NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

NOMINALIZATION STRATEGIES IN BETE

By
CARLOS DJAKI GOPROU

A Thesis submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfilment of the requirments for the degree
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

DECEMBER - 2001

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December, 2001

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I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners

(Signed) _____

Carlos Djaki Goprou

December 18th, 2001

ABSTRACT

The objective of this work was twofold. Firstly, I was to describe an African language as far as the issue of *nominalization* is concerned, using methods of descriptive linguistics. Secondly, I was to see how the findings could be applied to Bible translation.

In order to achieve this goal I organized this study into three main chapters, the fourth chapter being the concluding part. Chapter one mainly deals with the overall information on the language described (Bété) and the methodology used in this work. The second chapter has to do with the actual nominalization strategies. Chapter three deals with the application of nominalization to the Bété discourse.

The findings reveal that Bété makes use of quite a number of nominalization strategies that occur even in the discourse. The evidence is given by the Bété text in appendix.

To

my donors, who allowed me to complete this training by

providing me with scholarship for two years

my beloved wife, Mariam Goprou

our son, Djaki Djessou David

my supervisor, Dr. Regina Blass

Paul and Margo Shaddick, Emma, and Christopher

all my friends and relatives in Côte d'Ivoire

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

Aj.   Adjective

ATR   Advanced Tongue Root

Aux.   Auxiliary

A V P   Agent Verb Patient

A V   Agent Verb

Dem.   Demonstrative

Det.   Determiner

DM   Development Marker

dm.   Dependent Marker

Foc.   Focus

Gen.   Genitive

IPA   International Phonetic Alphabet

N   Noun

Neg.   Negative

NP   Noun Phrase

Num.   Numeral

NZ   Nominalizer

OM   Oblique Marker

O   Object

Part.   Particle

Perf.	Perfective
PM.	Purpose Marker/Patient Marker
1pl	First Person Plural
2pl	Second Person Plural
3pl	Third Person Plural
Poss.	Possessive
PP	Prepositional/Postpositional Phrase
Pred.	Predicative
Prep.	Preposition
Proj.	Projective
QM	Question Marker
QP	Question Particle
Quant.	Quantifier
RelCl.	Relative Clause
S	Sentence
1s	First Person Singular
2s	Second Person Singular
3s	Third Person Singular
SP.	Specifier
VP	Verb Phrase
VR	Verb Root

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 The Language and Its Setting

Bété is a language spoken in central west Côte d'Ivoire (West Africa) by 532,000 people according to Grimes (2000, 80). But at the present time, the exact number of speakers may be more or less than the one indicated above. Bété has three main varieties: Bété Daloa (130,000 speakers), Bété Guibéroua (130,000 speakers), and Bété Gagnoa (150,000 speakers). In this work I will specifically be describing the *Kpokolo* dialect, which belongs to the Bété Gagnoa variety. But as part of this topic I will be using the term *Bété* generically to refer to the *Kpokolo* dialect.

1.1.1 Genetic Classification

In his attempt to draw up an inventory of the languages of Côte d'Ivoire Maurice Delafosse indicated sixty languages. Four main language groups are represented in Côte d'Ivoire: Gur, Kru, Kwa, and Mande.

The language described in this paper belongs to the Kru language group, which itself belongs to the Niger-Congo language family. I will refer to some classification works undertaken by researchers in order to support this statement.

Even though Koelle and Bleek, Balbi, Müller, and Meinhof preceded in the classificatory work, Westermann (1911) was the first one to deal with the 'Western Sudanic' now classified as *Niger-Congo*. Greenberg (1955; 1963a) then built his own

1

particular points of view, taking Westermann's works as a starting point and set the classificatory framework. Williamson in *The Niger-Congo Languages* reports that:

> In 1963a, Greenberg argued that Kordofanian, which he had treated as a separate family in 1955, was co-ordinate with Niger-Congo as a whole, in consequence of which he named the larger family Niger-Kordofanian (or Congo-Kordofanian) (1989, 8).

Therefore, Greenberg suggested the following classification:

Niger-Kordofanian

Niger-Congo   Kordofanian

West Atlantic   Mande   Gur   Kwa [including Kru, Ijo]   Benue-Congo   Adamawa-Eastern
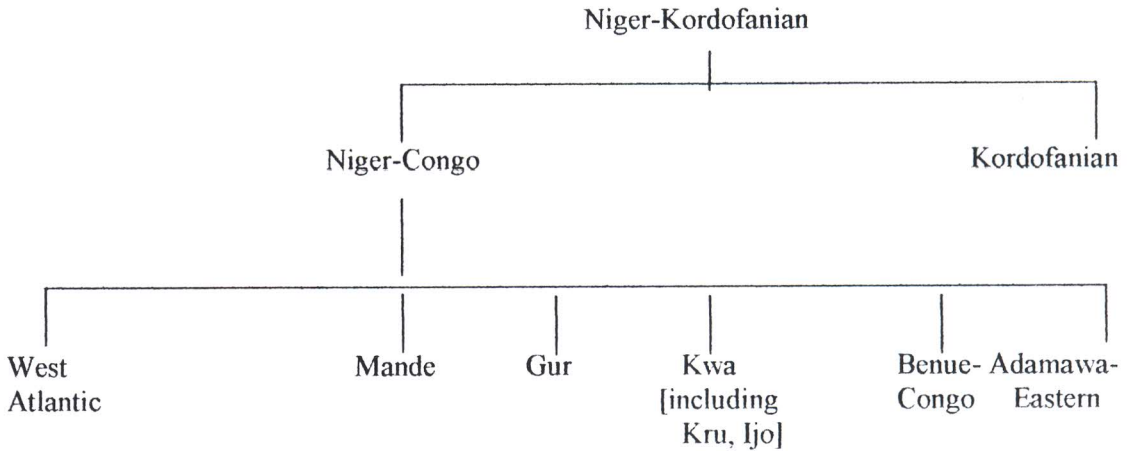
Figure 1. Greenberg's 1963a classification

The above Greenberg's 1963a classification was taken from *The Niger-Congo Languages* (1989, 8). This is basically a two-way split of *Niger-Kordofanian* into *Niger-Congo* and *Kordofanian*.

Later on, Bennett and Sterk suggested a classification, which had to do with lexicostatistics and lexical innovation considerations. Contrary to Greenberg's classification, the one suggested by Bennett and Sterk contained a three-way split of *Niger-Kordofanian* into *Mande*, *Niger-Congo*, and *Kordofanian*. I will not dwell on the reasons why they proposed this three-way split. Their classification is presented as follows:

Niger-Kordofanian

Mande   Niger-Congo   Kordofanian

West
Atlantic   Central
                          Niger-Congo
                            (CNC)

North   (Kru)   (Ijo)   South
CNC   CNC

(Kru)   Gur   Adamawa   Western   (Ijo) Eastern
               Eastern   SCNC   SCNC
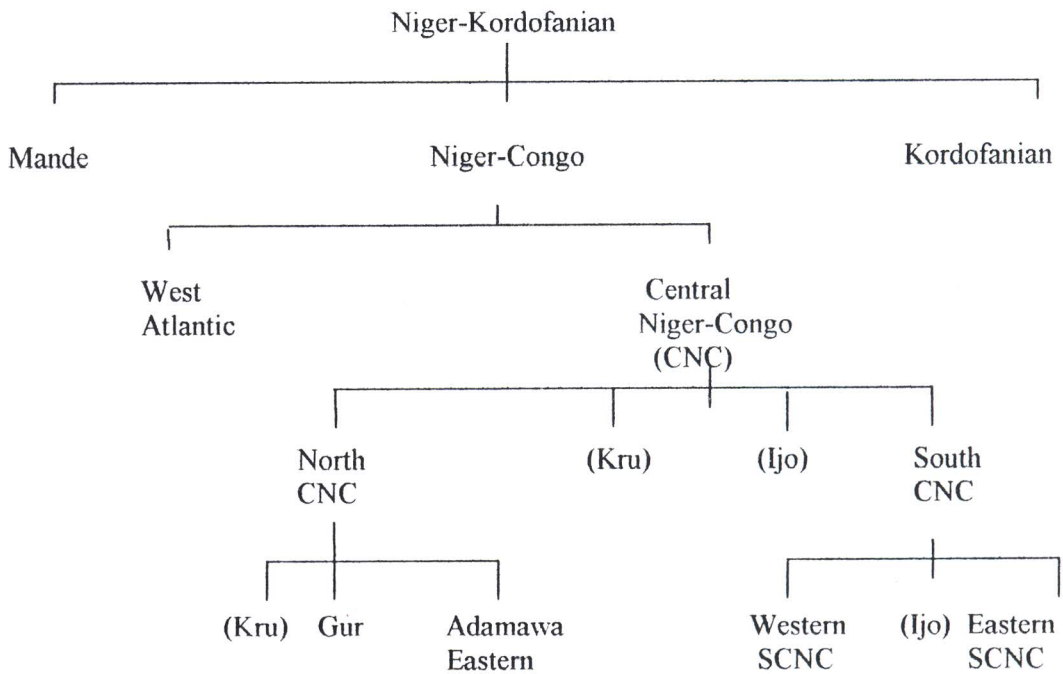
Figure 2. Bennett and Sterk's 1977 classification

(Parentheses indicate alternative classifications)

Source: *The Niger-Congo Languages* (1989, 13)

Bennett and Sterk suggested the above classification in 1977 and they proposed another classification called *alternative*. The particularity of this *alternative* classification lies in the fact that their Central Niger-Congo was split into a Southern branch (SCNC) and a Northern branch (NCNC). Also, they suggest that Kru, Gur, and Adamawa-Eastern be considered as co-ordinate branches of Central Niger-Congo. Finally, they came up with two proposals: one in which the Central Niger-Congo in split into Northern and Southern branches and another one in which Kru, Gur, and Adamawa-Eastern would be considered as co-ordinate branches of Central Niger-Congo along with the Southern Central Niger-Congo.

Using John Stewart's classification proposal discussed at the Leiden Colloquium in 1983, researchers have agreed on a certain number of conventions for nomenclature, which have been applied to the family tree below:

Niger-Congo

Mande   Atlantic-Congo   Kordofanian

Atlantic (?)   Volta-Congo   Ijoid (?)

North   Bijago   South

Kru   (New) Kwa   (New) Benue-Congo   Dogon (?)   North Volta-Congo

Gur   Adamawa-Ubangi
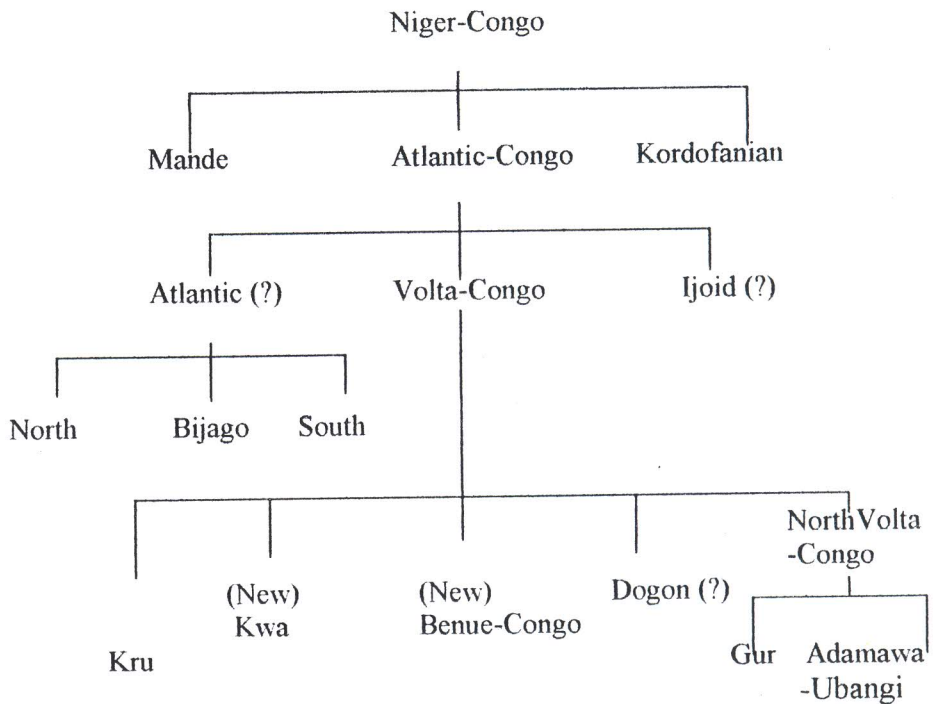
Figure 3. Classification based on lexicostatistics and nomenclature

The classification of the Bété language recorded by Grimes (1996, 247) is as follows:

- Bété Daloa (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kru, Eastern, Bété, Western)

- Bété Gagnoa (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kru, Eastern, Bété, Eastern)

- Bété Guiberoua (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, kru, Eastern, Bété, Western)

From all the above information it seems clear that Bété belongs to the Kru group, therefore, to the Niger-Congo family.

1.1.2   Constituent Order Typology

Greenberg suggested a six-way typology that underwent significant revisions,

lots of criticisms, and exertions because of problems it contained. On this point Payne

says:

> In spite of these problems with the Greenberg typology, it is still helpful to
> a reader of a grammar sketch to have some sense of the basic constituent order
> type the language represents (1997, 74).

I will consider Payne's three-way distinction to describe the constituent order

typology of Bété.

1.1.2.1 Pragmatically Neutral Order

According to Payne (1997, 76ff) there is a pragmatically neutral order of

constituents in languages. However, he states that "identifying one clause type as

'pragmatically neutral' may be problematic". In Bété the pragmatically neutral order

of constituents in basic clauses with nominal (not propositional) arguments is A V P/S

V (Agent Verb Patient/Subject Verb) or SVO (Subject Verb Complement). Consider

the following example:

(1) a.   *pijeèlī lī̄*   *ùgalī*

     Pierre   eat   Ugali

     'Pierre eats Ugali'

   b.   *ju*   *pīā*   *fɔ́lɔ̄*

     child   buy   bread

     'The child buys some bread'

1.1.2.2 Inflected Auxiliaries

Some Bété (Kpokolo) constituents may be considered as inflected auxi-
liaries. They occur before the semantically "main" verb. These constituents are
kʌ́ and *jī*. Consider the following example:

(2) a. *pijeèlī̄ jlʌ   gbʌ̀   ɔ   kʌ́   dasi   gbālà*

    Pierre   want   that   3s   Aux.   money borrow

    'Pierre wants to borrow some money'

  b. *pijeèlɪ jī̄   dasi   gbālà*

    Pierre Aux.   money borrow

    'Pierre will borrow some money'

I claim that the auxiliaries *jī* and *kʌ́* are inflected because they can take some of the
inflectional information associated with verbs: for example *the aspect*. In the sentence
pijeèlī̄ jī̄ɓʌ dasi   gbālà 'Pierre would borrow some money' the particle *ɓʌ*
marks the aspect and is attached to the auxiliary *jī* , as it would be to any verb.

1.1.2.3 Determiners

Determiners occur after the head noun. Consider the demonstratives
nī̄ 'this' and *lʌ̄* 'that' for this purpose.

(3) a. *ɲɔkpɔ̀ nī̄*

    man   Det.

    'this man'

b. *tí'ò*   *lā*

stone Det.

'that stone'

As we can see, the determiners occur after the noun they modify.

1.1.2.4 Numerals

Numerals occur after the head noun they refer to. Consider (4).

(4) a. *ɓīti*   *tāā*

house (pl.)   three

'three houses'

b. *sī*   *kūgbʌ*

tree (pl.)   ten

'ten trees'

1.1.2.5 Other Quantifiers

Other quantifiers like *many, a few, some*…also occur after the head noun they modify.

(5) a. *ɓīti*   *vlùgbɤ*

house (pl.)   many

'many houses'

b. *ɲʌkpì* *ɟlō'nʌ́*

men   a few

'a few men'

1.1.2.6 Adjectives

Adjectives occur after the head noun they qualify. See (7) below:

(7) a. *ɓîtɤ kʌ́dà*

house big

'a big house'

b. *ɲʌkpɨ námānɨ*

men   good

'good men'

1.1.2.7 Nominal (not pronominal) Possessors

Nominal possessors occur before the head noun but they are preceded by the agent.

(6) a. *pijɛ̀lɨ̄ á   ɓîtɤ*

Pierre Poss. house

'Pierre's house'

b. *sùklújū   lī̄   ɔ   to*

student   Dem. Poss. father

'that student's father'

1.1.2.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses occur after the head noun they refer to and they always end with the particle *nī*.

(8) a. *ŋɔnɔ̄*   *ɔ̀*   *pʌ*   *lʌ̄*   *bālɔ*   *nʌ́nʌ́*   *nī*

woman   who   play   Foc.   football   well   DM

'the woman who plays football well'

b. *ju*   *ɔ̀*   *tu*   *lʌ̄*   *nī*

child   who   cry   Foc.   DM

'the child who cries'

1.1.2.9 Adpositional Phrases

Adpositions include both prepositions and postpositions. The adpositional phrases Bété makes use of are mostly the ones with postpositions.

1.1.2.9.1 Locative

How are the expressions like *on the table, under the box, across the river*…introduced? Bété makes use of the postpositional strategy here: the specifier occurs after the noun it modifies.

(9) a. *tʌ́ɓlʌ̄*   *kʊ́*

table   on

'on the table'

b. *gbàkū*   *jɔ*

box   under

'under the box'

1.1.2.9.2   Comitative

The term *comitative* refers to the idea of accompaniment. Bété makes use of a discontinuous particle (*ɲì...sɔ́ɔ́*) in order to express comitativity. But in some cases the second part of the particle (*sɔ́ɔ́*) may be left out. Consider the examples in (10).

(10) a. ɔ   *ɲì*   *amí*   *to*   *sɔ́ɔ́*   *ní*   *wa*   *mì*   *lā*

3s   with   Poss. (1s)   father   with   and   3pl   go (Perf.)   Foc.

'He/she left with my father' or 'It is with my father that he/she left'

b. ɔ   *ɲì*   *amí*   *to*   *mì*

3s   with   Poss. (1s)   father   go

'He/she left (went) with my father'

In (10a) the cleft construction is justified by the focus marker *lā*. I would call (10a) a 'full' case of comitativity because there is an obvious idea of accompaniment. Whereas in (10b). the idea of accompaniment is weakened by the fact that *he/she* seems to have taken *my father*. Therefore, *my father* seems not to be active in the action of going. The particle *sɔ́ɔ́* marks then *full comitativity* and its omission marks *dependant comitativity*.

1.1.2.9.3 Instrumental

The idea of instrument is introduced in the Bété (Kpokolo) speech by the discontinuous particle (*nī...mī*). *nī* stands for the oblique marker and its tone undergoes changes (mid tone or low tone) according to the tense and it occurs before the participant it modifies. *mí* stands for *with*; its tone never changes and it occurs always at the end of the utterance.

(11) a. ɔ   *lī*   *nī*   *gɔ́bē*   *mí*

     3s   eat   OM   spoon   with

     'He/she eats with a spoon'

    b. ɔ   *dẽ*   *nì*   *glì`mà*   *bàkà*   *mí*

       3s   cut (past)   OM   banana   knife   with

       'He/she cut some banana with a knife'

In (11a) the particle *nī* bears a mid tone because the verb is in the present tense, whereas in (11b) it bears a low tone because the action is in the past tense.

1.1.2.9.4 Comparatives

In comparative constructions we have generally three main constituents: the standard, the marker, and the quality. The standard is the constituent with which another one is compared. The marker is the comparative particle, and the quality is the constituent, which is compared with another one. See the following examples:

(12) a. *pìjèèlì tlūkú*   *ní*   ɔ   *jî*   ɔ   *nɔ́wlî kú*

     Pierre tall   and   3s   top   Poss. (3s)   brother top (Part.)

     'Pierre is taller than his brother'

b. *pìjèèlɪ tlū* ɔ *nówlî* ɟʌ *kʊ́*

Pierre tall   Poss. (3s)   brother   than   tall (Part.)

'Pierre is taller than his brother'

In (12a) the order is as follows: *Quality-Marker-Standard*.

In (12b) we have the following order: *Quality-Standard-Marker*.

Consequently, the constituent order in the Bété comparative constructions may be summarized as follows: *Quality-Marker-Standard-Marker*.

1.1.2.9.5 Question Particles and Question Words

Bété makes use of question particles in interrogative constructions, especially in *yes/no* (polar) questions, and the question particle occurs at the end of the sentence.

(13) a. ɪ̀   *to*   *jî*   (ɓa)   *à*

Poss. (2s)   father come (past)   QP

'Has your father come?'

b. ɔ   *lî*   (ɓa)   *à*

3s   eat (past)   QP

'Has he/she eaten?'

N.B. The morpheme *ɓa* may be left out without the sentence changing in meaning. Bété also makes use of content questions. Content questions are the equivalent of *wh- questions* in English. In Bété content questions the questioned element occurs at the beginning of the sentence, whereas in a non-interrogative sentence the corresponding element occurs at the end of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

(14) a. ɾ   to   ɓɛ̄   <u>lù</u>

     Poss. (2s)   father   do   something

     'Your father is doing something'

b. <u>lù</u>   gbʌ̄   ɾ   to   ɓɛ̄   ɓɛ́

     something   what   Poss. (2s)   father   do   QM

     'What is your father doing?'

c. ø   ɾ   to   ɓɛ̄   ɓɛ́

    --   Poss. (2s)   father   do   QM

     'What is your father doing?'

(14b) shows that in Bété (Kpokolo) the questioned element (*lù* 'something') occurs at the beginning of the sentence whereas in (14a) the corresponding element occurs at the end of the non-interrogative sentence. (14c) shows that the questioned element can be left out without the semantic meaning of the interrogative sentence being changed. Bété has then two ways of expressing polar questions (see (14a and 14b)).

From Greenberg's (1963) suggestions about syntactic characteristics of studied human languages typological linguists have come to agree that a certain constituent of each type of construction is the *head* of that construction, the other constituents being *adjuncts*. This statement is summarized as follows:

Construction	Head	Adjuncts
Clause	V or VP	O
VP	V	Aux.

NP	N	Det, Num, Quant, Aj, RelCl
PP	Prep-/Postposition	NP
Comparative	Quality adjective	Standard, Marker
Questions	Question element	remainder of clause

Based on all the above information I can conclude that Bété (Kpokolo) is both a "head initial" and a "head final" language.

1.1.3 Neighboring Languages and Multilingualism

According to the language map suggested by Grimes (1996, 255) languages such as Bakwé, Kodia, Godié, Dida Lakota, Gagou, Guro, Sokya, Nyabwa, and Guéré surround the Bété complex. From this figure, we would expect the Bété speaker to be at least bilingual but 'unfortunately' the percentage of multilingualism is very low in the Bété region. Marchese (1989, 123) argues that:

> Of the two groups, Eastern Kru is the most homogeneous. Spoken exclusively in Ivory Coast, this group contains two major sub-groups: the Bete comlpex and the Dida complex. Though Bete can be viewed as a sociological unit, it is divided into two main speech varieties (languages?): one spoken in the region of Gagnoa where the principal dialect is Gbadi (Eastern Bete) and one spoken in a wider area...

1.1.4 Phonological Characteristics

1.1.4.1 The Syllable Structure

Bété syllable structure resembles those of most Kru languages. The syllable is said to be restricted to open syllables. Thus, we have the following syllable structures: V, CV(V), CLV. The CLV syllable is realized shorter than CVCV but longer than CV. Note that in the syllabic structure CLV, L is by convention a consonant that is, phonetically speaking, either *liquid*, *nasal*, or *implosive*.

1.1.4.2 The Consonant System

Like all Kru languages, Bété has consonant series with stops. But the particularity of the dialect described in this work is its six points of articulation unlike the other Kru languages, which have five points of articulation. Thus, the Bété consonant system can be represented as follows:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Labiolized
Plosives						
Voiced	p	t	c	k	kp	k^w
Voiceless	b	d	ɟ	g	gb	g^w
Implosive	ɓ					
Fricatives						
Voiced	f	s				
Voiceless	v	z				
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		$ŋ^w$
Liquid		l				
Approximants	(w)		J	w		

Syllabic consonant: ŋm̩

Figure 4. Bété consonant chart

1.1.4.3 The Vowel System

Marchese (1989, 128) states that the standard Kru vowel system contains at least four front vowels, four back vowels, and a central vowel. But, according to her some Eastern Bété languages have central vowels instead of just one single central vowel. The Kpokolo dialect seems to follow the latter pattern. However, from a perceptive point of view, the so-called central vowels seem to be realized at a back

position as far as their point of articulation is concerned. Thus, I would suggest the following vowel phoneme chart:

	Front		Back				
	Short	Long	Unrounded		Rounded		
			Short	Long	Short	Long	
High *Close* *Intermediate* *Open*	i ɪ e	iː	ɯ ʉ ɤ		u ʊ o	uː	+ATR -ATR +ATR
Mid	ɛ	ɛː	ʌ		ɔ	ɔː	-ATR
Low			a	aː			-ATR

Figure 5. Bété vowel chart

1.1.4.4 The Tone System

As all other Kru languages, Bété has both lexical and grammatical tones and is one of the languages that have four register tones as shown below:

[´]   High tone

[']   Mid-high tone

[¯]   Mid tone

[`]   Low tone

Bété also makes use of combined tones:

[ˇ]   rising

[^]   falling

[⁀] mid-low

[‿] low-mid

Because of the difficulties I encountered when mark the mid-high tone on vowels I chose deliberately not to mark it. Consequently, the mid-high tone will remain unmarked in this work. Since no Kpokolo orthography has been developed yet, my Bété transcriptions are entirely phonological and use the IPA symbols.

1.2   Previous Work

1.2.1   Previous Work on Bété and the Kru Language Family

According to Marchese (1989, 219) "until recently, the Kru language family has been neglected and only partially documented". And she goes on saying:

> Earliest documentation on Kru dates to the early 1800s, with studies on
> Grebo and Bassa... Work on Eastern Kru was not began until some decades
> later... Meanwhile, Delafosse (1904) devoted 30 pages of his *Vocabulaires
> comparatifs* to word lists and grammatical observations of the Kru group. The
> next major work did not appear until 1966 when Innes published his
> *Introduction to Grebo*, along with a Grebo-English dictionary. Despite this
> slow start, research is now being carried out in the majority of Kru languages
> (1989, 219).

As far as Bété is concerned, research has been carried out by Kaye, Vergnaud (1988), Gregoire (1972), Werle, Hook and Zogbo (1977). Their description of Bété has merely covered the phonological aspect of the language. Sery also did some phonological description on Bété. Goprou suggested a phonetic and a phonological description of Kpokolo (1996; 1997).

1.2.2   Overview of Literature on Nominalization

As I said earlier, linguists have carried out research in some areas of Bété. But none of these works gave attention to the issue of nominalization. I am therefore

exploring a new aspect in the description of the Bété language. Nevertheless, nominalization is a subject that some authors have dealt with in the description of other languages. Among these works I would cite those of Comrie and Thompson (1995), Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993), and Payne (1997). Hankore (1998), Holmes (1998), Lokuuda (1999), and Yegbe (2000) have also carried out unpublished research on nominalization in African languages. In the present work, I have basically undertaken my description following both Payne's model and his conception of nominalization described with the following formula: V→ N

The above formula illustrates operations that allow a verb to function as a noun.

1.3   Purpose of this Study

Research has been carried out on the Kru language family. Several aspects of Bété have been studied. But, the issue of nominalization seems not to have been given much attention. As all the field workers all around the world who are engaged in linguistic description I "share a deep commitment to the vitality and intrinsic value of every human language and culture" (Payne 1997, 2).

Therefore, using some principles of descriptive linguistics, I am trying to draw the reader's attention to some nominalization strategies in Bété. Through this description my aim is to show how important nominalization is for Bible translation and to answer the question 'which nominalization strategy does or can Bété make use of in a given context?'

This work will also help us see the connection between the issue of nominalization and other questions such as genitive constructions.

1.4   Methodology

The data used for this paper were collected from several sources: myself, since I am a Bété (Kpokolo) native speaker and other Bété native speakers who kindly provided stories that I recorded. Part of these stories have already been used for my previous work on the Bété language. Paul Shaddick, who is the initiator of the translation project I am working in, also recorded some of the data and made them available to me.

CHAPTER II

Nominalization Strategies

Nominalization can be defined as the way "of adjusting the grammatical category of a root. More precisely, it is an operation that allows a verb to function as a noun" (Payne 1997, 223). A simple representation of this definition would be the following: V → N

2.1 Nominalization of Verbs or Action Nominalization

In Bété, nominalization is mainly achieved through reduplication of the verb stem as far as action nominalization is concerned. But nominalization can also be done through tone changes; the latter strategy does not occur for every kind of verb. I use the express- ion 'every kind of verb' because the Bété (Kpokolo) verb is multiform, that is, the morphology of the Bété verb is complex: we distinguish verbs with a particle and verbs without a particle. In this paper, I will focus my description on the modification of monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs.

2.1.1 Action Nominalization of Monosyllabic Verbs

The nominalization process in which the action is a monosyllabic verb generally uses the reduplication of the verb stem as the main strategy.

(15) a. *lī*

   'to eat'

b. *lī̄*   *lī̄*   *è*

  eat   eat   NZ

  'eating (the fact of eating)'

In a sentence such as *eating is good*, a Bété speaker would use *lī lī̄ è* for *eating*.

(16) a. *bī*

  'to walk'

b. *bī*   *bī*   *è*

  walk   walk   NZ

  'walking' (in *He likes walking* (*the fact of*) or *walking is good*)

(17) a. *nū*

  'to do'

b. *nū*   *nū*   *è*

  do   do   NZ

  'doing' (in *he likes doing good*)

(18) a. *pā̀*

  'to run'

b. *pā*   *pē*   *ὲ*

run   run   NZ

'running' (in *I like running (the fact of)*)

In (15), (16), (17), and (18) we notice that the nominalization strategy is a morphological one. First, the verb stem is reduplicated and it ends with a nominalization morpheme (nominalizer) which is phonologically conditioned: it agrees with the last vowel of the reduplicated verb according to the ATR[1] feature in that, when the last vowel of the reduplicated verb stem is +ATR, the nominalizer also bears the +ATR feature. On the contrary, the nominalizer is −ATR when the the last vowel of the reduplicated verb stem is −ATR. Thus, the nominalization morphemes are either *-e* (+ ATR) or *-ε* (-ATR). Consequently, the following rule can be suggested:

stem + stem (reduplication)+ nominalizer (-*e*/-*ε*).

The issue of the agreement of the nominalization morpheme with the last vowel of the verb will be explicated further when I describe the verbs with particle. But, before we get to those types of verb, (18b) shows us a kind of agreement that is taking place. Instead of *pa-pa-ε*, we have *pa-pε-ε* in which we can see the assimilation of the last vowel of the verb to the nominalizer (NZ).

Note that there is however, an exception to this reduplication strategy. Consider (19):

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[1] ATR can simply be defined as *Advanced Tongue Root*. The tongue root affects vowel quality in that the tongue root may be either advanced (moved forward), or retracted (moved backward). Thus, the vowels pronounced with the root of the tongue in an advanced position share the +ART feature, whereas the vowels pronounced with the root of the tongue retracted are −ATR (see vowel chart on page 16).

(19)   a.   *kú*   'to die'

       b.   *kúē*   'death'

In (19b), the reduplication process cannot be applied because *kúē* is the underlying form for *death*. The question here is why *death* is *kúē* and not *kúkúē*? The answer to this question may be found in the typology of Bété itself. The semantics of *death* may also be one of the factors, which can help us explicate this fact. On the semantic point of view, *kúē* 'death' can be seen as an idiosyncratic nominalized form. The reason for this idiosyncrasy could be the fact that 'die' doesn't have an agent. But, before I come up with a suitable conclusion on this point, more research needs to carried out because the verb 'rain' (*ɓlā*), which does not also have a subject, is not idiosyncratic in Bété. Therefore, it undergoes reduplication in its nominalized form (*ɓlā ɓlē ɛ̀*).

2.1.2   Action Nominalization of Disyllabic Verbs without Particle

Reduplication also takes place here. And the nominalized verb also ends with a nominalization morpheme. But the particularity is that the nominalization process uses tone change as another strategy. See the following examples:

(20) a. *nɔŋʋ*

        'to walk'

     b. *nɔŋʋ   nɔŋʋ   ɛ̄*

        walk   walk   NZ

        'walking' (in *walking (the fact of) is good for health*)

c. *nɔ́ŋū*

'walking (a walk)' (in *let's go for a walk*)

(21) a. *cÁlɽ*

'to write'

b. *cÁlɽ   cÁlɽ   ɛ̄*

write   write   NZ

'writing'

In both (20) and (21), we can see the reduplication of the action taking place, the last vowel being the nominalization morpheme (or the nominalizer). The strategy is morphological here. But, in (20c) we can see that there is no reduplication. Rather, we have a tone change strategy that is used. The example in (20c) may help us find a solution to the problem raised in (19b).

2.1.3   Action Nominalization of Disyllabic Verbs with Particle

In general, Bété verbs with particle (or discontinuous verbs) use a different strategy for action nominalization. Here, instead of reduplicating the verb, the Bété speaker reverses the positions of the verb root and the particle such that the particle occurs before the verb root. Then a nominalization particle is attached to the verb root. Vowel harmony still takes place here. See the following examples:

(22) a. *pī   kɔ*

VR   particle

'to press'

b. *kɔ*   *pǐ*   *è*

   particle   VR   NZ

   'pressing' (in *he likes pressing (the fact of pressing) things*)

c. *jē*   *kɔ*

   VR   particle

   'to take'

d. *kɔ*   *jè*   *è*

   particle   VR   NZ

   'taking' (in *taking (the fact of) people's things is bad*)

e. *slā̄*   *wlí*

   VR   particle

   'to return'

f. *wlí*   *slè*   *è*

   particle   VR   NZ

   'returning' (in *returning (the fact of)will be better*)

In the nominalized form, the particle occurs before the verb root, which bears the nominalization morpheme. Note that without the particle the verb root would have a different meaning. In (22b), (22d), and (22f), we can see that a vowel harmonization process takes place. From what I have tried to describe above, I can conclude that one

nominalization morpheme with two realizations is used in Bété. It can be represented as follows:

V → -*e* (agrees with +ATR vowels)

V → -*ɛ* (agrees with –ATR vowels).
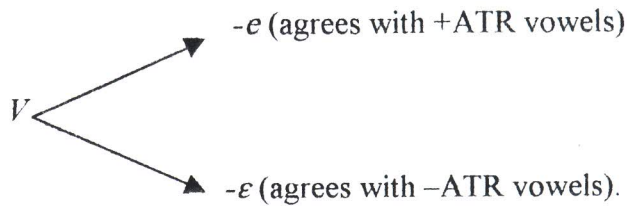
The examples in (22b), (22d), and (22f) would follow the rule below:

particle + verb root + nominalizer (-*e/-ɛ*)

2.2 Compound Noun Formation

Bété uses another nominalization strategy, which consists of putting side by side a verb and a noun. This process results in compound noun formation. The compound noun obtained may be a case of agent nominalization, patient nominalization, or instrument nominalization. See the following examples:

(23) a. *tú* + *ju*   >   *tú*   *tú*   *jū*

     cry   child   cry   cry   child

                           'cry-baby'

b. *sʌ̀nɪ̀*   *mɪ́* + *ɲɔ̄*   >   *mɪ́*   *sʌ̀nɪ̀*   *ɲɔ̀*

    talk   Part.   person   Part.   talk   person

                           'talker'

In (23a) the meaning of the nominalized form is *a child that cries all the time*. In (23b) the understanding of the nominalized form is *a person that talks all the time*.

Therefore, I can conclude that in both cases we have 'agent nominalization'. In (23a) we have side by side a monosyllabic verb and a noun. Consequently, the verb is reduplicated in the nominalized form. On the contrary, in (23b) the verb has a particle. Therefore, the reduplication of the verb is not allowed because of the particle (Part.).

(24) a. *ɓlī* + *sɪka*   >   *ɓlī*   *ɓlī*   *sɪka*

 pound rice   pound pound rice

                                                  'pounded rice'

 b. *lī* + *lù*   >   *lī*   *lī*   *lù*

 eat   thing   eat   eat   thing

                                                  'something to eat'

 c. *jē*   *kɔ*   +   *lù*   >   *kɔ*   *jè*   *lù*

 take   Part.   thing   Part.   take   thing

                                                  'something to take'

In (24a) and (24b) the reduplication of the verb takes place, and the reduplicated verb is followed by the noun associated to it. This association of the verb with the noun that follows it results in Bété compound nouns, which are also cases of 'patient nominalization'. This process leads me to claim that the nominalization strategy is analytical here since the morpheme (noun) associated with the verb makes sense on its own. A lot of tone changes also occur, but in this work I will not deal with them.

In (24c) we can see that there is no reduplication. This is due to the fact that the nominalized verb has a particle. There is however, an exception. Consider (25):

(25) *lǐlǐjè*   'food'

lǐlǐjè is not the result of any nominalization process. It stands on its own as an

underlying noun form. At first sight *lǐlǐjè* seems to be resulting from the following

imaginary process:

lǐ	+	*jè*	>	*lǐ*	*lǐ*	*jè*
eat	--			eat	eat	--

* '*jè* to eat'

jè[2] has no specific meaning in Bété. Therefore, *lǐlǐjè* cannot be considered as a Bété

nominalized form.

(26) a. *sǐò* *kɔ* + *jàjî* > *kɔ* *sǐò* *nì* *jàjî*

  clean hand   rag   hand clean PM rag

  'handkerchief''

  b. *lǐ* *nì* *mǐ* + *bàkà* > *mǐ* *lǐ* *nì* *bàkà*

  eat PM with   knife   with eat PM knife

  'kitchen knife'

In both (26a) and (26b) there is no reduplication of the verb, the reason being

that in both cases the verb is followed by a particle. To shed light on the

understanding of the examples above I would say that (26a) can be understood as *a*

rag used to clean the hand (or a rag that people clean their hands with), and (12b) as

a knife used to eat (or a knife that people eat with). Consequently, in both cases we

have examples of 'instrument nominalization'.

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[2] If we assume that *jè* is a word borrowed from another language, it is obvious that it has a meaning in that language. I would then conclude that *lǐlǐjè* is a foreign nominalized form, which is an underlying form of a Bété word.

2.3   Action Nominalization in Clauses

In this section, I will examine different nominalization strategies involving the dynamics of a whole clause. In this section I will try to show how action nominalization works in the context of a clause. Consider (27):

(27) a. *nɔɲʊ*

'to walk '

b. *nɔɲʊ   nɔɲʊ   ē   /   nɔ́ɲū   nʌnī̀   mī̄   gʌ̀*

walk   walk   NZ   /   walk   please   you   Part.

'Walking pleases you'

c. *ju   lī̄   ní   ɔ   jrí̄mɣ̄nī̄*

child   eat   and   3s   grow

'The child eats and grows'

d. *lī̄   lī̄   è   gbʌ̄   nī́   ju   jrí̄mɣ̄nī̄*

eat eat NZ do   and   child   grow

'Eating makes the child grow'

In (27b), we have a clause that includes two options:

-a nominalization strategy in which the verb undergoes reduplication

-an NP (Nominal Phrase) in which the head noun is derived from the same verb stem

(*nɔɲʊ* 'walk'). Some other Bété verbs may admit this kind of 'double change'.

Example (27d) shows the nominalization of the verb in (27c) (*lī̄* 'eat'). When nominalized, the verb occupies the position of subject in the clause (in this context).

In light of what precedes, I am now going to describe the **arguments** that can be in an NP in which the head noun is derived from a verb stem.

2.3.1 Subject

The subject of the nominalized clause is marked by a following possessive marker. The following examples may help us understand this statement.

(28) a. *māli*   *ɓɣlī*

Mary   sing

'Mary sings'

b. (*māli*   *á*   *ɓɣlī*   *ɓɣlī*   *è*) ₙₚ   *nʌnɪ*   *àɲī*   *gʌ*

Mary   Poss. (3s)   sing   sing   NZ   please us   please (Part.)

'Mary's singing pleases us'

2.3.2 Direct Object

A possessive marker can modify both a clause and the direct object (i.e. '*my eating rice*' or '*my defeat of the champion*'). In the following examples, the nominalized clause is a nominal phrase as in (28).

(29) a. *à*   *lù*   *désta*   *tūmɪ́*

we   defeat (Perf.)   Daystar   defeat (Part.)

'We defeated Daystar'

b. (*àjà̄*   *désta*   *a*   *tūmílū* *è*) ₙₚ   *sā̀*   *ā*   *gɣɲî wlunɪ́*

Poss. (1pl)   Daystar Gen. defeat NZ   surprise me   surprise (Part.)

'Our defeating (of) Daystar surprises me'

c. ɔ   lī̄   sɪka

3s   eat   rice

'He eats (some) rice'

d. (ɔ́   sɪka   a   lī̄   lī̄   e`)ₙₚ pālà   ā   ŋānɔ̀   mɪ́

Poss. (3s)   rice   Gen.   eat   eat   NZ   put   me   fear   in

'His eating (of) rice frightens me'

Example (29d) shows the reduplication of the verb even in case of direct object. In (29b), we have a discontinuous verb, so normally there shouldn't be reduplication. In addition to what I have described above (in (29)), I can say that the examples (29b) and (29d) raise the issue of the distinction between types of genitive constructions in a noun phrase. And Bété makes this distinction clear (see page 47 for more details).

2.3.3 Indirect Object

An indirect object can occur in a nominalized clause but in this case the strategy consists of constructing a whole clause.

(30) a. wa   ɲɛ̀è   ɛ̄   dasɪ

they   give (Perf.)   me   money

'They gave me money'

b. (wá   sɑ̄   wa   ɲɛɛ̀   ɛ̄   lɑ̄   dasi   nɪ̄)ₛ

Poss. (3pl)   way   they   give (Perf.)   me   Foc.   money   DM

slɑ̄   nʌnɪ̀   ɪ̄   gʌ̀

it   please me   please (Part.)

'I was pleased by their giving me some money'

(The way (the fact that) they gave me (some) money pleased me)

2.3.4   Locative PP

The nominalization strategy here is similar to the one in (30b).

(31) a. ɪ   tènɪ̀   ná   bɔ́gʊ̀   mòbi   mɪ́

1s   leave (Perf.)   Poss.   book   car   in

'I left my book in the car'

b. (sɑ̄   ɪ   tènɪ̀   lɑ̄   ná   bɔ́gʊ̀   mòbi   mɪ́   nɪ̄)ₛ

way   1s   leave   Foc.   Poss.   book   car   in   DM

slɑ̄   nɪ́pʊ̀   nʌnɪ

it   Neg.   good

'Leaving my book in the car is not good'

Literally speaking, the sentence in (31b) means *the way (the fact that) I left my book in the car is not good.*

2.3.5   Adverb Phrase

Here, the nominalization strategy is similar to the one of the subject.

(32) a.   ɔ   *lī*   *nī*   *kplī*   *mí*

        3s   eat   OM   noise   in

        'He/she eats noisily'

b. (ɔ́   *kplī*   *mí* *lí*   *nì*   *ɛ̀*) _{NP}   *pālà* *ā* *kʌlɛ̄*   *mí*

        Poss. (3s) noise   in   eat OM NZ   put me anger in

        'I am annoyed by his/her eating noisily' or 'his/her eating noisily annoys me'

The sentence in (32b) may also be understood as *the way (the fact that) he/she*

eats noisily annoys me. When the adverb phrase in (32a) is nominalized, the adverb

occurs before the nominalized verb. The whole is preceded by a possessive pronoun.

2.4 Agent Nominalization

In **2.2**, I described the compound nouns formation as the result of the

nominalization process involving the sequence Verb + Noun. This seems to be similar

to the nominalization of the agent or other non-action nominalization. My observation

is that the agent nominalization strategy seems to be resulting in the formation of

compound nouns. Consider the following examples:

(33) a. *ɓlʌ́*   *mnɛ̄*

       kill   animal

       'hunt'

b. *mnɛ̄* *ɓlʌ̀*   *ɲɔ̀*

       animal kill   person (agent)

       'hunter'

Here, the analytical agent nominalization process results in a compound noun. In (33b), the nominalization refers to one who characteristically hunts for a living. The human nominalizers -ɲɔ 'person' (masculine) and -ŋɲɔ 'person' (feminine) convey an idea of activity rather than event. The above distinction between -ɲɔ and -ŋɲɔ is crucial: the agentizer -ɲɔ may not be used generically to refer to people of both sexes who characteristically engage in a particular activity or action. It only refers to people of the same sex. This is also true for -ŋɲɔ. But consider (33d) below:

c. kú

   'to die'

d. ku   jù

   die   child (generic)

   'orphan'

In (33d), the nominalizer -ju 'child' does not convey the idea of a child who dies but of someone whose parents died. Also, we can see that there is no reduplication, both in (33b) and (33d). The reason for this may be that in (33b) we have a discontinuous verb and in (33d) the morpheme -ju is not the agent of the action of dying. I would therefore call (33d) an 'action-like nominalization'.

e. cʌ́lr̃

   'write'

f. cʌ́lr̃   cʌ́lr̃   ɲɔ̄

   write   write   person (agent)

'scribbler'

In (33f), we have the reduplication of the verb and the understanding here is 'a person who happens to be writing a paper at a specific time'. In order for the utterance in (33f) to convey the idea of 'one who characteristically writes (books) for living' the nominalization would be the following:

(34) *bɔ́gʊ̀ cʌ̀lɩ̀ ɲɔ̀*

 book   write   person (agent)

 'writer'

The semantic information in (34) is 'someone who writes books (a book writer).'

2.5   Patient Nominalization

As in the case of agent nominalization, we may have either a morphological or an analytical patient nominalization.

(35) a. *bu*

 'to collect'

b. *bu   bu   lʊ̀*

 collect collect thing

 'collected thing'

The idea in (35b) is 'something that has been collected'. I would call the nominalization strategy in (35b) an analytical one because -*lʊ̀* 'thing' can stay on its own as an underlying Bété word. But, since the reduplicated verb *bu bu* does not

make sense 'on its own (without -*lù*), I would call it a morphological nominalization, and I would write it as one word:

bubulù

'collected thing'

c. *lĩ*

'eat'

d. *lĩ*   *lĩ*   *lù*

eat   eat   thing

'something to eat'

The semantic information in (35d) is 'something designed to be eaten'. As far as the strategy of nominalization in (35d) is concerned, the explanation given for (35b) can also be applied.

2.6   Instrument Nominalization

Payne (1997, 228) defines instrument nominalization as a noun formed from a verb in which the noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb.

(36) a. *tá*   *glʌ*   *kʊ́*

clean-teeth-on

'brush'

b. *glʌ*   *kʊ́*   *tā*   *nɩ̀*   *pèjɩ̂*

teeth   on   clean   OM   stick

'teeth-brush'

c. *gwā*   *nɩ̀*   *mɩ́*

tie   OM   with

'tie (with)'

d. *mɩ́*   *gwā*   *nɩ̀*   *lʊ̀*

with   tie   OM   thing

'rope'

In (36b) the nominalization strategy is similar to the one of discontinuous verbs (see **2.1.3**). The nominalized verb ends with a nominalizer *pejɩ* 'stick' which makes this strategy analytical. But, since the previous part does not make sense on its own, I would consider the strategy as morphological. In (36d) we have the same process.

In general, the instrument nominalization process is a compounding one. The semantic information in (36b) is 'a stick used to clean teeth'. In (36d) the understanding is 'something used to tie other things (*with it)'. In both cases, even though the instrument is a patient (because it is used), it seems to appear like an agent (because it has an effect on something else). But in this case the most important role is the Instrument one, which should be carefully separated from the Patient and the Agent ones.

2.7 Location Nominalization

According to Payne:

Many languages have strategies that form nominalizations that refer in a general way to some entity associated with the verb root. Often these nominalizations refer to a location where the activity described by the verb tends to occur (1997, 229).

In Bété, location nominalization does exist and its morphology can be described as follows:

verb   +   oblique marker   +   *dà*

The verb undergoes reduplication when it has no particle. On the contrary if the verb is one with particle reduplication is not possible (as explained earlier). Rather, there is a kind of metathesis taking place between the verb root and the particle. The oblique morpheme is indispensable here. If we left it out either the nominalized form would simply look like a Patient nominalization or it would have a different semantic information. In the latter case the meaning would be *the time to perform an action*. The morpheme *dà* indicates the location or the place where the action is taking place. It conveys the whole idea of the place where the action described by the verb tends to occur.

(37) a. *klú   kʋ́*

    keep   Part.

    'keep'

  b. *kʋ́   klū   nɪ̀   dà*

    Part.   keep   OM   place

    'keeping-place'

c. *lī*

　　'to eat'

d. *lī*　　*nì*　　*dà*

　　eat　　OM　　place

　　'eating-place'

In both (37b) and (37d), the nominalized verb ends with the nominalizer *da* 'place', giving the semantic information of 'the place where we keep things' ((37b)) and 'the place where people eat' ((37d)). As far as the nominalization strategy is concerned, the explanation given in (36) can be applied to (37b) and (37d).

2.8　Manner Nominalization

Here, I will describe the kind of nominalization based on a verb referring to the action described.

(38) a. *pī*

　　'to cook'

b. *pī*　　*pī*　　*sàmī*

　　cook　　cook　　way (manner)

　　'cooking' (the way of cooking)

c. *jólò*　　　　*kú*

　　stand up　　　Part.

　　'to stand up'

d. *kʊ́*   *jòlò*   *sànɪ́*

   Part.   stand up   way (manner)

   'standing up' (the way of standing up)

The nominalization strategy in (38b) and (38d) contains reduplication of the verb stem (for (38b)) and a metathesis process (for (38d)). In both cases, the nominalized verb is followed by the particle *-sànɪ́*, which conveys the idea of manner. The manner nominalization process in (38b) and (38d) may be changed to action nominalization as a second strategy (see (30b) and (31b)). Thus, we would have for (38b):

   ɔ́   *sʌ̄*   *ɔ*   *pɪ̄*   *lʌ̄*   *nɪ̄*

   Poss.   way   3s   cook   Foc.   DM

   'his/her cooking'

The semantic information here is 'the way (with the understanding of "the manner") she/he cooks' and not 'the way (with the understanding of "the fact that") she/he cooks'.

(38d) would be:

   ɔ́   *sʌ̄*   *ɔ*   *jólō*   *lʌ̄*   *kʊ́*   *nɪ̄*

   Poss.   way   3s   stand up   Foc.   Part.   DM.

   'his/her standing up'

The understanding in (38d) is 'the manner he/she stands up' and not 'the fact that he/she stands up' as in (30b) and (31b). All these nominalization strategies are accompanied by an important variety of tone changes that await further research.

CHAPTER III

Nominalization in Bété discourse

In this section I am going to examine the use of nominalization in Bété discourse. In other words, I will try to answer the questions '*when* do we nominalize in the Bété discourse?' and '*why* do we nominalize in Bété?'

These questions will lead us to consider the issue of the functions of nominalization in Bété as far as ostensive communication is concerned. In this deliberate verbal behavior in which both the speaker and the hearer are engaged, I will try to show how important nominalization is to Bété discourse (on a higher level) and how discourse ef-fects come about. I will analyze this, considering three particular aspects of nomina-lization in Bété discourse: the emphatic and the topical uses, and genitive constructions.

3.1   Emphatic Use of Nominalization

Since discourse is always linked to a particular context any discourse, either written or spoken contains an intended message. Let's consider the following example:

(39) a. *ɔ*   *ku-ù*   *kūgbèlā̄*

　　　3s   die-past   yesterday

　　　'He/she died yesterday'

b.	ɔ́	kú	ē	sà	ā	gɹ̄ɟî	wlu	mɪ́

Poss. (3s)	die	NZ	remove	1s	surprise	head	me

'His/her death surprised me'

The nominalized form in (39b) is used in order to make the issue of 'death' more prominent in the discourse; not the fact that *he/she died yesterday.* Consequently, *yesterday* is not mentioned in the nominalized form. Even when circumstances of the action is mentioned, the emphasis would still be put on the action itself. Let's consider the examples in (40):

(40) a.	ɔ	ɓʌlʌ	juɹ̄	kpʌ̄ɲīː

	3s	beat	children	too much

	'He/she beats children too much'

b.	ɔ́	juɹ̄	a	ɓlʌ́	ɓlé	ē	níp̀	nʌnɪ

Poss. (3s)	children	Gen.	beat	beat	NZ	Neg.	good

'His/her beating children is not good'

In (40b) the emphasis is not just on the fact of beating but on the fact of *beating children.* Thus, the intensifier is left out here. Though in the surface structure, (39) resembles a case of action nominalization, it is not a typical action nominalization since the action of dying is not performed deliberately by the one who died. What I have tried to show in (39) and (40) is that in Bété discourse the speaker may choose to raise the prominence of one participant in the context of nominalization depending on his communicative intentions. For example the speaker uttering (40) could choose to strengthen *kpʌ̄ɲīː* 'too much'. In this case, he would use a manner nominalization strategy. The sentence would then be represented as follows:

(41) a. ɔ   ɓʌlʌ   juŕ   kpʌ́jī:

3s   beat   children   too much

'He/she beats children too much'

b. ɔ́   sʌ̄   ɔ   ɓlʌ́   lʌ̄   juŕ   nī   slʌ̄   nípʊ̀   nʌnɪ

Poss. (3s)   way   3s   beat   Foc.   children   DM.   it   Neg.   good

'The way he/she beats children is not good'

In (41b) the speaker gives more attention, not to *the fact that* the children are beaten or to the action of beating, but to the *way* they are beaten (the way the action of beating is performed). The examples in (39), (40), and (41) take also into account the pragmatic function of nominalization in Bété because they have to do with the interpretation given to an utterance in specific context.

3.2   Nominalization as a Discourse Topic

A discourse topic can be defined as a topic expression whose referent is pragmatically salient beyond the limit of a single sentence; a pragmatically construed sentence relation. In the examples below I will try to show how nominalization can be used in a discourse in order to indicate the topic of that discourse.

(42) a. ɔ   ɓʌlʌ   juŕ

3s   beat   children

'He/she beats children'

b. ɔ́   juŕ   a   ɓlʌ́   ɓlɛ́   ɛ̄   a   wʌ̄lī

Poss. (3s)   children   Gen.   beat   beat   NZ   Gen.   issue

à	ci	lΛ̄
1pl	discuss	Foc.

'We are discussing (the issue of) his/her beating children'

How do we know that *his/her beating children* is the topic of this discussion? By asking the question *what are we discussing*? The answer to this question would be: *we are discussing **his/her beating children**.*

3.3 Nominalization and Genitive Constructions

Crystal defines a genitive as:

> one of the forms taken by a noun phrase in languages which expresses grammatical relationships by means of inflections. The genitive case typically expresses a possessive relationship or some other close connection, but there is a great deal of variation between languages in the way this case is used (1991, 152).

In Bété, genitives do express grammatical relationships by means of inflections but they can also be used for other purposes. In (29b) and (29d) for example the genitive markers bring us to the following meanings: *the way* or *the fact that we defeated Daystar* or *he eats rice*. Also, in (29b) and (29d), we can see that genitive and possessive markers can be used in the same sentence. Here, the genitive markers embody no idea of a semantic relationship between a possessor and a possessee. *The defeat of Daystar* ((29b)) and the *eating of rice* ((29d)) can respectively be attributed to *us* and *him* but in Bété the same semantic relationship does not exist between *defeat* and *Daystar* ((29b)) and between *eating* and *rice* ((29d)).

In Bété, the genitive marker may have the same morphology as the possessive but tone makes the difference (see (28b), and (29b) and (29d)).

What I tried to describe above is the way Bété makes a clear difference between possessive and genitive. Kempson claims that:

it seems clear that we can say little about the meaning of possessive constructions other than that there must be some relation of association between the 'possessor' and the 'possessed'. The meaning is otherwise quite indeterminate (1997, 125).

Even though in Bété genitive constructions may have to do with the relationship between a possessor and a possessee, the examples in (29b) and (29d) show that genitive constructions may convey other meanings. Sperber and Wilson seem to agree with this point when they state the following:

> It is hard to believe that genitive is ambiguous, with as many senses than there are types of relationship it may be used to denote, or that all these relationships fall under a single definition which is the only meaning expressed by use of the genitive on any given occasion. It seems, rather, that the semantic interpretation of a sentence with a genitive from which ambiguities and referential indeterminacies have been eliminated is still something less than fully propositional. Contextual information is needed to solve what should be seen as the semantic incompleteness, rather than the ambiguity, of the genitive (1995, 188).

Genitives should then not simply be seen as ambiguous.

In this section I would also like to show through a simple example taken from the Bible (Romans 8: 39 '...the love of God') how, in Bété, nominalization can help solve some translation problems as far as genitive constructions are concerned. Nominalization seems to have to do with genitive constructions since genitive constructions can be found in nominalization processes. One of the characteristics of an expository discourse is said to be its propensity for existential and equative clauses, which contain quite a number of nominalizations. Since, in Bété, genitive constructions are part of nominalization, I can conclude that genitive constructions are also relevant to Bété discourse. In one of her class assignments Jo Murrell discussed this difficult issue of genitive constructions. Her claim was that "Epistles such as Romans contain more genitive constructions than historical narratives such as Mark (2000, 4).

According to her, this distinction is due the genre of the texts; I would say ...*the genre of the discourse* even though a text is not necessarily a discourse. Let's consider (43) and (44) below, which are possible Bété translations of the biblical passage mentioned above:

(43) *làgɔ̀*   *a*   *wāmà̀nì̀*   *ὲ*

      God   Gen.   love   NZ

      'the love of God' (the fact that someone loves God)

(44) *làgɔ̀*   *á*   *wāmà̀nì̀*   *ὲ*

      God   Poss.   love   NZ

      'the love of God' (the fact that God loves someone)

In (43) God is the experiencer (He is loved) whereas in (44) He is the agent (He loves). The strategy used to solve the problem of confusion between these two interpretations is the tone change that the particle *a* (genitive or possessive particle) undergoes. This difference of tone also shows another function of genitive constructions, which is to help make a clear distinction between different functions of genitive (e.g. objective genitive in (43) and subjective genitive in (44). The subjective genitive in (44) is introduced by the possessive particle *á*.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

In this work, I have tried to describe some of the strategies used in Bété discourse in order to perform nominalization. In Bété, the nominalization process is so rich that I felt like describing more strategies. I shall consider them in a future work. So far, this topic has helped me discover that in Bété, we can have action nominalization in which verbs have different nominalization processes depending on their morphological status; we have also seen that action nominalization may result in compound noun formation. I have discovered that in an NP in which the head noun is derived from a verb stem, several arguments such as subject, objet, location, adverb phrase...) can be incorporated. Also, besides action nominalization, Bété performs the nominalization of agent, patient, instrument, location, and manner. Other types of nominalization may be possible. In further works, I may be able to examine them. The nominalization strategies (morphological and analytical) in Bété can be summarized as follows:

- Reduplication of the verb stem

- Metathesis process (for discontinuous verbs)

- Adding of a nominalizer (-ɲɔ, -ŋnɔ, lu, -V...) to the nominalized verb.

Throughout this work, I have been hesitating in deciding whether in Bété, the nominalization strategy is analytical or morphological. My claim would be that Bété uses both morphological and analytical strategies to perform nominalization. The other problem that I am not sure I have been able to solve is whether the nominalizer

should be attached to the verb stem or separate from it when the nominalizer is a morpheme that has a meaning on its own.

I have also tried to consider some of the pragmatic functions of nominalization in Bété discourse. I have then discovered that nominalization can be used as an emphasis marker and also as a topic marker in discourse. Also, note that as far as Bété discourse is concerned, genitive constructions play an important role in nominalization. In further work, I hope to consider other aspects that I have not been able to explore in this work. The text attached to this work does not necessarily contain all the nominalization strategies. Therefore, some of the examples had to be taken from my own knowledge of Bété since I am a Bété native speaker.

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APPENDIX

A Narrative Text:

1. *akúɓà   á   jīkpà*

    Akouba   Poss.   life

    'Akouba's life'

2. *jǎcī   pijèèlī̄   le`   ɓʌ   dàlí′lî̀ èmī̄   a   kámānɨ̀ɲɔ̀*

    Djaki   Pierre   be   past Dalilie   Gen.   chief

    'Djaki Pierre was the chief (of the village) of Dalilie'

3. *ɔ   kʌ̀   ɓʌ   ɲwmī   sɔ́ː*

    3s   have past   wives two

    'He had two wives'

4. *ní   ɔ   gwʌlì̀ ɓʌ   juɣ̄   kūgbʌ*

    and 3s   father past children   ten

    'And he fathered ten children'

5. *mʌ̀   kplíkplɣ́sʌ̄   nī   ɔ   gwʌ̄lī̄ lʌ̄   ju   nī*

    but unfortunately DM   3s   father when child DM

    'But unfortunately, when he fathers a child'

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6.

ɛ́	ju	lā	nī	ɔ	ní	kū	pʊ̀	dlā
SP	child	Dem.	DM	3s	Neg.	be	Neg.	there

'That child does not remain (alive)'

7.

slā	ɔ́	juɤ̃	wá	ɓu:ɓúɤ̀	wa	kuʊ̀	lā
thus	Poss.(3s)	children	them	all	3pl	die (past)	Foc.

'Thus, all his children died'

8.

ɔ́	ju	a	kūgbʌlè	nī
Poss. (3s)	child	Gen.	tenth	DM

'his tenth child'

9.

ŋnʊkɔ̀jɔ̀	o	mī	ɓʌ	lā
girl	it	Pred.	past	Foc.

It was a girl'

10.

mʌ̀	ɛ́	ju	lā	nī	wa	gwʌ̀ɾ̃	ɔ̀	lā	nī
but	SP	child	Dem.	DM	3pl	give birth	dm	DM

'When they gave birth to him (when he was born)'

11.

ɔ	lè	ɓʌ	kpʌ̃jɪ̃:	tékéē	nī
3s	be	past	very	small	DM

'Because she was very small'

12.　ɔ　　　　　to　　ɲʌ̀　ɔ　　　　　nɔ́　　　sɔ́ː　nī

Poss. (3s)　father　and　Poss. (3s)　mother　with　DM

'her father and her mother'

13.　wa　nɪ́　wōlò　ò　　ɓʌ　pʋ̀　kwlɪ́

3pl　Neg.　look　3s　past　Neg.　look (Part.)

'They were not caring for her'

14.　nâ　slʌ̄　　　wa　nʋ　ɓʌ　lʌ̄　gbàː

for　that way　3pl　say　past　dm　that

'Because they were saying (that)'

15.　sʌ̄　tētɛ̄̀　lwà　kuʋ̀　　lʌ̄　nī

way　first　ones　die (past)　dm　DM

'The way the first ones had died'

16.　ɔmʌ̄　nī　ɔ　jĭ　ɓʌ̄　bɪ́　kú　nī̄

3s　DM　3s　Proj.　past　also　die　also

'She would also die (the same way)'

17.　dlʌ̄　wa　jò　ò　lʌ̄　kɔ

then　3pl　take　3s　dm　take (Part.)

'Then, they took her'

18.   *nɪ́*   *wa*   *ji*   *o*   *lā*   *bàsaàmɪ̄*   *a*   *àɲiɲwà*

and   3pl   past   3s   dm   Bassam   Gen.   Agni people

kɔ   *pɔ́lúpɪ́*   *nī*

hand   sell   to

'And they sold her to the Agni people of Bassam'

19.   *dlā*   *ɛ́*   *àɲiɲwà*   *nī*

thus   SP   Agni people   Dem.

'thus, these Agni people'

20.   *wa*   *jî ènɪ̀*   *lā*   *ɛ́*   *ju*   *akúɓà*

3pl   name (past)   dm   SP   child   Akuba

'They named the child *Akuba*'

21.   *ɪ*   *sɪ̄ɟɔ*   *gbʌ*

it   mean   that

'It means (that)'

22.   *juɣ̄*   *kuù*   *ɓuːɓúɣ̀*   *a*

children   die (past)   all   Gen.

ɜ̀   *tɔ̀*   *lā*   *dlā*   *nɪ̄*

Dem.   Remain   Foc.   there   DM

'The one who remained after all the children have died'

23.   *jlóbɔ̀*   *ɟlõ̀`ná*   *kʌ́*   *pɔ̀*   *plɪ́*   *nɪ̄*

      years   few   past   now   pass   DM

      'a few years later'

24.   *nɔ*   *ɔ*   *jlʌ*   *pɔ̀*   *gbʌ̀*

      mother   3s   want   now   that

      'The mother wants now'

25.   *ɔ*   *kʌ̀*   *ɔ*   *jɔŋnɔ̀*   *akúɓà*   *jliní*

      3s   Proj.   Poss.   daughter   Akuba   see

      'To see her daughter Akouba'

26.   *ɛ́*   *sʌtʌ̀lɪ̀`è*   *nɪ̄*   *mɪ́*   *nɪ̄*

      SP   search   Dem.   in   DM

      'in the process of this search'

27.   *nɪ́*   *ɔ*   *jɪ̄*   *lʌ̄*   *ɛ́*   *ɔ*   *jɔ̄ŋnɔ̀*   *jɤ̄lɪ̄*

      and   3s   past   dm   SP.   Poss. (3s)   daughter   find

      'And she found her daughter'

28.   *dlʌ̄*   *a*   *dā*   *lʌ̄*   *mɪ́*   *jʌ*   *nɪ̄*

      Dem.   Gen.   place   Dem.   in   cause   DM

      'at that time'

29. ɛ́ ju nɪ̄ ɔ kʌ̀ ɓʌ pɔ̀ jlúɓɔ̀ kūgbʌn̄gbe

SP child Dem. 3s Have past now years fifteen

'The child was now fifteen years old'

30. nɪ́ ɔ nɔ́ ɔ ji o lʌ̄ kɔɟē

and Poss. (3s) mother 3s past 3s dm take

'A her mother took her'

31. nɪ́ ɔ ɲɔ̀ ɔ̄ jɪ̄ lʌ̄ mɪ̄

and 3s with 3s past dm go

'And she went with her'

32. nɪ́ ɔ ji o lʌ̄ ɔ nówlɪ̂ kʌ́dɔ̀

and 3s past 3s dm Poss. (3s) brother big

kɔ kwr̄̃lʸ̀ nɪ̀

hand keep OM

'And she kept her under the care of her elder brother'

33. ɔ nówlɪ̂ kʌ́dɔ̀ nɪ̄ á dā

Poss. (3s) brother big Dem. Poss. (3s) place

'at her elder brother's'

34. dlʌ̄ ɔ kʊ̀ ɓʌ pɔ̀ lʌ̄

there 3s be past now Foc.

'She was now there'

35. nɪ́   ɔ   jɪ̄   lā   jlɪ́mɤ̄nɪ̀

and   3s   past   dm   grow up

'And she grew up'

36. nɪ́   ɔ   jɪ̄   lā   ŋwɪdɪ̀ nɪ̌dàmɪ́   jlā

and   3s   past   dm   stage of getting married   reach

'And she was now of an age to marry'

37. ɔ   nɔ́   ɟ̀ɔ̀   ò   bʊ́   kɔ̀

Poss. (3s)   mother take   3s   again   take (Part.)

'Her mother took her again'

38. nɪ́   ɔ   ji   o   lā   ɔ   lʊkʊ́   fʌ̃mɪ̀

and   3s   past   3s   dm   Poss. (3s)   village   go with

'And she went with her to her village

39. mɑ̀   wa   jlɑ̀   lā   ɓɑ̀lɪ̄   nɪ̄

but   3pl   arrive   dm   there   Dm

'But when they arrived there'

40. akʊ́ɓà   ɔ   to   ɔ   kuʊ̀   kʉ́lɪ̀

Akouba   Poss. (3s)   father   3s   die (past)   already

'Akouba's father had already died'

41. ɔ   kuɩ̀   ɓùɓū

3s   die (past)   truly

'Truly, he died'

42. mà̰   ɛ́   ju   nī̄   ɔ   ŋnuɩ̀kʊ́

but   SP   child Dem.3s   accept (past)

'But the child has accepted'

43. sɩ̀   ɔ   kʌ́   ɛ́   du   lʌ̄   mɩ́   gɣli

to   3s   Proj. SP   village Dem. in   stay

'To stay in that village'

44. ɟlɩ̀kà   ɲɔkpɔ̀ wa   la   lʌ̄   ɲʌ̄dlʊ̀   nī̄

one day   man   3pl   call   dm   Nadro   DM

'One day, one man by the name of Nadro'

45. ɔ   ɟɩ̂   akúɓà   ɔ   lʊkʊ́

3s   come (past) Akouba   Poss. (3s)   village

lēɓè sɩtʌ̄lɩ̀   kā̄

job   seek   PM

'He came in Akouba's village in order to seek job'

46. ɓùlī̄   ɔ   nínì   lā̄   akúɓà   jlí'

there   3s   see (past)   Foc.   Akouba   see (Part)

'He saw Akouba' there

47. ní   ɔ   jī̄   lā̄   ɔmī̄   gànamànì

and   3s   past   dm   3s   please

'And she pleased him' (he fell in love with her)

48. dlā̄lā̄ɟʌ   nī̄   ŋnʊkòjò   ō̜   kà   mī̄   ɓʌ   gànʌnɪ   nī̄

in that time   DM   girl   3s   if   2s   past   please   DM

'In that time, if a girl pleased you'

49. ì   ní   mī̄   ɓʌ   pʊ̀   ɔ   towʌ   jlikú

2s   Neg.   go   past   Neg.   Poss. (3s)   parents   in front of

'You would not go before her parents'

50. ní   ì̀   kwá   dɪɲɛ́   gbʌ̀

and   2s   Proj.-3pl   tell   that

'To tell them that'

51. ajá   ju   nī̄   ɔ   nʌnì   ī̄   gà   ɟʌ

Poss. (2pl)   child   Dem.   3s   please   1s   please (Part.)   so

'Your child pleases me so'

'Your child pleases me so'

52. ɪ kɔ́ ɔ́ kʌ̄lɪ̀

1s   Proj.   3s   marry

'I want to marry her'

53. mʌ̀ fítò ɪ̀ ɲɔ̀ ɔ̄ fĩ̄ tō ɓʌ lʌ̄

but   flee   2s   with   3s   flee   past   Foc.

'But you would flee with her'

54 slʌ̄ ɟlɪ̀ kà akúɓà ɔ ɲʌ̀

thus   one day   Akouba   3s   with

ɔ   to   ɔ   nówlɪ̂   á   ju   sɔ́ː

Poss. (3s)   father   Poss. (3s)   brother   Poss. (3s)   child   with

'Thus, one day Akouba and one child of her father's brother (her cousin)'

55. wa peè ɓʌ lʌ̄ ɓĩtγ mɪ́

3pl   sleep   past   dm   house   in

'They were sleeping in the house'

56. έ ju ɔ ɟɛ̄̀ ŋɔŋʊ̀ nʌ̄ɪ

SP   child   3s   while   wake up   DM

'While the child was sleeping'

57. ɲí   ɲɑ̃dɾʊ̀ jĩ̄   lɑ̃   akúɓà   kɔɟē

and   Nadro   past dm   Akouba   take

'And Nadro took Akouba'

58. ɲí   ɔ   ɲɔ̀   ɔ̄   jĩ̄   lɑ̃   fĩ̄tò

and   3s   with 3s   past dm   flee

'And he fled with her'

Akouba's life

Djaki Pierre was the chief (of the village) of Dalilie. He had two wives and he got ten

children. But unfortunately, whenever he gets a child, that child does not remain

(alive). Thus, all his children died. His tenth child was a girl. When she was

born, because she was very small, her parents were neglecting her. Because according

to them, she would also die the way the first ones died. Then, they took her and sold

her to the Agni people of Bassam. Then, these Agni people named her *Akouba*, which

means *the one who remained after all the children have died*. A few years later

Akouba's mother expressed the desire to see her. Then she searched her and found

her. At that time Akouba was now fifteen years old. Her mother took her, went back

with her and kept her under the care of her elder brother. She lived there until she

grew up. When she was of an age to marry her mother took her again and she went

with her to her village. But when they arrived there Akouba's father had already died.

Nevertheless, she accepted to stay in that village. One day, a man by the name of

Nadro came in Akouba's village in order to seek job. He saw Akouba and fell in love

with her. In that time, when a girl pleased you, you would not go before her parents to

tell them that 'your daughter pleases me so I want to marry her' but you would flee

with her. Thus, one day it happened that Akouba and her cousin were sleeping in the house. While the cousin was sleeping Nadro took Akouba and he fled with her.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Background
Name: **Goprou Djaki Carlos**
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Education
2000 – 2002: Master of Arts in Translation Studies (Candidate, **NEGST**)
              Linguistics project: Nominalization strategies in Bété
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1999 – 2000: Translation activities in *Bété project* (SIL, Cote d'Ivoire)
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Since I received my post-secondary degree, I have worked part time as a computer sales prospector. I also did checking work in a commercial translation bureau and taught English to private individuals.

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Interests
Sport (handball, football)
Music (guitar, African drum, singing)