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A Comparative Study of Headedness in Ruhaya Compounds

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Abstract

This paper presents endocentric and exocentric compounds in Ruhaya, with specific focus on their lexical properties, position of headwords, semantic relation between headwords and modifiers, and the semantic classification of noun-noun compounds. It offers a comparison between Ruhaya and other Bantu languages on these aspects, and extends the comparison to Indo-European languages (English, Dutch and French). It was found that Ruhaya has left-headed compounds, and words from the same and different lexical categories can combine to make up compound words. In the case of headed compounds, there is a kind of semantic relations through which modifiers slightly change the meaning of headwords. With an exception of Northern Sotho, in which a prefix of the left-most word becomes the head, the left-most word in Ruhaya, Bemba and Kiswahili is the head. In comparison with Indo-European languages, French is left-headed in this regard, while Dutch and English are right-headed.

Keywords: *compounding, headedness, semantic classification, comparative Bantu, Ruhaya*

1. Introduction

Studies on compounding affirm that it is a process of combining more than one base, and it can be more than two bases depending on the language (Katamba & Stonham, 2006). In Bantu languages, most compound words are formed by the selection of similar word categories such as noun and noun, or words from different categories, e.g., verb and noun (Musehane, 2007). However, the decision of which of the two words becomes the head of a compounded noun is inconclusive as some researchers (e.g., Benczes, 2004, 2006; Musehane, 2007) suggest that the lexical word becomes the head while, others (e.g., Kula, 2012; Joseph, 2013) appear to assume that the noun class prefix is the head. The question of what becomes the head of a compounded word is one of the motivations for engaging into studying of compounding in Ruhaya, a Bantu language classified as JE 22 (Maho 2003), and spoken in the Western parts of Lake Victoria area of Tanzania.

The features possessed by both compounded words appear to be amalgamated into grammatical and semantic roles as one word, which requires to be conceptualized as an individual word. In other words, a compound word is regarded as a single word and not two words, and any different arrangement of the words that make up a compound could result into ungrammatical one. For instance, the English compound 'tea-pot' cannot be 'pot-tea' since the compound would be ungrammatical and senseless. Booij (2005: 95), in his conceptualisation of a compound, involves an aspect of *lexeme*, i.e., a compound word is a word made up by stringing together lexemes. For instance, *income tax* is a compound because both constituents are lexemes. Fabb (2001) says that the

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units that make up a compound share semantic relations, i.e., one unit may influence the meaning of the other item. However, he cautions that this situation is not always applicable to some types of compounds such as exocentric ones (compounds with no heads). The role of phonology is another crucial aspect considered in the formation of compound words i.e., the placement of stress in pronunciation that distinguishes a compound word from a non-compound. The argument here is that, it might be difficult for one to distinguish *greenhouse* as a compound and *green house* as non-compound in speech. However, stress placement can offer clarity on such a case, that '*green'house* (stress on the first word) is a compound word; and *green* '*house* (a house which is painted green), with stress on the second word, is non compound (Katamba & Stonham, 2006: 304; McCarthy, 2002: 59). Given this scenario, an examination of the properties of compounded words in Ruhaya appears to be a welcome research activity that would contribute positively to comparative linguistics.

This study is descriptive in nature. It aims to first present a description of two types of Ruhaya compound words, namely, compounds with heads (endocentric) and compounds with no heads (exocentric). Section two dwells with that, and also addresses issues related to lexical categories of Ruhaya compound words, position of headwords in Ruhaya endocentric compound words, and the semantic relation between headwords and modifiers. Section three presents a comparison between Ruhaya and other Bantu languages—Kiswahili, Bemba, and Northern Sotho—on three aspects: the location of headwords, semantic relations between headwords and modifiers, and lexical categories of members that make up a compound word. Furthermore, the section presents a comparison between the said Bantu languages and English, Dutch and French languages so as to find similarities and differences with regards to compounding. Section four concludes the study.

2. Properties of Compounded Words: The Ruhaya Data

This section discusses the properties of Ruhaya compounds. The example cases given are drawn from the major sample that is provided in the Appendix.

2.1 Semantic Classification of Compounds: Endocentric vs. Exocentric

As mentioned earlier, an endocentric compound is a compound word that consists of two words, of which one is the head and the one that determines the meaning of the whole compound; and the other one becomes the modifier. The head is the central part of the word, and in most cases it also determines the lexical category of the whole compound (Katamba & Stonham, 2006: 332; Benczes, 2006: 9-10). The Ruhaya examples cases below are illustrative of this point.

1a.	*kashwa-bazimu*	'a very small type of winged termite'
	kashwa	'winged termite', *bazimu* 'spirits, ghosts, insanity'
1b.	*gendera-kimo*	'go straight'
	gendera	'go on behalf of', *kimo* 'completely', 'straight on'
1c.	*kanya-bwenge*	'very clever, intelligent'
	kanya'	increase in number', *bwenge*'wisdom'

1d. *karanda-rugo* 'a type of creeping plant'
karanda 'something that creeps', *rugo* 'wall/barrier/gate'

It is obvious from the above cases that there is a kind of semantic relations between the words (constituents) that make up a compound word. In such a relationship, one word tends to modify the meaning of the other (the head) as it adds meaning or slightly changes it. The data in (1) above show that *kashwa* is the head (H), which is modified by *bazimu* (modifier). The same relationship applies to (1b), (1c) and (1d), respectively, in which *gendera* and *kanya* are heads.

The second type involves compounds with no heads (i.e., exocentric compounds). This idea is supported by Benczes (2006) who argues that in the English language, not all compound words contain heads, some compounds such as *lazy bones* (a lazy person) and *dare devil* (a reckless person) are headless, so they do not have a "head-modifier semantic relations," and their meaning is external from the individual words that make up the compound (Katamba & Stonham, 2006: 332; Benczes, 2006: 9-10). The same thing applies to some Ruhaya compound words, as illustrated in (2) below.

2a. *hanantura* 'bring down'
hana 'warn', *ntura* 'a type of vegetable'

2b. *janjabura* 'break into long pieces'
janja 'become crazy', *bura* 'go missing, get lost'

2c. *mukaaga* 'six'
muka 'string tied around a parcel', *aga* 'scratch'

2d. *kanyunyambuzi* 'a type of creeping plant with sweet and slightly sour leaves'
kanyunya' something that sucks/licks', *mbuzi* 'goat'

In fact, the data above show that when two words combine, a new word is created with a complete new meaning. which is not similar to the meanings from the individual words, i.e., the new meaning cannot be predicted from the two words (idiomatic).

We can conclude in this that the data collected exhibited the two types of compound words discussed above. Nonetheless, in endocentric compounds, the words maintained meanings closer to their constituents, but with slight changes as in (3) below.

3a. *kashwa* 'winged termite', *bazimu* 'spirits, 'ghosts', 'insanity'
kashwabazimu 'a very small type of winged termite'

3b. *kanya* 'increase in number', bwenge 'wisdom'
kanyabwenge 'very clever', 'intelligent'

3c. *gendera* 'go on behalf of', *kimo* 'completely', 'straight on'
genderakimo 'go straight'

3d. *karanda* 'something that creeps', *rugo* 'fence/gate'
Karandarugo 'a type of creeping plant'

The examples in (3) above shows a slight change of meaning of the compound words as the meaning of 'a winged termite' becomes specific to 'a very small type of winged termite'. However, exocentric compounds show that there is a total shift of meaning when two constituents are combined together.

In the case of endocentric compounds, the head of a compound word can appear at any position of a word. However, this arrangement depends on the language (Katamba & Stonham, 2006: 315-331). In Ruhaya compound words, headed compound words show that the head appears on the left of a compound word. These compounds show left-headedness: *kashwa-bazimu* ('a very small type of winged termite', [*kashwa* ('winged termite'), *bazimu* ('spirits', 'ghosts', 'insanity')]; *gendera-kimo* ('go straight' [*gendera* ('go on behalf of'), *kimo* ('completely', 'straight on')]; and *karanda-rugo* ('a type of creeping plant') [*karanda*' (something that creeps', *rugo* 'fence/gate')].

2.2 Lexical Categories Forming Ruhaya Compounds

In Ruhaya, individual words that belong to the same lexical category maintain that class as exemplified below. Perhaps this helps to answer the questioned whether lexical categories of individual words are maintained when the two words are stringed together to form a new word (McCarthy, 2002: 60; Katamba & Stonham, 2006: 319). In fact, compounded words in Ruhaya are formed by combination of the following categories.

2.2.1 Nominal Compounds

Most compounded words are formed by the combination of a noun with another noun, as shown in (4). This is common in Sesotho as well (Musehane, 2007). Some compounded words are formed by verb and noun, commonly referred to as deverbal compounds, as illustrated in (5) and (6). Mphasha (2006) found many deverbal compounds in Sesotho.

noun + noun compounds

4a. *kashwa* (N), *bazimu* (N) >*kashwabazimu* (N) 'a type of small winged termite'

4b. *kishe* (N), *busha* (N) >*kishebusha* (N) 'see'

4c. *kaita* (N), *marogo* (N)> *kaitamarogo* (N) 'a type of plant that looks like amaranth'

4d. *kalinda* (N), *nkobe* (N)> *kalindankobe* (N)'a type of fern that has a smaller stem'

4e. *karanda* (N), *rugo* (N) >*karandarugo* (N) 'a type of creeping plant'

4f. *kibiika* (N), *nsenene* (N)> *kibiikansenene* (N)'a type of wild plant with turgid leaves that grows branches massively on the stem'.

4g. *Kiraaza* (N), *muliro* (N)> *kiraazamuliro* (N) 'a type of plant whose flowers has a pungent smell'.

4h. *murasha* (N), *iguru* (N) >*murashaiguru* (N) 'a type of tree'

verb + noun compounds

5a. *hana* (V), ntura (N) >*hanantura* (V) 'bring down'

5b. *kanya* (V), bwenge (N) >*kanyabwenge* (A) 'very clever', 'intelligent'

5c. *rwita* (V), *marogo (*N)> *rwitamarogo* (N)'a type of plant that looks like amaranth but has strong smell'

noun + verb compounds

6a. *kanda* (N), gira (V) >*kandagira* (V) 'trample several times'

6b. *nta* (N), gambirwa (V) >*ntagambirwa* (N) 'disobedient person'

A closer look into of noun + noun compounds in Ruhaya provides further properties of compounded nouns, mainly on nominal classifications of Ruhaya compound nouns. The status of nominal classes of origin nouns are examined after the combination. Also, the main semantic areas that generate compounded nouns are examined. Such kind of categorisation has been borrowed from Musehane (2007: 39-41) and a Ruhaya nominal classification from Riedel (2010: 213).

Findings show that many compounded nouns in Ruhaya are for plants nouns, as shown in (7). This being the case, nominal classes 3/4 and 9/10 become the main clusters that host compounded nouns in Ruhaya.

7a. *Muliibwanyonyi* (class 3/4) 'a type of thorny tree', derived from *muliibwa* (class 3/4) 'cassava plant' and *nyonyi* (class 9/10) 'a type of bird'.

7b. *Murashaiguru* (class 3/4) 'a type of tree' derived from *murasha* (class 1/2) 'someone who throws something', and *iguru* (class 9) 'heaven'.

7c. *Nshoromuti* (class 3/4) 'a type of climbing leguminous plant', derived from *nshoro* (class 9/10) 'type of seed' and *muti* (class 3/4) 'tree'.

7d. *Kibiikansenene* (class 7/8) 'a type of wild plant with turgid leaves', derived from *kibiika* (class 15) 'something that keeps', a deverbal noun, and *nsenene* (class 9/10) 'grasshopper'.

7e. *Kaitamarogo* (class 12) 'a type of plant that looks like amaranth', derived from *kaita* (class 12), 'something that kills', a deverbal noun, and *marogo* (class 6) 'witchcraft'.

7f. *Muziranyama* (class 3/4) 'a type of medicinal/Malaria plant', derived from *muzira* (class 1/2) 'someone who ignores something', and *nyama* (class 9) 'meat'.

7g. *Kiraazamuliro* (class 7/8) 'a type of plant', derived from *kiraaza* (class 7/8) 'something that extinguish something', a deverbal noun, and *muliro* (class3/4) 'fire'.

7h. *Katateeteramunyanya* (class 12) 'a type of shrub', derived from *katateetera* (class 12) 'something that cannot hit' and *munyanya* (class 1/2) 'a male relative/sibling'.

7i. *Kalindankobe* (class 12) 'a type of fern', derived from *kalinda* (class 9) a deverbal noun 'blockage/fence', and *nkobe* (9/10) 'baboon'.

Some compounded nouns refer to human names (nouns): *Mukaishe* (class 1/2) ('his/her step mother'), derived from *muka* (class 1/2) 'wife of', and *ishe* (class 1/2) 'his/her father'. Other compounded nouns are for animals and insects, as shown in (8) below.

8a. *Kashwabazimu* (class 12) 'a type of very small winged termite', derived from *kashwa* (class 12) 'winged termite', and *bazimu* (class 12) 'spirits/ghosts'.

8b. *Nyamaishwa* (class 9/10) 'wild animal that can be hunted for meat', derived from *nyama* (class 9) and *ishwa*(class 1/2) 'bad body smell'.

2.2.2 Other compounds

Apart from the major combination of noun and noun, and verb and noun presented above, Ruhaya demonstrates that verb + verb compounds are possible, as shown in (9).

verb + verb compounds

9a. *bara* (V), *shuka* (V) >*barashuka* (V) 'of a trap go off'

9b. *chaka* (V), *buza* (V) >*chakabuza* (V) 'say nonsense', 'walk carelessly'

9c. *janja* (V), bura (V) >*janjabura* (V) 'break into pieces'

9d. *tandama* (V), *biliibwe* (V)> *tandamabiliibwe* (N) 'love portion'

The data further shows that words from different lexical categories can also combine to form a compound word and the new word gets its lexical category from one of the individual words as exemplified by verb and adverb: *gendera* (V), *kimo* (ADV) >*genderakimo* (V) 'go straight'. It is further maintained that in such a combination of words, it is the headword that determines the lexical category of the whole compound in case of compound words with heads.

3. Comparative Approach to Compounds across Languages

Compound words from Bantu languages show some similarities and differences with regard to the headedness feature, lexical categories of the constituents of compounds and compounds as well. Semantic feature is also similar to Bantu languages. This section discusses the similarities and differences between Bantu languages (specifically, Kiswahili, Ruhaya, Northern Sotho and Bemba) and some European languages (mainly English, French and Dutch). The discussion herein is based on published sources such as Benczes (2006), Musehane (2007), Bauer (2008), Kula (2012) and many others cited hereunder.

3.1 Semantic Study of Compounds

Our comparative study opens up with the semantic nature of compound words. This feature seems to be shared by the languages mentioned above (Ruhaya, Kiswahili, Bemba, Northern Sotho, English, French and Dutch) with regard to the two types of compound words featured in this paper: headed compounds, and headless compounds. Specifically, it is shown that when two words combine in case of headed compound words in Ruhaya, one becomes the head and the other becomes the modifier. The two members of the compound share a certain kind of semanticity in which the modifier slightly influence the change in meaning of the particular compound word. For instance, in the Ruhaya compound '*kashwabazimu* ('a very small type of winged termite'), the meaning becomes specific after the combination of *kashwa* ('winged termite') and *bazimu* ('spirits'). The same thing happens in Kiswahili whereby a compound *batamzinga* ('turkey') stems from *bata* ('duck') and *mzinga* ('cannon'). In Kiswahili, duck and turkey share the name '*bata*'. However, there is an addition of a word *mzinga'* ('cannon') to make '*batamzinga'* ('turkey'). Based on the physical appearance of these birds, the difference between the two (birds) is that '*bata* ('duck') has a smaller shape compared with turkey (which has a bigger shape). In northern Sotho, such kind of modification exists in endocentric compounds such as

lebatla-badimo ('Gods' place'), derived from *lebatla* ('a place without grass'), which has in some way modified the meaning of another member *badimo* ('gods'). In fact, *shí-kùlú-bántù* ('distinguished elderly man') in Bemba comes from a combination of *shí-kùlú* ('elderly man') that is slightly modified by *bántù* ('people').

The process is similar in the English, French and Dutch languages in which there is a slight reshape of meaning when two elements of a compound combine. In English, *blackbird* is a kind of bird, black in color, *sitting room* is a kind of room, and *schoolboy* is a male student. In Dutch, *kook-pot* is a kind of cooking pot, and the French compound *un wagon-restaurant* is a kind of car in which meal services are provided. With regard to the headwords (right-hand side on Dutch and English, and left-hand side on French) and modifiers, there's a kind of meaning modified to the headword by the modifier.

Semantically, the meaning of a headless compound cannot be deduced from its members. In such a combination of two words, a new word with a new meaning is created. A compound *mukaaga* ('six') is a suitable example of a headless compound from Ruhaya. It is made of *muka* ('string tied to a parcel') and *aga* ('scratch'). In Kiswahili, the compound *mwana-anga*, which stems from *mwana* ('child of'), and *anga* ('sky'), best describes a headless compound. In Sotho, there is *ditšie-badimo* ('nonsense') from *ditšie* ('locusts') and *badimo* ('gods'). Perhaps the situation is similar to English, Dutch and French headless compound words. In English, a *bluenose* is not a nose, rather a variety of potato. However, Benczes (2004: 10) has a different view about the semantic nature of exocentric compounds as she argues that some meanings can also be deduced from the constituents that make up a compound word. For example, the meaning of *jailbird*, ('imprisoned person') can be deduced by linking the idea of a caged bird and that of a jailed person. In French, *uncuré-dent* ('toothpick') comes from *un curé* ('a priest') and dent ('tooth'). This particular feature seems to be shared by the languages featured in this paper, as well with regard to headed and headless compound words.

There is a similarity between Bantu languages and French on the location of the headwords on compound words with heads (endocentric). In Bantu languages (e.g., Ruhaya, Northern Sotho, Bemba and Kiswahili featuring in this article), the left-most word of a compound word is most likely to be the head. It has already been exemplified how this feature exhibits itself. In words such as *bata-mzinga*, *kashwa-bazimu*, *mogopo-kgomo* and *nà-kùlú-bántù* the first word of each compound is the head (i.e., *bata*, *kashwa, mogopo* and *nà-kùlú)*. The feature seems to be similar to French which is said to be left-headed as well (Fabb, 2001), as in *un chou-fleur* ('cauliflower'), *une station-services* ('service station'), *un abat-jour* ('lampshade') and *une grand-mère* ('grandmother'), in which the first word before a hyphen is the head, while the second one is the modifier.

However, the headedness feature seems to be different from English and Dutch, which are said to be right-headed (Quirk et al., 1985; Katamba & Stonham, 2006); and it could be attributed to the fact that English and Dutch are Germanic, while French descends from Indo-European languages (Booij, 2009: 10). In English endocentric compounds, the headword is normally on the right-hand side as in *tea-pot, week-end, hair-dresser, and school-boy*; and any case where the head appears on the left should be considered

'exceptional' (Quirk et al., 1985). Booij (1992) also provides Dutch words to exemplify that the language is also right-headed, e.g., *bureau-la* ('desk drawer'), *kook-pot* ('cooking pot'), *lang-slaper* ('late riser'). The Dutch words that appear after a hyphen are headwords preceded by modifiers.

The comparative work looks into lexical categories associated with the formulations of compounds. Section 2 has shown that though Ruhaya nouns and verbs are prolific, other lexical categories such as adverbs, nouns and verbs can also combine to create compound words. This is exemplified by the words: *chakabuza* (V+V>V), *genderakimo* (V+ADV>V), and *kishebusha* (N+N>N). Kiswahili is no far from Ruhaya as it also makes use of such kinds of combinations, as exemplified by: *mjamzito* (ADJ+N>N), and *mshikadau* (V+N>N). Northern Sotho also shows that it is rich in nominal and verbs compounds exemplified by: *moobu-putšane* (N+N>N), and *lediri-setlogo* (V+N>N). This process is similar to the one on Dutch, French and English. In Dutch, *bureau-la* is a (N+N>N) compound, *kook-pot* (V+N>N) and *lang-slaper* is a (ADV+N>N) compound word. English is very rich in compound words, and a few examples include: *blackboard* (ADJ+N>N), *freeze-dry* (V+V>V), *overactive* (Prep+A>ADJ), *hairnet* (N+N>N) and *dry-clean* (A+V>V). French is also rich in such kinds of processes as it also involves a combination of compounds from different lexical categories as in *un beau-frère* (ADJ+N>N), *un earrière-boutique* (ADV+N>N), *un gratte-ciel* (V+N>N) and *une porte-fenêtre* (N+N>N).

3.2 Headedness of Compound Words

From the data collected, Ruhaya compound words exhibit similar characteristics with other Bantu languages on headedness feature, with minor differences, as Lusekelo (2014: 146) writes, "… the left-most word in a compound is likely to control the syntactic pattern of the compound." The feature seems to appear in other languages as well. Below are some examples from Kiswahili (Lusekelo, 2014: 146-149), Northern Sotho (Mphasha, 2006: 128-129), Bemba (Kula, 2012: 431), in conjunction with some Ruhaya compounds.

In Ruhaya compounds, the words *kashwabazimu* (noun) and *genderakimo* (verb) have their headwords, and the left-most word of each case is the head, and it is the one that controls the lexical category of the whole compound; while the right-most word is the modifier. In the two examples of compounds mentioned above (*kashwabazimu* and *genderakimo*), *kashwa* and *gendera* are the heads; while their counterparts (*bazimu* and *rakimo*) are modifiers. In Kiswahili, a similar feature is exhibited by words such as *batamzinga* ('turkey'), *garimoshi* ('train') and *mwanaisimu* ('linguist'). In these examples, *bata*-, *gari*- and *mwana*-, the left-most words are the heads. In Bemba, Kula (2012) writes that nominal compounds are left-headed, and the left-most word is the one that determines the class of the whole compound word. She provides examples such as *nà-kùlú-bántù* ('distinguished elderly woman') and *shí-kùlú-bántù* ('distinguished elderly man'), in which the head is the left-most word without prefixes *nà*- and *shí*- (argument). She says that the head of the compound determines the 'agreement and modification'. However, in Northern Sotho, Mphasha argues that the prefix attached to the first word of a compound (a noun compound specifically) is the one that occupies the head position. Some of the examples are seen in the compounds *motho-sebata ('*a person who looks like a carnivore'), and *mogopo-kgomoa* ('big wooded bowl'): the prefix *mo*- on both

words is an element regarded as the head of a compound. The feature seems to be slightly different from Kiswahili, Ruhaya and Bemba.

Questions are always asked whether individual words forming compound words lose or retain their meanings when combined (Mphasha, 2006; Musehane, 2007; Kula, 2012). Connected to this is also the question of whether there is any change in the meaning of the individual words and/or the resulting compound words (Benczes, 2004, 2006). In relation to these issues, Fabb (2001) argues that there is a kind of semantic relation between constituents that make up a compound, and this is true to compounds with heads (endocentric). Modification plays a central role in the interpretation of the words that make up a compound. However, he warns that modification is not always applicable to all languages. Further explanation and examples are given below (in compounds with heads and compound with no heads).

For compounds with heads in Ruhaya, some words were observed to have retained similar meanings from their individual (separate) words as in *kashwa* ('winged termite'), *bazimu* ('spirits', 'ghost', 'insanity'), *kashwabazimu* ('a very small type of winged termite'). The other cases are *kanya* ('increase in number'), *bwenge* ('wisdom'), *kanyabwenge* ('very clever', 'intelligent'), *gendera* ('go on behalf'), *kimo (*'completely'), and *genderakimo* ('go straight'). A similar aspect is observed in some Kiswahili compound words such as *garimoshi* ('train') [from *gari* ('car') and *moshi* ('smoke')]; and *batamzinga* ('turkey') [from *bata* ('duck') and *mzinga* ('cannon')]. In northern Sotho, *motho-sebata* is a person who looks like a carnivore, made up from *motho* ('person') and *sebata* ('carnivore'). Another example from Sotho is *mogopo-kgomo* ('big wooden bowl') from *mogopo* ('wooden bowl') and *kgomo* ('head of a cattle'); *more-mootlwa* ('thorny tree') from *more* ('tree') and *mootlwa* ('thorn'). It is a similar behaviour in Bemba as well in some way that the right-most word of a compound word modifies the meaning of the first word (head). Kula (2012) provides examples such as *nà-kùlú-bántù* ('a distinguished elderly woman') from *nà-kùlú* ('elderly woman') and *a*-bá-ntù ('people'), also *shí-kùlú-bántù (*'a distinguished elderly man') from *shí-kùlú* ('elderly man') and *a-bá-ntù* ('people'). Such examples show that these Bantu languages exhibit similar features when it comes to compound words with heads, in which modifiers play the role of qualifying the head in some way.

For compounds with no heads, some compound words experience a complete shift of meaning once individual words are joined together. In other words, such compounds are exocentric and their meanings are referred to as metaphorical, i.e., they cannot be predicted out of the individual constituents. In Ruhaya, there are compound words with no heads. In words such as *hana* ('warn') and *ntura* ('a type of vegetable'), when combined they create *hanantura* ('bring down'), a new word with a new meaning, completely different from its constituents. It is again exemplified by another word *janjaibura* ('break into long pieces'), which comes from *janja* ('become crazy') and *bura* ('go missing'). Again, *muka* ('a string tied to a parcel') and *aga* ('scratch') combine to make *mukaaga* ('six'). Such examples show a total shift of meaning from the individual constituents that make up a compound word. Kiswahili is no different from Ruhaya. It also contains some exocentric compounds such as *m-vujajasho* ('day worker') from a deverbal noun in the left-most word without a prefix *m-vuja (*'leak') and *jasho* ('sweat');

mwana-anga ('astronomist') from *mwana* ('child of') and *anga* ('sky'). Mphasha (2007) provides some more exocentric examples from Sotho as in compounds such as *ditšie-badimo* ('nonsense') from *ditšie* ('locusts') and *badimo* ('gods'); and *sehlodi-mare* ('crocodile tears') from *sehlodi* ('edible') and *mare* ('saliva').

3.3 Lexical Categories Formulating Bantu Compounds

As mentioned in Section 2, compound words in Ruhaya are mainly from two lexical categories, noun and verb, but the individual constituents come from verbs, nouns and adverbs. There are combinations of individual elements from the same lexical category and from different lexical categories. Examples are *kishebusha* (N+N>N) ('type of insect'), and *kashwabazimu* (N+N>N) ('a type of small winged termite'). There is also a combination of verbs as in *barashuka* (V+V>V) ('of a trap go off'), and *chakabuza* (V+V>V) ('say nonsense, walk carelessly'). The combinations involve words from the same categories and the 'final product' falls into the same lexical category. There is a combination of individual words from different lexical categories as in *ntagambirwa* (N+V>N) ('disobedient person'), *kandagira* (N+V>V) ('trample several times'), *hanantura* (V+N>V) ('bring down') and *genderakimo* (V+ADV>V) ('go straight'). A similar situation is also observed in Kiswahili, in which combinations of words from the same and different lexical categories is applicable as in *mwananchi* (N+N>N) ('citizen'), *batamzinga* (N+N>N) ('turkey'), *mjamzito* (ADJ+N>N) ('pregnant'), and *mshikadau* (V+N>N) ('shareholder'). In Northern Sotho, such combinations are also applicable. They involve combinations of nouns and verbs, e.g., *moobu-putšane* (N+N>N) ('hornet/wasp'), *mma-lehufane* (N+N>N) ('a jealous person'), *lediri-setlogo* (V+N>N) ('simple verb'), and *padi-histori* (V+N>N) ('historical novel'). It could be argued that combinations of constituents from the same and from different word categories are applicable in Bantu compound words. However, the data show that combinations between nouns and nouns, nouns and verbs (see sub-Section 2.2.1) are rich compared to the same lexical categories to others such as adverbs and adjectives.

4. Conclusion

We can conclude from the data collected that Ruhaya is rich in nominal and verbal compounds. Such compound words fall into two types: compounds with heads (endocentric), and compounds with no heads (exocentric). We can also conclude that Ruhaya is similar to Kiswahili, Bemba, and French in the location of headwords, such words are left-headed regardless of the language groups into which they belong. However, Northern Sotho is slightly different from the other languages discussed here as the prefix of the left-most word of a compound word is the head. Ruhaya, Kiswahili, Bemba and Northern Sotho differ from English and Dutch as the latter are right-headed on compound words. However, there is a similarity on the combination of lexical categories of the members that make up a compound word, i.e., two words from the same word category or two words from different word categories can link up to create compound words, be they endocentric or exocentric.

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Appendix: Ruhaya compound words

Compound	Category	Gloss	Compound	Category	Gloss
Barashuka	verb	…of a trap to go off	*kashwabazimu*	noun	a type of very small winged termite
Chakabuza	verb	i.say nonsense ii.walk carelessly	*kishebusha*	noun	type of meat
genderakimo	verb	go straight	*mukaishe*	noun	his/her step mother
hanantura	verb	bring down	*mukaaga*	noun	six
Janjabura	verb	break into long pieces	*ntagambirwa*	noun	disobedient person
kanyabwenge	noun	very clever, intelligent	*nyamaishwa*	noun	wild animal that can be hunted for meat
kandagira	verb	trample several times	*rukaaga*	noun	six hundred
Kaitamarogo	noun	A type of plant that looks like amaranth	*Katateeramunyaanya*	noun	A type of shrub
kalindankobe	noun	A type of fern that has a smaller stem	*Muliibwanyonyi*	noun	A type of thorny tree
kanyunyambuzi	noun	A type of small creeping plant with sweet and slightly sour	*Murashaiguru*	noun	A type of tree
karandarugo	noun	A type of creeping plant	*Nshoromuti*	noun	A type of leguminous plant that grows by creeping on poles or trees
Kibiikansenene	noun	A type of wild plant with turgid leaves that grow branches massively on the stem	*Rwitamarogo*	noun	A type of plant that looks like amaranth
kiraazamuliro	noun	A type of plant whose flowers has a pungent smell	*muziranyama*	noun	A type of tree that is used to treat malaria

Source: Muzale (2006, 2011)