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**Morphological and Semantic  
Analysis of Kiswahili  
Deverbal Compound Nouns**

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**Abstract**

*This paper deals with the analysis of the Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns in terms of their morphological structure and semantics. The paper reclassifies Kiswahili VN compound nouns into Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. According to this study, these Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are largely composed of a deverbal noun + noun. This study uses the headedness principle and the endocentricity and exocentricity concepts as the theoretical framework for the study. In terms of its methodological orientation, this paper makes use of data collected chiefly from Kiswahili monolingual dictionaries as well as the English-Swahili bilingual dictionaries. The data was collected by identifying Kiswahili compound nouns containing a deverbal noun followed by a noun. In terms of morphology, the main findings of this study show that Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns such as mpigakinanda 'organist' kiuamagugu 'weed killer' and kipimaupepo 'wind gauge' are made up of a deverbal noun + noun. Productivity is also one of the findings connected to Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. By productivity, it means some deverbal nouns combine with other nouns to produce a large number of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. From the semantic point of view, this study shows that Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are basically headless compound nouns which do not exhibit a head-modifier relationship. These major results imply that Kiswahili compound nouns contain deverbal compound nouns among the most productive patterns found in this language.*

**Keywords:** Deverbal noun, endocentricity, exocentricity, productivity, headedness  
Principle, transparency, Opaqueness, idiomatic compound nouns

**Introduction**

There are numerous studies that have been conducted in the area of compound words and compound nouns in African languages (see Musehane, 2004; Mphasha, 2006; Musehane, 2007a; Musehane, 2007b; Mojapelo, 2009; Musale, 2009; Gichuru, 2010; Kula, 2012; Lusekelo, 2014; Ilonga, 2016; Kari, 2016; Katikiro, 2017; Mashauri, 2018; Lusekelo, 2019). Essentially, those studies were carried out to examine various aspects concerning compound words or compound nouns in the respective languages. For the case of Kiswahili, the available evidence suggests that a number of studies have been conducted on compound words in Kiswahili (see Gichuru, 2010; Lusekelo, 2014; Katikiro, 2017; Mashauri, 2018; Lusekelo, 2019). In the case of Kiswahili compound nouns, previous studies have analysed Kiswahili

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compound nouns known as VN (verb + noun) compound nouns as being made up of a verb followed by a noun. For example, Mashauri (2018:109) presents compound nouns such as *mvujajasho* 'day worker' and *kiuabakteria* 'anti-bacterial agent' as made up of two constituents, namely a verb followed by a noun. In this paper, such compound nouns have been analyzed as compound nouns that fall under the sub-category of deverbal compound nouns. Deverbal compound nouns have been established as a sub-category of the Kiswahili compound nouns.

In his analysis of Kiswahili compound nouns, Lusekelo (2019) concurs with Mashauri's analysis by analyzing compound nouns such as *mfanyabiashara* (*m+ fanya + biashara*) 'trader', *kitega uchumi* (*ki +tega + uchumi*) 'investment', *kionambali* (*ki+ona+ mbali*) 'binocular', *kipazasauti* (*ki+paza+ sauti*) 'microphone', *kipimajoto* 'thermometer', *mvujajasho* (*m + vuja + jasho*) 'day worker' and *mshikadau* (*m + shika + dau*) 'stakeholder'. According to his analysis, those compound nouns involve a combination of a verb and a noun. The current study has used an approach of analysing such compound nouns as consisting of a deverbal noun + a noun. In accordance with the current study, the correctness of the analysis of these compound nouns being made up of a deverbal noun + a noun stems from the fact that the first constituent in these compound nouns qualifies to be a noun rather than a verb. For instance, in compound nouns such as *mchimba madini* (*mchimba + madini*) 'miner', *kidakatonge* (*kidaka + tonge*) 'epiglottis' and *kitengenezamvuke* (*kitengeneza + mvuke*) 'stem generator' or 'vaporizer', their first constituents are deverbal nouns rather than verbs as they contain nominal prefixes like other nouns in Bantu languages. The second reason which makes them to be deverbal nouns is the fact that they allow pluralization as in *mchimba madini* (singularity) to *wachimba madini* (plurality). The third point which is part of the evidence that shows that the first constituent of those compound nouns is a deverbal noun is the gathered data for this study. The gathered data from the dictionaries especially from Kamusi Kuu ya Kiswahili (2015) shows that compound nouns such as *kipimakasi* (*kipima + kasi*) 'speedometer', *kionjamchuzi* (*kionja + mchuzi*) 'broth taster' and *kipimamwili* (*kipima + mwili*) 'body measurement instrument' are divided into two constituents namely a deverbal noun followed by a noun as it has been shown in those examples above. The analysis provided in this paper indicates that compound nouns such as *kidhibiti mwendo* 'speed governor', *mrasimuramani* 'cartographer' and *mpiga filimbi* 'flutist' are best analysed as NN compound nouns formed by a combination of a deverbal noun and a noun.

### Literature Review

The available evidence suggests that a number of studies have been conducted on compound words in Kiswahili (see Gichuru, 2010; Lusekelo, 2014; Katikiro, 2017; Mashauri, 2018; Lusekelo, 2019). Although Gichuru (2010) studied Kiswahili compound nouns, in his analysis of these compound nouns, he did not focus on Kiswahili compound nouns which are called deverbal compound nouns. Lusekelo (2014) studied what he calls Verb + noun Kiswahili compound nouns such as *mvujajasho* 'ploreariat', *kitegauchumi* 'investment', *kifunguamimba* 'firstborn', *mfanyabiashara* 'business man or business woman', *mchimba madini* 'miner', *mtunzafedha* 'bursar' and *kifungamimba* 'the last born'. His study concurs with the current study in terms of the data that he used, but the current study departs away from his study by reanalyzing such compound nouns as composed of a deverbal noun + noun. Katikiro (2017) presented in his study compound nouns such as *mpigania haki* 'human rights activist', *kipima pembe* 'protractor', *mcha Mungu* 'a God-fearing person', *mfanya biashara* 'business person', *kipima joto* 'thermometer' and *mpiga picha* 'photographer'. Unlike Lusekelo, Katikiro was not interested in presenting the analysis of these compound nouns in terms of their constituents. Moreover, these compound nouns which are contained in his study were analysed as composed of a verb + noun in the previous analyses of Kiswahili compound nouns. Mashauri (2018) analysed compound nouns such as *kiuabakteria* 'antibacterial poison' and *mvuja jasho* 'ploreariat' as composed of a verb + noun. This article presents a different approach of analyzing what were previously analysed as Verb + noun Kiswahili compound nouns. The approach that has been used in the current study intends to improve the understanding of the readers on such compound nouns in terms of analyzing them morphologically.

In terms of semantics, the previous analyses of Kiswahili compound nouns examined the semantic interpretation of Kiswahili compound nouns from different angles. Although the study of Kiswahili compound nouns by Gichuru (2010) does not show a clear manifestation of deverbal compound nouns, his study analysed the semantics of other Kiswahili compound nouns such as *askari polisi* 'police officer', *mjamzito* 'pregnant woman', *mwanaharamu* 'bastard' and *sayansikimu* 'domestic science'. The study of Kiswahili

compound nouns by Lusekelo (2014:142-143) analysed what he calls verb-noun compound nouns such as *mwendawazimu* 'madman', *washikadau* 'stakeholders' and *mvujasho* 'proletariat' by presenting their meanings as shown in those examples. In his study of Kiswahili compound nouns, Katikiro (2017) presented and analysed the meanings of deverbal compound nouns such as *kipimajoto* 'thermometer', *mpigapicha* 'photographer', *kipazasauti* 'microphone', *kipimapembe* 'protractor' and *kipimamvua* 'rain gauge'. According to his analysis, he argued that these compound nouns have their meanings which is a reflection of their morphology.

Mashauri (2018) presented compound nouns such as *kiuabacteria* 'antibacterial poison' and *mvujajasho* 'proletariat' with their meanings as revealed here. In his study, these examples of compound nouns are presented as verb + noun compound nouns. According to the analysis of this paper, these examples have been reanalyzed as compound nouns composed of a deverbal noun + noun since the first constituent in each of these compound nouns is a deverbal noun and not a verb.

The semantics of Kiswahili compound nouns was also the interest of the work by Lusekelo (2019). His study focused on the examination of endocentric and exocentric compounds in Kiswahili. In his findings, he came up with the postulation that not all resultant Kiswahili compound nouns are left-headed. In his analysis of the semantics of Kiswahili exocentric compounds he used a combined morphological and semantic interpretation approach to obtain what he calls the proper outcome. In his semantic analysis of Kiswahili endocentric compounds, he established that those compound nouns are categorized into double-head, left-headed and right-headed compounds respectively. This scholar presents V + N ( Verb + noun ) Kiswahili compound nouns with an overt meaning such as *msemakweli* 'honest person' *mwekahazina* 'treasurer', *mshona nguo* 'milliner' and *mwuza nguo* 'mercer'. In his analysis of exocentric Kiswahili compounds, he presents examples such as *wafuavyuma* 'iron smiths' *kitega uchumi* 'investment', *mvuja jasho* 'day worker' and *kirukanjia* 'prostitute'. This analysis concurs with the analysis of the current article in the sense that both works have analysed Kiswahili compound nouns semantically. The major difference between the two studies is that his work analysed Kiswahili compound words with different patterns, but the current study has analysed only the Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. The examples such as *mtema kuni* ( *mtema* + *kuni* ) 'wood cutter' and *kifungua mlango* 'door opener' which Lusekelo has presented as verb + noun compound nouns are the ones which have been reanalyzed as Kiswahili compound nouns which involve the combination of a deverbal noun and a noun. The reanalysis of these compound nouns is rooted from the fact that the gathered data that has been used in the current study shows that the first constituent in these compound nouns is not a verb, but rather a deverbal noun. For instance, in the compound noun *mtema kuni*, the first element is a deverbal noun and not a verb and the second constituent is a noun.

### Theoretical Framework

This study has been guided by the headedness principle, and the endocentricity and exocentricity concepts. This study is guided by the headedness principle, a dominant theory in the studies on compound words (Zwicky, 1985). Following this principle, compound words are categorized into headed compounds and headless compounds, the compounds with the head and those without the head or non-head compounds, respectively. The endocentricity and exocentricity concepts are also used alongside the headedness principle to analyse Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns semantically.

An endocentric compound is a type of compound that has a modifier (i.e., determinant) and a modified element (Spencer 1991:150; Bussmann, 1998:121). Spencer (1991) and Bussmann (1998) elaborate further that an endocentric compound is a compound word where the second element is semantically determined by the first, i.e., it has an overt centre. Bussmann (ibid) independently cites *coffee house* ' a restaurant serving coffee' *living room* 'a room in a house where people sit together, watch television etc.' and *dance hall* 'a large public room where people go to pay and dance' as examples of English endocentric compound words. Generally, the adjective 'endocentric' is a Bloomfield's term for a construction in which at least one element is of the same syntactic class as a whole (Matthews, 2007).

An exocentric compound is a type of a compound where the first element modifies the second while the whole compound refers exocentrically to only a part of the referent (see, Spencer, 1991:311; Bussmann, 1998:47, among others). Exocentric compound words are always idiomatic in nature since their meanings are not deduced from their constituent words. These scholars give us some English exocentric compound

words such as *long legs* ‘this refers to a person or animal characterized by having long legs’ *pickpocket* ‘a person who steals money etc. from other people’s pockets, especially in crowded places’, *cutthroat* ‘this refers to an activity in which people compete with each other in aggressive and unfair ways’, *knuckle-head* ‘a person who behaves in a stupid way’ and *big-nose* ‘the literal meaning is ‘a nose that is large in size’ and its idiomatic meaning is ‘a person who has a large nose’.

### Methods and Materials

The data for this study were gathered from the Kiswahili monolingual dictionaries. These dictionaries were chosen since they contain many compound nouns. The compound nouns were collected from *Kamusi Kuu ya Kiswahili* (2015), *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu ya TUKI* (2013), and *Kamusi Teule ya Kiswahili* (2014). *Kamusi ya Semi* (King’ei, 2010) was used to gather the data showing idiomatic compound nouns. Some compound nouns were also gathered from two bilingual Swahili-English dictionaries. The significance of using bilingual dictionaries in the data collection process for this study was to simplify the task of getting the English glosses for some Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. The first bilingual Swahili-English dictionary which was used in extracting the relevant data was the (TUKI) *Kamusi ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza* or Swahili-English dictionary (2014). Some compound nouns were also gathered from the comprehensive Swahili-English dictionary (2011). The criterion for selecting compound nouns from these dictionaries for analysis was to select only those compound nouns whose formation involves a deverbal noun and a noun. Such compound nouns were previously analysed as verb + noun compound nouns in the previous studies on Kiswahili compound nouns. The data from these dictionaries were sorted, classified and analysed accordingly in order to realize the set objectives for this study.

### Data Analysis and Discussion

The data analysis and discussion section that follows below begins with the presentation, analysis and discussion of the data on the morphology of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns.

### The Morphology of Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns

The structure of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns show that the majority of them consist of the prefix + stem + stem. For example, the Kiswahili deverbal compound noun *Ki + pima + mvua* ‘rain gauge’. This structure follows the morphological criterion.

In terms of the word class criterion, Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns involve a combination of the deverbal noun followed by a noun in their formation. This kind of analysis is supported by Mashauri (2018). Many Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns belong to class 7 and 8 for miscellaneous things, and thus, they surface with the prefix *KI/VI* as a noun class marker. In spite of the fact that the majority of the class 7 and 8 Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns refer to things, tools or instruments, some of the deverbal compound nouns that belong to class 7 and 8 refer to other things like plant or tree species, for example *kichinjaudhia* ‘a plant or herbal plant’, *kichomanguo* ‘an annual herb with yellowish flowers and little barbed spiny seeds that readily adhere to and penetrate clothing’ and body organs such as *kidakatonge* ‘uvula’. The following table presents more Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns that belong to classes 7 and 8.

**Table 1: Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns**

Noun Marker	Class	Compound Noun	First Constituent	Second Constituent	Gloss
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kifunguamimba</i>	<i>kifungua</i>	<i>mimba</i>	first born child
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kifunguakinywa</i>	<i>kifungua</i>	<i>kinywa</i>	breakfast
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kifunguamkoba</i>	<i>kifungua</i>	<i>mkoba</i>	initial consultation fee
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kifungambuzi</i>	<i>kifunga</i>	<i>mbuzi</i>	annual or perennial tussock grass
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kidhibitimwendo</i>	<i>kidhibiti</i>	<i>mwendo</i>	speed governor
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kiinuamgongo</i>	<i>kiinua</i>	<i>mgongo</i>	gratuity
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kinasasauti</i>	<i>kinasa</i>	<i>sauti</i>	microphone
<i>ki-</i>		<i>kipashamoto</i>	<i>kipasha</i>	<i>moto</i>	chafing dish

ki-	kivutavumbi	kivuta	vumbi	vacuum cleaner
ki-	kidhibiti masakizi	kidhibiti	masikizi	auditory area/ auditory centre

Source: Field data, 2022

Apart from the compound nouns presented in the above table that belong to class 7 and 8, the findings show that other Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns that represent animate beings belong to classes 1 and 2. Among the deverbal compound nouns that refer to animate beings, there are some compound nouns that occur as collocational compound nouns since a single deverbal noun may derive more than one Kiswahili deverbal compound noun. The compound nouns that involve the deverbal noun *mshika* provide clear examples of collocational compound nouns.

The deverbal noun *mshika* derives compound nouns like *mshikafedha* 'cashier', *mshika bendera* 'flagman', *mshika usukani* 'steerman' or a person who holds the steering wheel' and *mshika dau* 'a person who bets'. Furthermore, the findings show that the deverbal noun *mpiga* is a highly productive deverbal noun that has produced a multiplicity of collocational deverbal compound nouns in Kiswahili. The compound nouns *mpiga muziki* 'instrumentalist', *mpiga kasia* 'oarsman', *mpiga mishale* 'archer' and *mpiga tarumbeta* 'trumpet blower' exemplify Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns whose formation involves the combination of the deverbal noun followed by another noun. Those collocational deverbal compound nouns imply that some Kiswahili deverbal nouns are responsible in the formation of many Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. Table 2 presents more examples of Kiswahili deverbal compounds that belong to classes 1 and 2.

**Table 2: Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns (Classes 1 and 2)**

Noun Class Marker	Compound Noun	First Constituent	Second Constituent	Gloss
m-	<i>mtendawema</i>	<i>mtenda</i>	<i>wema</i>	benefactor
m-	<i>mpigataipu</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>taipu</i>	typist
m-	<i>mpigakura</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>kura</i>	voter
m-	<i>mpandafarasi</i>	<i>mpanda</i>	<i>farasi</i>	horse rider
m-	<i>mpigadebe</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>debe</i>	campaigner
m-	<i>mpingamapinduzi</i>	<i>mpinga</i>	<i>mapinduzi</i>	reactionary, conservative
m-	<i>mpigambizi</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>mbizi</i>	diver
m-	<i>mrasimuramani</i>	<i>mrasimu</i>	<i>ramani</i>	cartographer
m-	<i>mpigapicha</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>picha</i>	photographer
m-	<i>mshonanguo</i>	<i>mshona</i>	<i>nguo</i>	tailor
m-	<i>mfanyabiashara</i>	<i>mfanya</i>	<i>biashara</i>	business person
m-	<i>mtoataarifa</i>	<i>mtoa</i>	<i>taarifa</i>	informant
m-	<i>mbebamaono</i>	<i>mbeba</i>	<i>maono</i>	vision bearer
m-	<i>msanifuujenzi</i>	<i>msanifu</i>	<i>ujenzi</i>	architect
m-	<i>mpingakristo</i>	<i>mpinga</i>	<i>Kristo</i>	antichrist
m-	<i>mshonaviatu</i>	<i>mshona</i>	<i>viatu</i>	shoemaker
m-	<i>mpigaporojo</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>porojo</i>	wind bag
m-	<i>mwonja divai</i>	<i>mwonja</i>	<i>divai</i>	wine taster

Source: Field data, 2022

### The Notion of Productivity in Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns

Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns analyzed in this paper have shown that some combinations of words allow the speakers of the language to form many meaningful Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. For instance, the Kiswahili deverbal noun *mpika* can be used to form compound nouns like *mpika wali* 'rice cook', *mpika kande* 'kande cook', *mpika viazi* 'potatoes cook' and *mpika ndizi* 'bananas cook'. The list of meaningful compound nouns that can be formed by using the combination of the deverbal noun *mpika* + noun is not exhaustive. The notion of productivity has been used to show the possible combinations that the users of the language can apply to form a large number of compound nouns in the language. As it is the case for the deverbal noun *mwuza*, the deverbal noun *mtunza* in combination with some other nouns

also produces a large number of possible meaningful compound nouns in Kiswahili. Table 3 shows an instance of a large number of possible Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns that can be formed in Kiswahili by using the deverbal noun *mwuza* in combination with some other nouns.

**Table 3: Possible Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns Involving the Deverbal Noun *mwuza***

Compound Noun	Constituent	Gloss
<i>mwuza maziwa</i>	<i>mwuza+ maziwa</i>	milk seller
<i>mwuza ndizi</i>	<i>mwuza+ ndizi</i>	bananas seller
<i>mwuza korosho</i>	<i>mwuza+ korosho</i>	cashewnuts seller
<i>mwuza sambusa</i>	<i>mwuza + sambusa</i>	samosa seller
<i>mwuza magari</i>	<i>mwuza + magari</i>	cars seller
<i>mwuza kahawa</i>	<i>mwuza + kahawa</i>	coffee seller
<i>mwuza magazeti</i>	<i>mwuza + magazeti</i>	newspaper vendor
<i>mwuza miche</i>	<i>mwuza + miche</i>	seedlings seller
<i>mwuza kunde</i>	<i>mwuza + kunde</i>	cow pea seller
<i>mwuza kande</i>	<i>mwuza + kande</i>	a person who sells a dish made by mixing maize and beans

**Source:** Field data, 2022

Basically, the Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns contained in table 3 above show that the speakers of Kiswahili have greater chances to form a large number of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns by using a combination of the deverbal noun *mwuza* + noun.

The deverbal noun *mwuza* shows the notion of productivity and its manifestations as this constituent can be complemented by different nouns to form a multiplicity of Kiswahili agentive compound nouns as it has been shown in table 3. The deverbal noun *mtunza* 'one who keeps or preserves' is also a typical example of Kiswahili deverbal nouns that can be applied recursively to produce a large number of possible Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. Table 4 below shows the possible compound nouns that can be produced in the language by using the deverbal noun *mtunza* in combination with another noun.

**Table 4: Possible Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns Involving the Deverbal Noun *mtunza***

S/N	Compound Noun	Constituent	Gloss
1	<i>mtunza bustani</i>	<i>mtunza+ bustani</i>	<i>gardener</i>
2	<i>mtunza funguo</i>	<i>mtunza + funguo</i>	<i>keys keeper</i>
3	<i>mtunza agano</i>	<i>mtunza+ agano</i>	<i>covenant keeper</i>
4	<i>mtunza nyumba</i>	<i>mtunza + nyumba</i>	<i>house keeper</i>
5	<i>mtunza samani</i>	<i>mtunza + samani</i>	<i>furniture keeper</i>
6	<i>mtunza vifaa</i>	<i>mtunza + vifaa</i>	<i>implements keeper</i>
7	<i>mtunza bohari</i>	<i>mtunza + bohari</i>	<i>warehouse keeper</i>
8	<i>mtunza njia</i>	<i>mtunza + njia</i>	<i>path or road keeper</i>

**Source:** Field data, 2022

### The Semantics of Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns

The analysis of the semantics of NN Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns is guided by the headedness principle and the endocentricity and exocentricity concepts. Semantic headedness typically serves as the primary criterion for compound endocentricity. The semantic head is often defined as the hyperonym from which the denotation of the compound is derived, with exocentric compounds being those whose denotation is not a subclass of their head element (Nobrega, 2020). According to the headedness principle, a compound that has a head element in it is called an endocentric compound, whilst one that has no head element in it is called an exocentric compound (Bloomfield, 1933). In terms of the classification of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns into headed compound nouns and headless compound nouns, the findings show that NN Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are largely headless compound nouns in the sense that they do not exhibit a head-modifier relationship. For instance, in the following deverbal compound nouns *mcheza kamari* 'gambler', *mpiga filimbi* 'flutist', and *mpinga maendeleo* 'a person who hampers progress in a society' the head-modifier relationship or the hyponymic relationship is not exhibited through the constituents of those deverbal compound nouns. The following table show some headless Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns.

**Table 5: Headless Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns**

Noun Class Prefix	Compound Noun	First Constituent	Second Constituent	Gloss
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kipimajoto</i>	<i>kipima</i>	<i>joto</i>	thermometer
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kipima mvua</i>	<i>kipima</i>	<i>mvua</i>	rain gauge
<i>m-</i>	<i>mhakikimali</i>	<i>mhakiki</i>	<i>mali</i>	valuer
<i>m-</i>	<i>mchimba madini</i>	<i>mchimba</i>	<i>madini</i>	mineral miner
<i>m-</i>	<i>mdhibiti fedha</i>	<i>mdhibiti</i>	<i>fedha</i>	financial controller
<i>m-</i>	<i>mbadhiri amana</i>	<i>mbadhiri</i>	<i>amana</i>	embezzler
<i>m-</i>	<i>mchimba makaa</i>	<i>mchimba</i>	<i>makaa</i>	coal miner
<i>m-</i>	<i>mchochea mvua</i>	<i>mchochea</i>	<i>mvua</i>	honey guide

**Source:** Field data, 2022

By using the endocentricity and exocentricity perspective, the findings show that NN Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are principally exocentric compound nouns. An exocentric compound is a type of a compound where the first element modifies the second while the whole compound refers exocentrically to only a part of the referent (see Spencer, 1991:311; Bussmann, 1998:47, among others). For instance, the deverbal compound noun like *mwabudu miungu* 'idolator' does not show the modifier-modified relationship in the sense that the constituent *mwabudu* does not modify *miungu*. Table 6 below shows some Kiswahili deverbal exocentric compound nouns whose meanings are not deduced from the sum of the meanings of their constituents.

**Table 6: Kiswahili Deverbal Exocentric Compound Nouns**

Noun Class Marker	Compound Noun	First Constituent	Second Constituent	Gloss
<i>m-</i>	<i>mpiga mbiu</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>mbiu</i>	bellman
<i>m-</i>	<i>mrinasali</i>	<i>mrina</i>	<i>asali</i>	honey gatherer
<i>m-</i>	<i>mchapakazi</i>	<i>mchapa</i>	<i>kazi</i>	a hard working person
<i>m-</i>	<i>mtoataarifa</i>	<i>mtoa</i>	<i>taarifa</i>	informant
<i>m-</i>	<i>mpewa nishani</i>	<i>mpewa</i>	<i>nishani</i>	medalist
<i>m-</i>	<i>msuka mikeka</i>	<i>msuka</i>	<i>mikeka</i>	a plaiter of mats
<i>m-</i>	<i>mfanya masaili</i>	<i>mfanya</i>	<i>masaili</i>	interviewer
<i>M</i>	<i>mrasimu ramani</i>	<i>mrasimu</i>	<i>ramani</i>	cartographer

**Source:** Field data, 2022

These compound nouns generally comprise a verbal base and an argument, normally its direct object. They exemplify transitive verbs which carry objects. In these deverbal compound nouns, a deverbal noun must combine with its object to express a complete meaning. This implies that the first constituent of a deverbal

compound noun cannot make sense without its direct object. The compound as a whole denotes a person or entity which performs the role of the external argument.

### Idiomatic Compound Nouns in Kiswahili

The findings from the gathered data also show that a sufficient number of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are idiomatic compound nouns. Basically, idiomatic compound nouns are the compound nouns which behave as idioms and whose meanings cannot be derived from the meanings of the individual words. Because of their lack of internal contrastivity, some linguists refer to idioms as ready-made collocations (Crystal, 2008). Idiomatic compound nouns are opaque in nature in terms of their meanings as their meanings are not derived from the constituents of the compound nouns. The deverbal compound nouns that are regarded as idiomatic compound nouns show that these compound nouns derive their meanings externally and that their meanings cannot be predicted on the basis of the combined words. The analysis of the data reveal that the majority of the Kiswahili deverbal idiomatic compound nouns belong to the KI/VI class, as examples presented in Table 7 demonstrate.

**Table 7: Deverbal Kiswahili Idiomatic Compound Couns**

Noun Class Marker	Compound Noun	Derivation	Gloss
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kifunguakinywa</i>	<i>kifungua + kinywa</i>	breakfast
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kiinuamgongo</i>	<i>kiinua + mgongo</i>	gratuity
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kifungamkoba</i>	<i>kifungua + mkoba</i>	final consultation fee
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kifunguamkoba</i>	<i>kifungua + mkoba</i>	initial consultation fee
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kifunguamimba</i>	<i>kifungua + mimba</i>	firstborn child
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kifunguamlango</i>	<i>kifungua + mlango</i>	first dowry payment after the betrothal ceremony
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kiangazamacho</i>	<i>kiangaza + macho</i>	present given for finding a lost article
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kiamshahamu</i>	<i>kiamsha + hamu</i>	aperitif

Source: Field data, 2022

The findings have established further that Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are also classified based on the notion of transparency and opaqueness (see also Katikiro 2017). Although Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are largely exocentric, there are some Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns which are transparent compound nouns. Transparent compound nouns are compound nouns whose meanings can be easily understood from the meanings of their individual parts. In other words, the relationship between the words is clear. In a simple language, you can guess the meaning of the whole compound noun by understanding its components. According to this study, the analysis of transparent deverbal Kiswahili compound nouns, transparent compound nouns have two basic characteristics. The first characteristic of transparent compound nouns is that the meaning of this compound noun is predictable from the meanings of the constituents of a compound noun. Secondly, each constituent contributes directly and clearly to the overall meaning of a compound noun. Table 8 below shows some transparent Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns.

**Table 8: Transparent Kiswahili Deverbal Compound Nouns**

Noun Class Marker	Compound Noun	First constituent	Second constituent	Gloss
<i>m</i>	<i>mtengeneza nywele</i>	<i>mtengeneza</i>	<i>nywele</i>	hairdresser
<i>m</i>	<i>mshika kibendera</i>	<i>mshika</i>	<i>kibendera</i>	linesman
<i>m</i>	<i>mpiga taipu</i>	<i>mpiga</i>	<i>taipu</i>	typist
<i>m</i>	<i>mpima ardhi</i>	<i>mpima</i>	<i>ardhi</i>	surveyor or marine surveor
<i>M</i>	<i>mfanyabiashara</i>	<i>mfanya</i>	<i>biashara</i>	a business person
<i>M</i>	<i>mshona nguo</i>	<i>mshona</i>	<i>nguo</i>	tailor
<i>M</i>	<i>mfanyakazi</i>	<i>mfanya</i>	<i>kazi</i>	worker
<i>Ki</i>	<i>kipimamvua</i>	<i>kipima</i>	<i>mvua</i>	raingauge

<i>Ki</i>	<i>kipimasauti</i>	<i>kipima</i>	<i>sauti</i>	sound spectrograph
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**Source:** Field data, 2022

### Conclusion

This paper has explored the morphology and semantics of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. In terms of the morphological analysis of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns, the findings show that the majority of these compound nouns belong to classes 1 and 2 (mu/wa) and classes 7 and 8 (KI/VI). Furthermore, the findings show that some deverbal nouns are highly productive in the sense that they are responsible in the formation of many Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns when they combine with other nouns. The morphological structure of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns has also shown the manifestation of deverbal compound nouns that involve extended verbs. like *mpigania haki* 'human rights activist'. Also, in terms of what compound nouns refer to, the findings show that even though the majority of KI/VI Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns refer to miscellaneous things and instruments, some Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns that belong to classes 1 and 2 do not refer to the agents but refer to other things like plants. In terms of the semantic analysis of Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns, the findings show that generally these compound nouns are exocentric compound nouns. In terms of transparency and opaqueness, there are opaque Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns and also there are transparent Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns. The findings demonstrate that Kiswahili deverbal compound nouns are largely headless compound nouns.

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