## THE POSTPOSITIONS OF ARAWAK\*

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0. Introduction

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- 1. List of postpositions
- 2. Some examples of their use
- 3. Discussion

0. The term 'postposition' is employed here to denote a small but important class of simple, complex and compound forms, for the most part translatable by our prepositions. Hickerson interpreted those she met with as suffixes; and this at least some of them most probably are when appended to nouns or to other postpositions. But they also occur quite as often with the personal prefixes (1 sg. dA-, 2 sg. b-, 3 sg. human male 1-, 3 sg. female-neuter th-, 1 pl. oA-, 2 pl. h-, 3 pl. human nA-) and/or suffixes (1 sg. -de, 2 sg. -bo, 3 sg. human male -i, 3 sg. female-neuter -no ~ -n, 1 pl. -o, 2 pl. -hi, 3 pl. human -ie), which differ somewhat from the corresponding personal pronouns (dái ~ déi, bíi ~ bíi, líi, théi, oái ~ oéi, hái ~ héi, nái ~ néi). And if da- my is a prefix and -kona thumb a stem in (kárika) dakóna my thumb (hurts), there is no linguistically valid reason why da-should be a stem and -khona on; about a suffix in (kárika) dakhóna my body (hurts).

Moreover, to whatever word-class the postpositions in their morphologically free occurrences may be assigned, they enter as stems into both nouns and verbs; so, from oma together with come both thomathi her male companion and thomakaí he is with her.

1. The following list of postpositions contains only such as have been found in tran-

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scribed texts; and is divided into four groups according to frequency of occurrence in these texts: A consists of 1 item with 247 occurrences, B of 6 items each with from 57 to 45 occurrences, C of 6 items each with from 23 to 14 occurrences, and D of 13 items each with 7 or fewer occurrences. Apart from four cases (12, 13, 21 and 23) where analysis is doubtful, compound and complex forms are not listed as such, but will be discussed in what follows.<sup>1</sup>

- A. 1. omón  $\sim$  omín, -mon  $\sim$  -mín  $\sim$  -(o)n, for; to (dative); at; etc.
- B. 2. ábo, -bo, with; by means of; in possession, charge, support of; etc.
  - 3. oária, -oria ∼ -aria, from.
  - 4. odóma, -doma, because, on account or by reason of

In A Preliminary View of Arawak Phonology (IJAL 35.234-8), I tried to show that nasalized vowels, while usually occurring in pre-consonantal and word-final positions only, were also heard, though rarely, before an oral vowel belonging to the same word, as in (kaoáka) bahái he (is not) at home (cf.: kaoáka baháno she is not at home) and (látha) lóoa (he said) to himself—instead of equivalent and more common, látha lónoa. No such case occurs in the examples employed in this article; and since nasalization of a word-final vowel often represents the addition of a suffix (báhá at home, from báhi house; home), all nasalized vowels will be shown in this article as V + n.

- 5. okhóna, -khona  $\sim$  -khon-, on; about, etc.
- olóko, -loko ∼ -lokho-, in; during; in accordance with
- 7. óma, -ma, together with
- C. 8. -bena (part or portion) of or from (selection); subsequent to, since
  - 9. (-)bithi(-) towards; for = to get or to fetch
  - obóra, -bora, for; before (locative or temporal)
  - 11. (a)diako, -diako, upon.
  - 12. (-) ínabo following; in pursuit of; cf.
    -ína base and 2 above
  - mária, -(o)maria, place; side; cause; region; direction
- D. 14. (-)ádi over; above; beyond; by; towards; (more) than
  - 15. (-)áoa with regard to; about; (watch) over; (open/close) up
  - 16. (o)bána, -bana  $\sim$  -ban-, expanse of or surrounding
  - (a)díki, -diki(-), footsteps or tracks;
     after
  - 18. -din like
  - 19. -iábo behind
  - 20. (-)ikirádi round about (encircling).
  - 21. (o)kobóroko among; inner part of (body, mind, earth, forest) cf. 25.
  - 22. akósa, -kosa, side, beside
  - 23. -oáia alone; -self
  - 24. irákho, -rakho, in (of liquids only)
  - 25. -roko inner part of (anatomy); so, from adína arm; wing, dadínaroko my armpit vs. dadínaloko (with 6) in my arms
  - 26. (-)seen (there/where-)abouts; all around; (locality or direction)
- 2. By far the most frequently employed is omón or omín (the last vowel is /o/ with some speakers, /i/ with others) and its variants, often translatable by for or to as in (thobokáka) thóio omín (she cooked) for her mother and (látha ..) tho anoána híaro omín (he said ..) to the vulture woman. So also: (lidiáka tha) lóiomin (he spoke) to his mother, dasíkifa bomínno I'll give it to you (b-omín-no

you-to-it). When prefixed by the markers of 1 sg. dA-, 1 pl. oA-, 3 pl. nA-, by attributive kA- or privative mA-, the initial vowel of this and other forms in VC is replaced by /a/. The reduced forms, dan to/for me, bon to/for you, lon to/for him, etc. may always replace damón, bomón, lomón, etc.; and the employment of one or the other set seems to be purely stylistic, although it was noticed that the former is usually employed in combination with the reflexive suffix -oa: (bísika tho dadináoa) dan (give) me (my wings), (thátha) thónoa (she said) to herself.

The reduced form of omón, -(o)n, also occurs as a nominal and postpositional suffix with what may seem to be somewhat different function. So, compare: lisibon facing him, in front of him, from lisibo his face, (lándin ki théi ión) lísikoan (when he arrived there) at his home, and (losá tha) lisikoánro (he went) to his home (-ro is a directional suffix), from lísikoa his home, (leréitho tha ósa) lobóra (his wife went) ahead of him, but (thandá tha) loborán (she arrived) before him From this last example it might seem that the reference of the postposition obon (No. 10) was changed from spatial to tem poral by the addition of the suffix -n; while instances of dakhona about me = about/of my person vs. dakhonán about me = con cerning me (No. 5) suggest that this suffi indicates secondary or extended reference But while it is true that the unsuffixed form in my texts always have what I take to b primary reference, so also in many cases d the suffixed forms.

The reduced forms of (o)min are not mentioned in the anonymous 18th-centur Wörterbuch and Grammatik of the language where we find, for example, only ukin namün for what is now okhonán (v. suprabahümün and bahümüniro for what now abahin at the house and bahinro to (in the direction of) the house (from báhi house), and tumün for what today may be either thom or thon for/to her or it.

The glosses given for postpositions are

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course but a rough makeshift; only a long 's of list of contexts in which each occurs could give a more accurate idea of its functional range. So, for example, ábo (2) and óma (7). both glossed with, are by no means equivalent, though either may occur in some contexts. But the former refers, inter alia, to use as instrument or means, to the position or act of supporting or sustaining, to addition or supply or possession or charge of something or somebody, whereas oma means together with, in (dis)agreement with, in antagonism to. Thus, the utterance: losá tha kaboiánro he went to the garden (káboia garden, provision ground) can be expanded by, for example, thábo (with 2) or thóma (with 7), either of which, if occurring in isolation, might be translated with her or it, though their senses differ. But whereas in the case of the second expanded utterance (with thoma), we may be reasonably sure that reference is to a girl or woman (one does not usually 'go together with' an object), and translate he went to the garden with her, only general situation or wider context can tell us, in the case of the first expansion (with thabo), whether the prefix th- refers to someone or to something. And if it refers to a person, the only adequate English translation will be a paraphrase, he took her to the garden; for only in this way can we convey, as does the Arawak, that 'he had charge

Like omin (1), with which it combines to form abómin  $\sim$  ábon and abónro under, beneath, abo (2) occurs in different degrees of bondage. Compare: hamáron tha abóda thandáda everything it-is with she-comes = she brings back all sorts of things, dandá aba hiaro abo I come a woman with = I'vebrought a woman, hálika móthokhan tho híaro abo bandá dadiakónda, Harioánli? what sort-diminutive this woman with youcome upon-me, H.? = what sort of a woman is this that you've brought me, H.? liiánkaboária ábo his-flute with = with (playing) his flute; but: hamáa-bo? what with (by what means)? (cf. hamáa-khona? what about?, hamáa-loko?

what in?, hamáa odóma? what for = why? dandá íkikhodobo I-come firewood-with = I've brought firewood, (lósa thidéinthi thi bithíro) likásiparánbo (he-went her-uncle to wards-it) with-his-cutlass = her uncle wen towards it with his cutlass. (The -n of likasi páran his cutlass, from kasipára cutlass, is a possessive or subordinating suffix distinct from homophonous postpositional -n and from personal -n.)

In dábothi the man responsible for or in charge of me, abo occurs as the stem of a noun, and as that of verbs in: (hime) ábokade (fish) with-am-I = I've brought fish (cf. kákikade I'm alive, míitekade I'm tired, somólekade I'm drunk, etc.), (dái) háboha (hoionátho) (I) pl.-you-with-fut.-tense (pl.your-mother) = I, your mother, shall take care of you; while abokoton to lay hold on; to hold; to bear is recognized by native speakers as derived by the causative suffix from abo with.

With -oáia (23), abo forms compound or complex l-oaiábo by himself = alone; whereas lábo + -oa (reflexive) yields láboa by himself = without help, and abo + -min or -n gives abomin ~ abon, abonro under, beneath (with or without directional -ro, depending on whether direction or position is to be expressed). It is doubtful, though not improbable, that abo should be contained in inabo following, in pursuit of (12). Cf. -ina base, proximal extremity, as in adáina tree stump from áda tree, adináina shoulder from arm, (thoborio másoa) onínaro (abónro) (its kidney sank) to the bottom of the water (under) (oni-water + -ina bottom + -roto). But should -ina be regarded as a postposition or as a noun (cf. oniábo water)?

Except after a prefix in A-, 6ma (7) together with usually retains its /o/; but in two consecutive sentences of the same tale, I find: (tho abá bíkidoliátho) thikithíma (tho áni) (there was a girl) and her grandmother (this way), where -ma and is clearly bound, and thíkithi óma thokhán her-grandmother with this-little = she was spending a little time with her grandmother, where it

seems to be morphologically free. So also it has greater freedom in (láitha thakho hálika láma dián) thora híaro óma (he didn't know how he could talk) with that woman, than in thosáda thoiomáro thabo she went with it (she took it) to her mother, where it is followed by directional -ro.

óma with combines with omón (or omín) to/for to form the compound or complex postposition omámon (or omámin) to; by; at, employed mainly after or before verbs meaning come, arrive, visit, etc., in the same way as -maro is employed after verbs meaning go, etc., with reference to persons or their homes. However, the form omámon (or omámin) is usually reduced to ámon (or ámin), which was (in the 18th-century work referred to above) and is said to be 'just the same'. Examples: aba hébetho ámin nánda an old-woman to they-came = they came to an old woman, thandáthe lámin she came to him, bobálita dámin sit down by me, lósa dikhánro lóio ámin he-went to-visit his-mother's at = he's gone to see his mother (dikhin, v.t., to see, is replaced by intransitive dikhan . . . ámin when the sense of see is visit). It should be noticed that personal forms in omón (No. 1) and those in ámon (Nos. 7 + 1) differ only in stress when prefixed by dA-, oA- or nA-(e.g., damín vs. dámin), whereas elsewhere also the first vowels differ (bomón/bomín vs. bámon/bámin).

This postposition, amon or amin, is of particular interest, since from it are derived kamonin to be at (the home of) or to have and mamonin not to be at or not to have. And, with person-markers, we get: fatano ireno bamonka? how many children have you?, damonkan(o) I have it or it is 'at me'(= at my place or in my possession), lamonkan he has it, mamon lan he does not have it, thamonkabo she has you or you are at her place, bamonfao you will have us, mamon bofao you will not have us. Or, with attributive kA: nai hiarono kamonka nakoraoa they the women have their own hammocks.

oária, odóma, okhóna and óloko occur in their simple forms as in: (dáosa-kobáa tha)

Oreála oária hamaa odóma (I went away) Oreala from what for = why I left Oreala (toponym), (nándin) kaboiária (their coming) from the garden, mékheboária from work, thidikhindoma (lii Harioánli) her-seeing-be. cause (him H.) = because she saw H., kiadóma for which reason (wherefore), (háliman thokonáka) thérebo-khóna (how-long she walked) along the embankment, (aba sákoan. tho) modekeléloko in (a clean) landing place, thokonánloko her walking in = while she was walking, thiiákhatoá lória she-hid from-him thória he-went-away from-her, losá-tha daosáthe bória I'm about to go away from you = I'm going to leave you, dadóma be cause of me; on my account, lobálika lória he passed from-him = he passed (a test) suc cessfully, daionóthi ahóda dáoria my-parenta died from-me = I lost my parents, ioária from there; from then; thence (ion + 3; ion there is non-deictic and anaphoric).

But oária often occurs in combination with another postposition, as in: tholokoária out of it from thóloko in it, thitélokoária out of her entrails, (lahóda deréthi) dakhonária (my husband died) from about me = I lost my husband, thidiakoária from off it from thidiáko upon it, thisídiakoária from off he head, thandá-tha báhi aboária it came from under the house, (daboroáthalibo thora hamátali) lokoária (I-must-help-you tha thing) out of = I must help you out of tha difficulty. Here again we find different de grees of bondage; and it is often hard to de cide whether word-spacing is or is not justified.

Also (-)mária (13) appears to be a compound of óma (7) with oária (3); although the meanings and functions attached to it is my texts differ so much from those of its presumed components as to have induced meto list it apart from them. Cf. (sikínno) altimária (putting them) on one side, iahámari on this side (of the border); in this part (of the country), iaráamaria on that side thóiomariáro (thátha lória) (she turned from him) to her mother's side = she neglected his for her mother. Yet the Wörterbuch lists this

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form as: 'umária von, -wärts, in der Gegend, da herum'-glosses which, taken as a whole, are not incompatible with the proposed etymology (7 + 3), clear in dandáthe lomaoária I come from (with) him. Cf. also: thomadiáko thana this being the case, with 7 + 11, and (thebesonoánbia kobáa-tha lokóbia) oamádin (she was metamorphosed to become a person) like us, with 7 + 18 (and the personal prefixes of 3rd sg. fem.-neuter and 1st pl. respectively).

Some of the forms listed as postpositions m, are translatable in certain contexts by er, English nouns. So, for example, lokósa (22) m may mean beside him or his side, whereas e-(thandáthe) lokosán (she came) beside him and (akonán) lokosádi (walking) beside him can have only the first meaning. And similarly, díki (17) does or may mean tracks, footsteps (péeroron díki lidikhá báilokhódi he saw only dog's tracks in the house), whereas dikhidi and dikin can mean only after; (báthian kásakabo) díkhidi (six days) afterwards, (thandá-tha) dádikin (she arrived) after me-with which contrast: thandá-tha daiábon she came behind me, with 19, and thandá-tha dáinabo she came after me = in pursuit of me, with 12. In such cases, -n (from 1) and -di (from 14?) clearly have a locative function, which is less obvious when they are appended to forms like -khona (5) and -bora (10). For example: dakanabósiakhonán what I've heard about, tho bóroetóro-khonán at the foot of the balata (tree) tho bóroe-dáia-khondi along the trunk of the balata (tree), mótho bálabalabán loborán just sitting in front of him, thandá-tha loborán she arrived before him, thokonáka loborádi she walked in front of him (but: bobáda dabóra! wait for me!), bínikan loborádi! take it before he does!

Unless and until I can find evidence that these suffixes, -n and -di, are in any consistent way functionally distinct, I conclude that one or the other or either is employed as convention demands or allows. Thus, from the nouns baráa sea, lísikoa his house/ home and karáobana savanna (kárao grass

+ 16), come baráadi at sea, lísikoan at his house, lisikoa banáro his homeland and both karáobanan and karáobandi in or on the savanna.

The reflexive suffix -oa, which may or may not be contained in the postposition -oáia (23), occurs not only with postpositions, but also with nouns and with verbs; so: (thátha) thomónoa  $\sim$  thónoa (she said) to herself from thomón  $\sim$  thon to/for her or it, (thobokotá tho oniábo) tháboa (the water held) by itself from thabo with her or it, thisáoa her own child from thisá her child, lofároa he killed himself from lofára he killed. But its use is often redundant from our point of view, as in: (fádokodon) thóroa (shaking it out) away from herself from thória from her, (tho lepéeron lonaká) lomáoa (this dog of his that he brought) with himself from Ioma with him, (lóthika béletho kháli) loboránoa (he found soft cassava) ready for himself from loborán for or before him (10 + 1), (látha) loloálokoa (he said) in his own heart from loloáloko in his heart, (liniká) libodéoa (he took) his own fish-hook from libóde his fishhook, (lisimaká) leréithoa (he called) his own wife from leréitho his wife. Moreover, whereas reflexive -oa follows the postpositional stem, as in thomónoa  $\sim$  thónoa and loboránoa (v. supra), it precedes the postpositional suffix in such a reflexive noun as leréithoámin to/for his own wife.

The directional suffix -ro to (in the direction of) is usually appended to (-)bithi towards; for = to get/fetch (9), and less often to oma (7), mária (13), etc., as in: lósa thibithíro he went towards her/it, dikhákoa nátha libithíro they looked in his direction, (thosá tha) thoiomáro (she went) to her mother, thoiomáriaro to the side (= cause) of her mother, onínaro abónro down to the bottom of the water (oni- water, -ina base, abon under; beneath). As in the second word of this last example, -ro often combines with -n, the reduced form of omón (1) to give -nro as in kaboiánro to the garden from káboia garden, bahínro to the house from báhi house, etc.

Another suffix that occurs with some post-

positions is -koa, which I take to be a different morpheme from homophonous -koa still, yet, occurring with verbs. So: harán hómakoa (handáthe dabithíro) (come to me) all of you together, (nahírikidáka) nabokoáoa (they gathered together) one with another, or among themselves, (oafarábathe) oaonikoáoa (we must fight) one another, where it seems to be reciprocal, and, doubtfully, (aíboa) thadikoáoa her transitory state (ended) = she attained puberty, in which it combines with óma (7), ábo (2), oni from omón (1) and, seemingly, with adi (14), as well as, in the last three examples, with reflexive -oa. But my data concerning postpositional -koa are too few to allow of reliable analysis; and it may well be that, for example, -omakoa contains -oman quite, every, altogether rather than -oma together with.

There is often some latitude in the choice of a postposition referring to the indirect object of such a verb as dakobórokoatoáka I thought or laadákota he asked, in which contexts about you may be expressed, it would seem indifferently, by bokhónan (5+1), bámin (7+1) or báoa (15).

Both direct and indirect pronominal objects may be expressed as affixes in words whose stem is a postposition (as is the case also in verbs and in verbal nouns); so: damárita daonoáno I made it for myself (with 1), damárita doaiáno I made it by myself (with 23), damárita boboráno I made it for you (with 10), damárita dabóranoáno I made it to be ready for myself (with 10 + 1), in which final -no it is the direct object. On the other hand, in (iaháthe) dakosábo (come here) beside me (with 22) and (iaháthe) damábo (come here) with me (with 7), final -bo you refers to the person addressed; although we cannot call this the subject, since iaháthe is not a verb.

Not only nouns, but also demonstratives (including interrogatives) can take at least some of the postpositional suffixes. So, from iáha here come (máothi lándifa) iahámin (tomorrow he'll come) hither and (máothi lósifa) iahária (tomorrow he'll go) hence; while

from hálon where come halónro whither, haloária whence, halomária (lósa) which way (did he go)? halónseen (dasikáno)? whereabouts (did I put it)? and halonbo? where at? or just where? (which include the suffixal forms of 1, 3, 13, 26 and 2). The functions of -bo in this last word—as also in iarábo just there from iára there, thorábo that one, the other one from thora that (fem.-neuter) and halikánbo (ósifa dama)? which one (will-go with-me)? from hálikan? which? neuter)—seem to be very different from that which it has in hamá(a)bo? what with? (= by means of what?) from hamá(ha) what, and in other examples of its use cited above. But informants insist upon the identity of -bo in all these occurrences with the postposition (2), whose presence they also recognize in some nouns where it seems to form part of the stem, as in bánabo temporary shelter (cf. -bana leaves) and oniábo water (cf. óni rain; river), whose subordinate form is, however, -(o)nia (bónia your water, daniáoa my own water).

3. One of the difficulties of this language is the recognition of the same morpheme as it appears in different shapes (bísika/bósika damónno/damínno/danno give it to me!), coupled with the identification of homophmorphs belonging to different onous morphemes. So, there can, I think, be no doubt that a suffix -n may represent any one of four morphemes: lisibon facing him from lisíbo his face contains -n as a reduced suffixal form of the postposition omón (1); but lisíban his stone from siba stone contains the subordinating nominal suffix -n. And whereas the final -n of akánabon hearing; to hear marks the indefinite form of the verb, that of dakanaban I hear/heard it is the reduced form of the personal suffix of 3rd sg. fem. neuter, -no ~ -n.

As for suffixal -bo, it would seem that this form may represent any one of at least three morphemes: that marking the progressive form of the verb, postpositional -bo, and the personal suffix of 2nd sg., -bo. For example:

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thisimakábo (perhaps: thisimakáabo) she is shouting, but thisimakabo she called you, and thikisabo akosabo she-is-sewing with-(a)needle (thikisábo thokósathe-oábono she is sewing it with her own needle), with kisasew, probably borrowed from Sp. coser, and akósa needle certainly borrowed from Sp. aguja).

d The independence of progressive -bo from the personal suffix -bo could hardly be questioned (cf. thisímakabóbo she is calling you, where the former precedes the latter); and that of postpositional -bo seems almost as obvious. However, it is perhaps worth noting that progressive verbs in -bo are not even mentioned in the 18th-century Grammatik of the language; though I find there (p. 193) what seems to be one instance of this usage, "lumalitabúka lüssikoawa er macht sein (eigen) Haus," in a discussion of the reflexive. (And in the Wörterbuch, p. 92, there is another: "hamma bánibuka? was machst du?") Elsewhere in this work, the same author gives 'lumalita' as the male 3rd person sg. present indic. of 'amalitin machen'; and the two forms correspond to lomárita he makes and lomaritábo he is making (lisikoáoa his own house) of the modern language. So we may perhaps assume that German 'macht' here has its progressive rather than its habitual sense. And although 'lumalitabúka' contains a suffix, -ka, which has no place in the modern progressive construction, this -ka still occurs both as verbalizer (somóle-ka-i he is drunk, from somóle drunk) and as a verbal suffix with verbs whose indefinite form ends in -an (dakáka $\it I$ bathe/bathed, from akán bathing; to bathe),as amáritin making; to make does not.

Now if the very common, modern progressive forms in -bo come from rather uncommon, older forms in -boka, which were likewise progressive, we must seek the onetime function of this -ka in such a form as

'lumalitabúka'. I can only suggest that it was verbalizing; and that, as lomaritábo is a reduction of lomáritabóka, so the latter is a reduction of \*lomaritin-abo-ka he is with making (lomaritin his making being a verbal noun), -something after the style of Dutch aan het maken, German beim Machen or older English on making. But even should I be right, this does not, of course, mean that the progressive and postpositional morphemes should be identified today; although the latter still has some strange bedfellows: (tánohoária) ábo (from now) on, and dahébe ábo I've grown old (dahébe my old age)—as well as hebénbode I'm getting old.

Finally, when we compare two such forms as lósa dakásiparánbo he went off with my cutlass (kasipára cutlass) and lósa dabáron ábo he went off with my ax (báro ax), we may well ask why -bo should be written as a suffix, but ábo as a word, when both belong to the same morpheme and have, except stylistically, the same function. In this article, preconsonantal and word-final n represents what I hear, with the great majority of speakers, as nasalization of the preceding vowel; although with some old people one hears the nasal consonant as well. But when a suffix beginning in a vowel, such as reflexive -oa, is added to a word ending in a nasalized vowel, such as dabáro my ax, the vowel is usually denasalized and consonantal n added, as in dabarónoa my own ax. Were this the general rule, it would suffice to say that I never heard \*dábaronábo (though dabarónbo is common). However, prevocalic nasalized vowels do occur, though quite rarely, with some speakers; so that one hears lomóoa and lóoa, as well as lomónoa and lónoa, for tne same word meaning to or for himself (v. postposition 1). And this being so, my only justification for writing dabáron ábo as two words is the retention of the /a/ of abo, and the accentuation which does not resemble that of a single word.