and adjective. Sometimes, words are duplicated to form compounds as observed in Tiv language and not only noun-noun that are specific in forming compound words. Apart from that, Kihehe shows the occurrence of noun class **prefixes** in the creation of compound words. These disparities in the formation of compound words suggest a need for classifying the structure of compound words. Therefore, the current study examined the structure of compound words in Kisukuma.

VI. METHODOLOGY

The study used **interviews**, focus group **discussions** and documentation to get the required information about compound words and their meanings. The methods were useful for the researcher to understand the phenomenon through **an intensive** collection of narrative data. Moreover, the descriptive research design was employed which enabled the researcher to identify the types and **analyze** the information and discuss the formation of compound words in Kisukuma. The study was done in **the Kasungamile** ward in Sengerema district, in Mwanza-Tanzania. The target population of the study were adult native speakers aged from 35 to 70 years from **the** Sukuma tribe. The researcher used **a** purposive sampling technique to select eight (8) participants. These people were selected because they are not likely to be influenced by other language contact and **are** proficient in Kisukuma. Also, the collected data were analyzed through content analysis by assigning data into themes, summarization and interpretation. The classification of data into word categories assisted the researcher to identify types and analyse the structure of compound words in Kisukuma as well as their semantic relations as stated in the objectives of the study. Data were collected to investigate semantic types of Kisukuma compound words such as endocentric and exocentric **compounds**.

VII. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The section presents **results** and discussions on compound words in Kisukuma. It focused on semantic types of **compound** words and **their** formation in **the** Kisukuma language.

7.1 Semantic Types of Compound Words in Kisukuma

Semantic compounds **are** endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds. The findings found from documents indicate that semantically, both endocentric and exocentric compounds are demonstrated in Kisukuma.

Endocentric Compounds in Kisukuma

Through documentation review, the findings of the study indicate that Kisukuma has some endocentric compounds. As stated earlier, an endocentric compound is a compound word that comprises of two words of which one is the head that determines the meaning of the entire compound; and the other one becomes the modifier. Thus, the **headword** determines the word category of the entire compound and the modifier provides extra information to the compound word. Some endocentric compounds found in Kisukuma are presented in table 1;

Table 1*Some Endocentric Compound words in Kisukuma*

Words forming a Compound	Word 1 meaning	Word 2 meaning	Compound formed	Compound meaning
bhabha + bhuko	Father	in law	bhabhabhuko	father in law
mayo + bhuko	Mother	in law	mayobhuko	mother in law
noko + bhuko	Mother	in law	nokobhuko	your mother in law
nina + bhuko	Mother	in law	ninabhuko	his/her mather in law
Busiga + bulala	sorghum	kept in water overnight	busigabulala	fermented sorghum

Source: Field Work (2022)

It is noticeable from the data in table 1 that all compound words presented in the table are left-headed compound words. This simply means that most endocentric compounds in Kisukuma are left-headed. For example, during the interview, an interviewee explained that; the word “*bhabhabhuko*” originated from two words “father such as *bhabha* ‘father’ and *bhuko* ‘in law’”. (Focus Group Discussion 1). From the finding, the word *bhabha* is the head and it is on the left-hand side of the compound. On the other hand, the word *bhuko* “in-law” is the modifier which gives extra information about the compound. Similarly, this is observed in the compound *mayubhuko* ‘mother-in-law’. This compound word is generated from the noun *mayu* “mother” which is the head of the compound and it is on the left side of the compound. The second part of the compound has the noun *bhuko* ‘in law’ which modifies the compound as it gives extra information about the compound.

On the other hand, table 1 indicates the findings that in Kisukuma, the leftmost word that builds up the compound determines the word category of the compound. For instance, the compound noun *nokobhuko* ‘your mother-in-law’ is generated from the word *noko* ‘mother’ which is the head which determines the word category of the compound and is modified by the word *bhuko* ‘in law’.

The same relationship applies to the word *ninabhuko* ‘his/ her mother-in law’ generated from *nina* ‘his/her mother’ and *bhuko* ‘in law’. The word *nina* is the head of the compound that determines the word category of the compound. Thus, endocentric compounds in Kisukuma have heads which determine the word category of the compound. The same applies to the compound word *busigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’ which is created from the noun *busiga* ‘sorghum’ and nominalized verb *bulala* ‘kept in water overnight’. The first part of the compound is the head and the modifier is on the second part. Hence, the combination of the two elements that build up the compound word contributes to the meaning of the entire compound.

This idea correlates with (Lusekelo, 2019) presentation of compound words in Kiswahili. He says that Kiswahili has endocentric compounds which have heads that determine the word category of the compound. In supporting the idea, (Katambi, 2020), viewed that endocentric compounds have a distinct head. The position of the head could be on the right-hand side as in

'overreact' and 'afterthought' or in the left side as in haircut and eyesight. Also, the idea correlates with the study (Jameson, 2018) which reveals that in Bisa majority of endocentric compounds are headed as seen on the headword *bátá mwáná-* and *bémbá*.

However, the current study realized that most endocentric compounds in Kisukuma are headed as what is realized in Kiswahili. Therefore, the endocentric compound is not different from other languages such as English, Kiswahili, Kinyakyusa and Ruhaya. In English for example endocentric compounds must have a head as those in Kisukuma.

Similarly, Kisoso (2014) in his study on compound words in Kihehe found that compound nouns are made of verbs and nouns; the nouns appear at the end of the compound and determine the word category of the compound. This idea correlates with what is observed by (Ilonga, 2016) who commented that most of Ruhaya endocentric compounds have semantic relations as observed in endocentric compounds found in Kisukuma.

Exocentric Compounds in Kisukuma

Through the documentary review, the researcher found some exocentric compound words in Kisukuma. These are compound words which are headless. Exocentric compounds do not contain an element that functions as the semantic head which is modified by the non-head element. This means the meaning of a compound is external to its constituents and the compound does not contain a head and modifier. Some exocentric compounds found in Kisukuma are presented in table 2.

Table .2

Exocentric Compound words in Kisukuma

Words forming a Compound	Word 1 meaning	Word 2 meaning	Compound formed	Compound meaning
<i>Kishimbe + nzobe</i>	Despise	Donkey	<i>kishimbenzobe</i>	proud
<i>Kitanga + fugo</i>	early	cooking pot	<i>kitangafugo</i>	early evening star
<i>Nyango + nkoma</i>	Door	Stick	<i>nyangonkoma</i>	Traditional medicine
<i>Shilungu + ming'hwa</i>	Chief's decoration	Thorn	<i>Shilunguming'hwa</i>	An animal
<i>Nzoka + ihenge</i>	Snake	Squinting	<i>nzokaihenge</i>	Arrogance
<i>Ishisha + ng'holo</i>	Reach	Heart	<i>Ishishang'holo</i>	Fearless
<i>Inya + mlwizwi</i>	Shit	In well	<i>inyamlwinzi</i>	Dangerous situation
<i>Igonda + nkila</i>	Fold	Tail	<i>igondankila</i>	Worry
<i>Igwa + lemi</i>	Fall	Sun	<i>Igwalemi</i>	heavy task
<i>Makono + malonja</i>	Hands	Depend	<i>makonomalonja</i>	Person name
<i>Masala + mumtwe</i>	Intelligence	In the head	<i>Masalamntwe</i>	Person name
<i>Masala + kulangwa</i>	Intelligence	Taught	<i>Masalakulangwa</i>	Person name

<i>Ngaya + bula</i>	Lack of	Intestine	<i>Ngayabula</i>	Small stomach
<i>Makono + hasi</i>	Hands	Down	<i>Makonohasi</i>	Cultivation season
<i>Ndola + lemi</i>	who looks	Sun	<i>Ndolalemi</i>	lazy person
<i>Nkonga + lyochi</i>	Waylay	Smoke	<i>Nkongalyochi</i>	lazy person

Source: Field Work (2022)

The data in Table 2 indicate that in most cases exocentric compounds found in Kisukuma are names of people, things and places. The data in Table 2 reveals that when two words combine, a new word is formed with a new meaning which is not similar to the meanings of its constituents. The new meaning cannot be predicted from the two words that build up the compound. Consequently, the exocentric compounds are headless, they do not have heads that dominate the whole compound. For example, in the discussion, some participants argued, the word *makonohasi* 'cultivation period' is generated from *makono* 'hands' and *hasi* 'down' (Focus Group Discussion 2). This meant the word does not have a head that determines the word category of the compound.

Similarly, this is observed in the compound *ngayabula* 'small stomach'. This compound word is generated from the verb *ngaya* 'lack of' and the noun *bula* 'intestine'. The compound does not have a head that determines the word category of the compound and the meaning of it is external. That is, the meaning is not related to the formed compound word. The person is not lacking the intestine.

On the other hand, the findings reveal that most of the compound words in Kisukuma are exocentric as they are headless. They do not have headwords that determine the word categories of the compound. These compounds have metaphorical meanings. For instance, the compound noun *ndolalemi* "lazy person" is generated from the word *ndola* (N) 'who looks' and *lemi* (N) 'sun'. The same relationship applies to the word *masalakulangwa* 'person name' generated from *masala* (N) 'intelligence' and *kulangwa* (V) 'to be taught'. The word *masala* can have different words combined to it such as *kulangwa* 'to be taught', *must we* 'in the head' or *bhuda* 'chicken lice'. Therefore, Kisukuma has a rich class of exocentric compounds.

The finding from the study differs from what is discussed by Luhende (2018: 41) who argues that Kisukuma is an endocentric language focusing only on noun + noun compound. The findings from the current study provide evidence of the presence of exocentric compounds that are attested in Kisukuma. On the other hand, the findings are supported by Ilonga (2016) who asserts that not all compound words in Ruhaya have heads; there are headless compounds that do not have head-modifier that have semantic relations. Similarly, Lusekelo (2019) in his study on an endocentric and exocentric compound in Kiswahili discusses exocentric compounds which are made of verbs and nouns. The meaning of the resultant compound is attained through metaphorical interpretation of the combined word as observed in Kisukuma.

Types of Kisukuma compound words based on word categories

This part presents types of Kisukuma compound words based on grammatical function. From the study, the finding revealed two functional types of compound words in Kisukuma which are compound nouns and compound adjectives. The analysis of the said compound words comprises morphological and syntactical patterns. The morphological pattern includes a noun class system in which the compound noun belongs whereas the syntactical pattern involves a subject agreement in a compound adjective. Table 3 illustrates some Kisukuma compound nouns under the noun class system.

Table 3

Kisukuma compound nouns under noun class system

Class	Pre-prefix	Prefix	Stem	Compound noun	Compound meaning
2	a-	m-	lya	m:lyakado	Small stomach
		βa-	Sinza	βa:sinzalugutu	witches
		βa-	Tula	βa:tulabujiku	witches
		βa-	Sha	βa:shamigelo	witches
		βa-	tena	βa:tenamita	witches
3	u-	βa-	konya	βa:konyalume	loiterers
		m-	twe	m:twendimu	arrogant
5	i-	li-	Pelanya	i:pelanyabanhu	Annoying
			gonda	i:gondankila	Worrying
			goba	i:gobanva	Hunger period
			shisha	i:shishang'holo	fearless
			sunga	i:sungang'olo	worrying
			gwa	i:gwalemi	heavy task
			mala	i:malandagu	uncured disease
			bisa	i:bisabageni	place name
			sala	ma:salakulangwa	personal name
			sala	ma:salansabo	personal name
6	a-	ma-	kono	ma:konomalonja	personal name
		ma-	kono	ma:konohasi	cultivation period
		ki-	lamba	ki:lambalume	loiterer
		ki-	tanga	ki:tangafugo	early evening star
7	i-	ki-	mila	ki:milanzoka	bird eating snakes
		ki-	byaja	ki:byajabhagumba	a man with strong sexual power
9	i-	n-	kanya	n:kanyabilu	Seducing person
			kunga	n:kungalyochi	Lazy person
			yangoma	n: yangonkoma	Traditional medicine
			dola	n:dolalemi	Lazy person
			twe	n:twendimu	arrogant
11	o-	lo-	pama	Lu:pamandogossa	A person who can do an impossible

			<i>kondwa</i>	<i>Lu:kondyanva</i>	thing
			<i>hemeja</i>	<i>Lu:hemejanzengo</i>	Harvesting period
14	<i>o-</i>	<i>βo-</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>βo:sigabulala</i>	Something that frightening
			<i>jiku</i>	<i>βo:jikung'waka</i>	Fermented sorghum
					The night is unpredictable

Source: Field Work (2022)

The data in Table 3 indicate that in most cases compound nouns found in Kisukuma belong to noun classes 2, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 14. Moreover, the findings revealed that the compound nouns collected are names of people, things and places.

Class 1 and Class 2

The findings justify the presence of Kisukuma compound nouns under Class 1 and 2 that represent human beings having the noun class prefix –mu- in noun class 1 and prefix *βa-* in noun class 2. For instance, during the interview, participants provided words such as *mtwendimu*, *batulabujiku* and *basinzalugutu* (Focus Group Discussion 1). The finding showed that the noun class 1 prefix *m-* can be attached to the noun *twe* combined with the adjective *ndimu* to form a compound noun *mtwendimu* ‘arrogant’. On the other hand, the noun class 2 prefix - *βa--* with the augment -a- can be attached to the verb *sinza* to form a compound noun *basinzalugutu* or *aβasinzalugutu* ‘witches’. The researcher also went further into observing the syntactic function of compound nouns in sentences. A compound noun *batulabujiku* ‘witches’ used as a subject in 28.

28).

- a. *Batulabujiku balibita.*
Ba – tulabujiku- ba- li- bita
2PL-witches-AgrS-PRES- pass
Witches are passing.
- b. *aBashamigelo Batadimilwe.*
a-Ba- shamigelo- Ba-ta- dimilwe.
Aug-2CL-witch-AgrS-NEG- caught.
The witches did not catch.

Class 5 and Class 6

The data in table 3 revealed the occurrence of Kisukuma compound nouns under noun class 5 that represent augmentations and noun class 6 marking the plurality of the compound noun. For instance, the noun class 5 prefix *i-* attached to the verb *goba* ‘withhold’ that combined with the noun *nva* ‘dog’ to form the compound noun *igobanva* ‘hunger period’. On the other hand, the noun class 6 prefix *ma-* attached to the root –*sala* then after combined with the verb *langwa* that nominalized by the infinitival prefix *ku-* to form a compound noun *masalakulangwa* ‘personal name’. The researcher also went further into observing the syntactic function of compound nouns in sentences. A compound noun *ingwalemi* ‘heavy task, *ibisabageni* ‘placename’ *manhyasima* ‘person name’ and *makonomalonja* ‘person name (Focus Group Discussion 2) is used as a subject in 29.

29).

- a. *Izenga iyi igwalemi.*
I- n- zeng-a iyi- i- gwalemi.
 Aug-9SL- build- DEM- aug- 5SL- heavy task.
- b. *Manhyasima alizuga*
Ma- nhyasima - a- li- zug-a
 6PL- person name- AgrS- PRES- cook-FV
Manhyasima is cooking
- c. *Makonomalonja akulangaga mkwandya.*
Ma- konomalonja- a- ku- lang- aga- mkwandya.
 6PL- person name –AgrS- INF- teaches- HAB-FV- standard one.
Makonomalonja teaches in standard one.

Class 7

The noun class 7 denote objects such as inanimate, as well as **the manner** and style of something. The noun class 7 take the prefix *ki-* to indicate the singularity. From the **study**, the findings revealed that in Kisukuma there are some compound nouns that fall under this class. For instance, the verb *mila* ‘swallow’ **nominalized** with the noun class prefix *ki-* then combined with the noun *nzoka* ‘snake’ to form a compound noun *kimilanzoka* ‘a bird that **swallows** snake’

Class 9

Noun class 9 **is based** on the concepts of animals, people, body parts, tools, instruments and household effects. Thus, in Kisukuma compound nouns under this class attached with the prefix *n-* as in compound **nouns** *nkanyabilu* ‘seducing person’, *nyangonkoma* ‘traditional medicine’ *ndolalemi* ‘lazy person’, *nzokaihenge* ‘arrongant’ (**Focus Group Discussion 1**). Some of the compounds are used as **a subject** in 30. 30).

- a. *Unkanyabilu waajile.*
U- n- kanyabilu – wa-a-jile Ng’wanza.
 Aug-9SL-person name- AgrS-PAST- gone- Mwanza.
Unkanyabilu has gone to Mwanza.
- b. *Unzongaihenge wazumalika*
U- n- zokaihenge- wa- a- zumalik- a
 Aug-9SL- person name- AgrS- PRES- dead-FV
Unzokaihenge has dead.

Class 11

The noun class 11 denotes objects or things which are long or thin, languages, body parts and others. **The** findings indicate some compound nouns that fall under this class include compound nouns *lupamandogosa* ‘a person who can do impossible things’, *lukondyanva* ‘harvesting period’ and *luhemejanzengo* ‘something that **frightens**’ (**Focus Group Discussion 1**). All the three-compound **nouns are** attached with the noun class prefix *lu-*,

Class 14

This class **denotes abstract** nouns as well as mass nouns. The noun class prefix *-bu-* with the **argument** *-u-* **belongs** to this class. Kisukuma has compound nouns *βo:sigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’ and *βo:jikung’waka* ‘the night is predictable’ that belong to this class.

Apart from compound nouns the findings also revealed some compound adjectives like *inyamlwinzi* ‘dangerous’ and *makonohasi* ‘cultivation season’ (**Focus Group Discussion 2**) as illustrated in 31).

31).

- a. *Ntondo inyamlwinzi.*
N-tondo – i-nyamlwinzi.
9-tomorrow- 5SL- dangerous.
Tomorrow is dangerous.
- b. *Amakanza aya gamakono hasi.*
A-ma- kanza aya ga-ma-kono hasi
Aug-CL6-season DEM- CL6 hand prep- down
This is cultivation season
- c. *Unyanda uyu ntwendimu*
u- boy-uyu- n- twendimu
Aug – boy- DEM- 9CL-arrogant
This boy is arrogant.

The compound adjective *inyamlwinzi* ‘dangerous’ employs the noun class 5 prefix *i-* which marks singular. The compound adjectives *ntwendimu*, *inyamlwinzi* and *makonohasi* function as a subject complement.

The presented discussion in section 7.3 indicates the occurrence of compound nouns and compound adjectives in Kisukuma, however, the compound adjective is less productive.

7.2 The formation of compound words in Kisukuma

To identify compound words in Kisukuma, the researcher employed two methods of collecting data. The methods included documentation review and focus group discussions with Kisukuma native speakers in Sengerema district. The findings assisted the researcher to recognize the structure of Kisukuma compound words under word structure theory. Thus, the analysis of the structure of the elements forming compound words in Kisukuma follows the Context-Free Word Structure Rule under Word Structure Theory. The theory consists of a set of contexts-free rewriting rules in which Kisukuma has various formations of compound words. In Kisukuma, the researcher observed that compound words are formed from three different word categories including nouns, verbs and adjectives. However, compound words made of noun + noun and verb + noun are more productive in Kisukuma. This correlates with a Context Free Word Structure Rule under Word Structure theory by Selkik (1982).

Compound words from N + N combination

The researcher found that some compound words in Kisukuma are constructed by the combination of noun + noun. The result from the combination (noun + noun) generates compound nouns which are new words with new meanings. For example, participants provided words like *bujikung’waka*, *nyangonkoma*, *ndolalemi* and *masalansabo* (**Focus Group Discussion 1**) The combination of noun + noun that generates compound nouns in Kisukuma is illustrated in 21).

- 21) a. *bujiku* (N) + *ng'waka* (N) → *bujikung'waka* 'the night is Unpredictable'
bujiku 'night'
Ng'waka 'a year'
- b. *nyango* (N) + *nkoma* (N) → *nyangonkoma* 'a traditional medicine'
nyango 'door'
nkoma 'stick'
- c. *ndola* (N) + *lemi* (N) → *ndolalemi* 'lazy person'
ndola 'one who looks'
lemi 'sun'
- b. *masala* (N) + *nsabo* (N) → *masalansabo* 'person name'
masala 'intelligent'
nsabo 'wealth'

The formation of compound word in 21 is;

$$N + N \rightarrow \left\{ N \right\}$$

The examples in 21) point out that there are some compound words in Kisukuma which are formed from a combination of a noun with another noun. The combination generates a new nominal compound word having a new meaning.

In example 21a), the compound noun is constructed by the combination of the noun *bujiku* 'night' and the noun *ng'waka* 'year' resulting in a compound word *bujikung'waka* which carries a new meaning 'unpredictable night' (a good night greeting). In example 21b), the compound word *nyangonkoma* 'a traditional medicine' is constructed by the noun *nyango* 'door' and the noun *nkoma* 'stick'. In this combination, the word category of both words is maintained as the formed compound word belongs to a word class of nouns. This formation of compound words matches the rule of the context-free structure of compounds under the theory of word structure.

The researcher also went further into observing the structure of each of the elements forming the compound. A noun '*bujiku*' for instance is formed by the noun class 14 prefix *bu-* and the root *-jiku* while the second noun *ng'waka* formed by the singular noun class 9 *η-* and the root *-aka*. Thus, the compound word *bujikungw'aka* is not formed by the root but rather by the fully formed nouns with the prefixes *bu-* and *η-* respectively. The resulting compound noun falls into class 14 introduced by the first (*bujiku*) noun class 14 prefix *bu-*. In the example, 21b), in the compound noun *nyangonkoma* 'traditional medicine' in noun class 9 introduced by the noun class prefix *n-*, both words *n-yango* 'door' and *n-koma* 'stick' have noun class 9 prefix *n-* attached to the roots *-yango* and *-koma*. The two fully formed words forming compound words *nyangonkoma* share the same noun class 9 prefix *n-* to which the resulting compound belongs.

On the other hand, the compound *masalansabo* ‘personal name’ is different as it is formed from two different nominal prefixes with noun class 6 *ma-* identifying the whole compound word. The compound is formed by the word *ma-sala* with the noun class 6 *ma-* combined with *n-sabo* having noun class 9 prefix which together **forms** the compound word *masalansabo*.

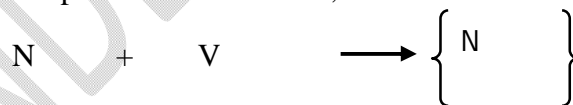
Generally, Kisukuma compound nouns are formed by **fully** formed words and fall in the morphological structure of one of the elements forming them. In almost all cases of noun-noun combination, a compound noun belongs to the noun class of the leftmost element.

A compound word from N + V combination

Through documentation review, the findings of the study indicate some compound words formed from a combination of a noun and a verb. The result from this combination generates compound nouns which create new words with new meanings. **This is also evidenced with some participants in the discussion as they mentioned words like *ngakakubonwa*, *masalakulangwa*, *busigabulala*, and *makonomalonja* (Group Discussion 2).** The combinations of nouns + verbs that generate compound nouns in Kisukuma are illustrated in 22);

- 22) a. *ngaka* (N) + *kubonwa* (V) → *ngakakubonwa* ‘pangolin’
ngaka ‘frightened’
kubonwa ‘to be **seen**’
- b. *masala* (N) + *kulangwa* (V) → *masalakulangwa* ‘personal name’
masala ‘intelligence’
kulangwa ‘to be **taught**’
- c. *busiga* (N) + *bulala* (V) → *busigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’
busiga ‘sorghum’
bulala ‘which stays for the night.’
- d. *makono* (N) + *malonja* (V) → *makonomalonja* ‘personal name’
makono ‘hands’
malonja ‘depend’

The formation of compound words in 22 is;



The examples in (22) above display the compound nouns formed by the combination of two words from different word categories. The first is **a** noun and the second is a nominalized verb. Each word carries its own meaning. However, the combination forms a new word with **a new** meaning. In example 22 a), the compound word is made up of the noun *masala* ‘intelligence’ and the verb *kulangwa* ‘to be taught’ resulting **in the compound** word *masalakulangwa* ‘personal name’. This compound noun belongs to noun class 6 which is prefixed by *ma-*.

This study also went further into looking at the structure of each of the elements forming the compound. A noun ‘*masala*’ for instance is formed by the noun class 6 prefix *ma-* and the root *-sala* while the verb takes an infinitive morpheme *ku-* whose work is to nominalize the verb. The infinitival *ku-* combines with the verb root *lag-*, the passive *-w* and the final vowel *-a* (*kulangwa*

‘to be taught). The two fully formed words form a compound noun whose head is a noun allowing the noun class 6 prefix *ma-* to introduce the whole compound.

In example 22b), the compound noun *busigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’ is constructed by the noun *busiga* ‘sorghum’ and the verb *lala* ‘spend the night.’ In this formation, the verb *lala* agrees with the noun by attaching the noun class 14 prefix *bu-* on the verb *lala* to nominalize it. This makes it agree with the noun *busiga* formed by the noun class 12 prefix *bu-* and the noun root *-siga*. Together, the compound noun *busigabulala* is formed in class 12 which is the noun class to which the noun belongs. This implies that in Kisukuma, compound nouns can also be formed from a combination of nouns with verbs. Also, in all found cases of such a combination, the verbs are nominalized to agree with the head nouns.

The agreement features in 22 are a result of the inherent agreement which is expected on a verb in any syntactic construction in Bantu. The examples in 22 c) and d) indicate the presence of agreement between the elements creating compounds. The attachment of noun class prefixes on the verbs results from the agreement feature between the head noun and the modifying verb (an inherent feature in Bantu). The absence of agreement between the two elements forming compound words in 22a) and b) results from the attachment of an infinitive morpheme *ku-* which prohibits the agreement between the noun and its modifier

Compound words from V + N with noun class 5 prefix i-

Through documentation review, the findings of the study indicate some compound words constructed by the combination of verbs and nouns. The result of the combination between verb and noun forms compound nouns which generate new words with new meanings from their constituents. The combinations of nouns and verbs that form compound nouns in Kisukuma are presented in example 23.

23) a. *i+ goba (V) + nva (N) → igobanva* ‘hunger (a season)’
goba ‘withhold’
nva ‘dog’

b. *i+ pelanya (V) + banhu (N) → ipelanyabanhu* ‘an annoying thing’
pelanya ‘annoy’
banhu ‘people’

c. *i+gonda (V) + nkila (N) → igongankila* ‘worry’
gonda ‘fold’
nkila ‘tail’

d. *i+ bisa (V) + bageni (N) → ibisabageni* ‘place name’
bisa ‘hide’
bageni ‘guests’

e. *.i+ ngwa + lemi → ingwalemi* ‘a heavy task’
ngwa ‘fall’
lemi ‘sun’

- f. $i + mala$ (V) + $ndagu$ (N) \longrightarrow $imalandagu$ ‘uncured disease’
 $māta$ ‘finish’
 $ndagu$ ‘treatment by divination’
- g. $i + shisha$ (V) + $ng'holo$ (N) \longrightarrow $ishishang'olo$ ‘place name’
 $shisha$ ‘reach’
 $ng'holo$ ‘heart’

The examples in 23) above **present compound** words which are the results of the combination of words from two different word categories. Different from the combination in 7.2, a verb comes first in this combination leading **to different** morphological behaviour. In example 23a), a compound noun *igobanva* ‘hunger (season)’ is the combination of the verb *goba* ‘withhold’ and the noun *nva* ‘dog’ resulting **in** a different meaning. Likewise, in the compound noun *igondankila* ‘worry’, the compound is formed from the combination of the verb *gonda* ‘fold’ with the noun *nkila* ‘tail’

The researcher also analyses the structure of the elements that create a compound. In each of the compound words in 23, there is a prefix *i-* attached to the initial position of each verb root that is combined with a noun to form a compound noun. The noun class 5 prefix *i-* is attached to the verb to nominalize it. The same prefix introduces the whole compound word making it a noun in class 5.

In 23a), the verb *goba* ‘withhold’ is prefixed with the noun class 5 prefix *i-* to form a nominalized verb ‘*igoba*’. The nominalized verb *igoba* is then combined with the class 9 noun *nva* to form a compound noun *igobanva*. The two fully formed words form a compound word whose head is a noun allowing **the noun** class 5 prefix *i-* to introduce the whole compound.

In example 23b), the compound noun *ipelanyabanhu* ‘annoying thing’ is constructed by the verb *pelanya* ‘annoy’ and the noun *banhu* ‘people.’ In this formation, the noun class 5 prefix *i-* attaches to the verb *pelanya* to form *ipelanya*. It then combines with **the class** 2 noun *ba-nhu* to form a class 5 compound noun *ipelanyabanhu* prefixed with **the** noun **class** 5 prefix *i-*. The same occurs in example 23c) with **the compound** noun *igondankila* which is formed from the verb *gonda*. The verb *gonda* ‘fold’ combines with class 9 noun *nkila* ‘tail’ after it has been nominalized by the prefix *i* to form a compound noun *igondankila* ‘annoying thing’. The two fully formed words form a compound word whose head is a nominalized verb allowing the derivational morpheme *i-* to introduce the whole compound in noun class 5. This implies that in Kisukuma, compound nouns are also formed from **verbs** and **nouns**. Also, in almost all cases of such a combination, the verbs are nominalized to fit into the compound word.

Different from noun + verb compound nouns, there is no agreement between the verb and the noun in this combination. This is because the resulting compound does not reflect the meaning of any of the two. While the nouns in 23 are from different noun classes combined with different verbs which head the resulting compound nouns. The formed compound nouns belong to noun class 5 though none of the elements forming the compound **belongs** to the same class. This triggers **a** lack of agreement between the verb and the noun both of which **are introduced** by **the** noun class 5 prefix *i*

Compound words from V + N with other noun class prefixes

Apart from the compound nouns with noun class 5 prefix *i-* which do not feature in the second element of the compound, the findings from the documentation review indicate that in Kisukuma, there are compound nouns of the same combination that have other nominal prefixes. During the interview, participants presented words like *batulabujiku*, *basinzalugutu*, *kibyajabagumba*, and *kimilanzoka* (**Focus Group Discussion 2**). These compound words are analyzed and presented in 24.

(24) a. *ba-tula* (V) + *bu-jiku* (N) → *batulabujiku* ‘witches’

batula ‘beaters’

bujiku ‘night’

b. *ba-sinza*(V) + *lu-gutu* (N) → *basinzalugutu* ‘witches’

basinza ‘Passersby’

lugutu ‘Fence’

d. *ki-byaja*(V) + *ba-gumba* (N) → *kibyajabagumba* ‘a sexually strong

man

kibyaja ‘who causes to deliver/impregnates’

bagumba ‘barren women’

e. *ki + mila* (V) + *nzoka* (N) → *kimilanzoka* ‘a kind of bird’

kimila ‘which swallows’

nzoka ‘snakes’

The compound words in example 24 show that some compound words in Kisukuma belong to different noun classes. This process however seems not productive as that in class 5. Also, they possess the same feature as those presented in 4.2.3 as there exists no agreement between the verb and the noun forming the compound. The verb heads the compound which however is nominal causing the verb to be nominalized by attaching the prefix of the noun class to which the whole compound belongs. From the data, if the resulting compound falls in class two, the verb is nominalized by a class 2 noun class prefix.

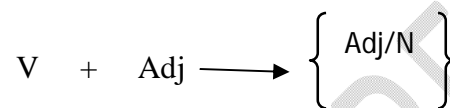
For instance, the compound word *batulabujiku* ‘witches’ is formed from the verb *tula* ‘beat’ that is nominalised with the noun class 2 prefix *ba-* which denotes the plural forms of human. Then the resulting noun is combined with the class 14 noun *bu-jiku* ‘night’ (with noun class 14 prefix *bu-*) to form a compound noun *batulabujiku* ‘witches’. The same applies in the compound noun *basinzalugutu* ‘witches’ which is formed from the verb *sinza* ‘pass’ which is nominalised with the noun class 2 prefix *ba-* and combines with a class 11 noun *lu-gutu* ‘fence’ (with noun class 11 prefix *lu-*) to form a noun class 2 compound word.

Likewise, the compound word *kibyajabagumba* ‘a sexually strong’ is formed from the verb *byaja* ‘cause to deliver/impregnate’ which is nominalised with the noun class 7 prefix *ki-*. Then the verb

Through documentation **review**, the findings of the study indicate that some Kisukuma compound **words are** formed by the combination of verb + adjective. This formation of compound words is not as productive as the combination of **nouns + adjectives**. The result of combining nominalized **verbs** with **adjectives** creates new words and carries new **meanings** as illustrated in the examples in 25.

- 25) a. *m- lya* (V) + *kado* (Adj) → *mlyakado* ‘small stomach’
mlya ‘one who eats’
kado ‘small’
- b. *manyha* (V) + *kenda* (Adj) → *manyhakenda* ‘a ninth chief’s wife’
manyha ‘meet’
kenda ‘nine’

The structure of the compound in 25 is



The compound words in 25b) present a unique trait in which a verb combines with an adjective to form a compound noun which is not either of the two. The resulting compound word in 25b) is a noun though none of the elements forming it is a noun. The verb receives a noun class 1 prefix *m-* in 25a) making it a noun which combines with an adjective to form a noun. In 25b) the verb stem does not receive any nominalizing morpheme but yet it forms a noun.

The other unique feature in the compound words in 25 is that the verb and an adjective do not agree even after the noun is nominalized in class one. For instance, the adjective in 25a) receives **the** noun class 12 prefix *ka-* (**diminutive**) which is different from **the noun** class 1 prefix *m-* which is attached to the verb *lya*.

While in other languages including English, a compound word belongs to the category of one of the elements forming it, the condition is different in this type of compound as it is formed from verbs and adjectives resulting into nouns. Under normal circumstances, the combination was expected **to result in a verb** or adjective **compound**. However, the verb is nominalized making the resulting compound to be a noun.

The presented data provide **evidence** of the occurrence of compound words with the combination of noun + adjective and verb + adjective. However, the compound words in such a combination are few in Kisukuma. The finding is in line with (Joseph, 2014) in his study on the **compounding** process in Kinyakyusa. Joseph presents that verb + noun and noun + noun is much more productive in compounding rather than verb + verb and adjective in Kinyakyusa. The findings also, revealed that compound words in Kisukuma are generated from different word categories. However, the most productive patterns in the formation of compound words are nouns and verbs. The data provided in section 4.3 indicate that in Kisukuma, the compound words fall into five structures of compound words including;

- a) noun + noun → noun as in *bujiku + ng’waka* → *bujikung’waka* ‘the night is unpredictable’

- b) noun + verb → noun as in *busiga + bulala* → *busigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’
- c) verb + noun → noun as in *ibisa + bageni* → *ibisabageni* ‘place name’
- d) noun + adjective → adjective as in *ntwe + ndimu* → *ntwendimu* ‘arrogant’
- e) verb + adjective → noun as in *manhya + kenda* → *manhyakenda* ‘a ninth chief’s wife’

In some compound words, the leftmost word determines the word category of the compound. There are some compound words in which the rightmost word determines the word category of the compound. In a few cases, the compound category is not determined by its constituents. Furthermore, the formation of compound words in Kisukuma shows unique behaviour in each combination. The elements agree in some combinations while there is no agreement in others.

Moreover, most compound words in Kisukuma are compound nouns and some compound adjectives are names of places, things and people. The formation of noun compound words in Kisukuma correlates with what is presented in the study of compound words in English (Christianto, 2020) which its result shows that nouns, verbs and adjectives are the lexical categories that are more productive in the process of compounding in the English language. Similarly, the finding correlates with (Joseph, 2014) who made an investigation and description of compounding in Kinyakyusa that compounding with verb + noun and noun + noun is much more productive in Kinyakyusa. The same idea is discussed by (Burdiaata, 2016) in his study on compound words in Dawan Language.

Words found in multiple compound words

Through documentation review, the findings of the study indicate that in Kisukuma, a single word can combine with different words to form different compound words. In such combinations, such words combine with other words from the word categories of verb and adjective. Some of these words are ‘*manhya*’ ‘meet’, *masala* ‘intelligence; and *bhuko* ‘in law’.

Compound words created from the word *manhya*

From the study, the findings revealed that in Kisukuma, the word ‘*manhya*’ can be combined with different words to generate compound words. For example, participants provided words like *manhyasima*, *manhyabhulubha*, *manyhasumnve* and *manhyakenda* (Focus Group Discussion 1). Some of these compounds are presented in example 26.

26).

- a. *Manhya* (V) + *sima* (N) → *manhyasima* ‘person name’
Manhya ‘meet’
Sima ‘place name’

Manhya + *bulubha* → *manhyabhulubha* ‘person name’
Manhya ‘meet’
bulubha ‘cotton’

- b. *Manhya* (V) + *sumnve* (N) → *manyhasumnve* ‘person name’
Manhya ‘meet’
Sumnve ‘place name’

- c. *Manhya* (V) + *kenda* (Adj) → *manhyakenda* ‘person name’
Manyha ‘meet’
Kenda ‘nine’

From 26, the researcher found that in Kisukuma the verb *manhya* ‘meet’ is used as a nominal root to indicate a certain location. The word is combined with various words to form compound words that create new meanings. For instance, *manhyasima* ‘person name’ is created from *manyha* (V) which means ‘meet’ and *Sima* (N) ‘the place name’.

Moreover, the same word *manhya* (V) ‘meet’ can also be combined with *kenda* (Adj) “nine” to form the compound noun *manhyakenda* ‘the ninth chief’s wife. The same applied in the compound *manhyabulubha* ‘name of the chief’s son. The compound is created from the word *manhya* (V) ‘meet’ combined with *bulubha* (N) ‘cotton’. Therefore, the word *manhya* (V) can create different compound words using various words from word category nouns and adjectives resulting in noun compounds. This combination however does not allow agreements between the elements forming the compound.

Compound words formed from the word *bhuko*

In Kisukuma, the class 14 noun *bhuko* ‘in law’ (a state) is combined with various words to form different compound words. The compound words created from *bhuko* are presented in 27;

- 27)
- a. *bhabha* (N) + *bhuko* (N) → *bhabhabhuko* ‘father in law’
bhabha ‘father’
bhuko ‘in law’
- b. *Mayu* (N) + *bhuko* (N) → *mayubhuko* ‘mother in law’
Mayu ‘mother’
Bhuko ‘in law’
→
- c. *noko* (N) + *bhuko* (N) → *nokobhuko* ‘your mother in law’
nook ‘mother’
bhuko ‘in law’
- d. *nina* (N) + *bhuko* (N) → *ninabhuko* ‘his/her mother in law’
nina ‘mother’
bhuko ‘in law’

As observed in example 27 above the same word *bhuko* (N) “in law” combines with other words to create compound nouns. However, in this formation, all combinations observed are from the word category noun. For example, the compound word *mayubhuko* “my mother-in-law” formed from the class 1 noun *mayu* ‘mother’ combined with the class 14 noun *bhuko*. Similarly, the compound noun *nokobhuko* “your mother-in-law”, is created from the class 1 noun *noko* (N) ‘your mother’ and the noun *bhuko*. The formation of compound words in this section is different from the previous formation. In this section, all compound words are created from the word category noun. It is different from other compounds from N+N, the elements forming these compounds do not agree with each other. They bare different noun class prefixes.

VIII. Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusion

This study was done to find out the types of compound words and their formation in Kisukuma language. The study identified the formation of compound words in Kisukuma in three-word categories including nouns, verbs and adjectives. It further indicated that the compound words formed by the combination of nouns and verbs are more productive than those which involve adjectives. Focusing on data analysis on the structure and types of compound words, it was revealed that compound words in Kisukuma are created by the combination of two different words. Kisukuma compound words are generated by the combination of a noun (N) + a noun (N). For example, *ngoshangoko* ‘a struggling person working for his family and having a lot of things to do’ is made up of the noun *ngosha* ‘man’ and the noun *ngoko* ‘chicken’. Noun (N) + verb (V), as in compound *busigabulala* ‘fermented sorghum’ the compound is made of the noun *busiga* ‘sorghum’ and the verb *lala* ‘being reserved for the whole night’.

Verb (V) + noun (N), for example in the compound *batulabujiku* ‘people who beat others at night’ (wizards) the compound is made of the verb *tula* ‘beat’ and the noun *bujiku* ‘night’. Apart from that, Kisukuma has compound words that are formed from adjectives in combination with nouns or verbs. For example, the compound word *shikubhashitale* ‘tolerance’ is made of *shikubha* (N) ‘chest + *tale* (Adj) ‘large’.

8.2 Recommendations

The findings indicated that most Kisukuma compound nouns are exocentric that have metaphorical interpretations. Since they have metaphorical interpretations; some native speakers of Kisukuma are unfamiliar with their meanings. To decrease this situation, the academician should ensure proper documentation of studies done in native languages including Kisukuma to preserve Tanzanian culture. Also, Linguists can construct dictionaries or texts based on compound words in Bantu languages.

This study covers only compound words in Kisukuma specifically on the identification of structure, types and meaning relationships. Semantically, the researcher observed the occurrence of two types of Kisukuma compound words such as endocentric and exocentric compounds. The study employed Word Structure Theory and Compositionality Principle. The researcher recommends that other researchers may focus on a similar topic in other Bantu languages using Morpheme- Based Morphology and Word-Based Theory to widen the morphological knowledge of Bantu languages. Apart from that, the researcher recommends the study of compound words in Kisukuma making identification of denotative and affective meanings. The researcher also, recommends that future studies focus on other linguistic levels of Kisukuma such as semantics, phonology and phonetics to make Kisukuma among the most documented language in the linguistic field.

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