

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE  
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

NOMINALIZATION IN OLUSUBA: PROCESS AND FUNCTION

BY

JEREMIAH OCHIENG' OKUMU

*A Linguistics Project Submitted to the Graduate School in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts in Translation Studies*

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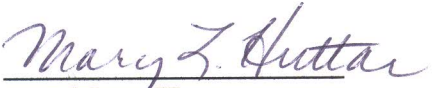
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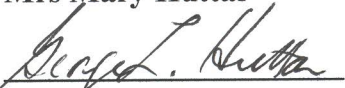
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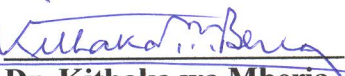
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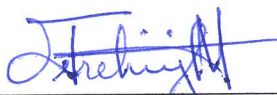
## **Student's Declaration**

### **NOMINALIZATION IN OLUSUBA: PROCESS AND FUNCTION**

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 here are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed)



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Jeremiah O. Okumu

June, 2005

## ABSTRACT

About one third of Olusuba nouns are nominals derived from other lexical categories such as verbs, adjectives and adverbials. This process, known as **nominalization**, and its reverse process of denominalization are crucial in aiding re-expression of ideas in idiomatic translational communication between different languages.

This paper explores the process and function of nominalization as a derivational process in morphology and its importance in Bible translation work in *Olusuba* language. It is also the undertaking of this paper to assess the properties of derivational forms, such as prefixes and suffixes, which produce nominalized forms in this language. Finally, this paper explores grammatical and pragmatic implications of these forms to ascertain their functions in discourse of different kinds.

This research paper, therefore, documents research findings on *Olusuba* nominalization forms and concludes that these forms have great contributions in the production of various lexical units, for the construction of clause and discourse structures, which are needed for communicating and expressing numerous nominal ideas and concepts. This is a crucially important discovery in which 'Relevance Theory' principles of communication are supported through the general function of *Olusuba* nominals. On the basis of *Olusuba* noun structure, the nominalization processes follow uniformly the noun class system and its consequent syntactic form and function to give us a coherent *Olusuba* grammar.



To my dear wife, Irene,  
and our children Philly, Sarah and Joy

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### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Agr	Agreement marker
Asp	Aspect
Aug	Augmentative marker
C	Consonant
Caus	Causative
Cmp	Completive aspect
Dem	Demonstrative
Dim	Diminutive marker
Fut	Future aspect
N	Noun
NC	Noun Class
Nom	Nominal
NP	Noun Phrase
Nrl	Numeral
Nst	Noun stem
Num	Number marker
Nzr	Nominalizer
pl	Plural
Pos	Possessive marker
Pref	Prefix

Prn	Pronoun
Prs	Present tense
Pst	Past tense
Pnt	Patient
Sbj	Subject
sg	Singular
Tns	Tense
V	Verb
Vst	Verb stem
1p	First person singular
3p	Third person plural
3s	Third person singular
[+cont]	Plus Continuant
[-cont]	Minus Continuant
[+Nas]	Plus Nasal
∅	No form or marking of the grammar or vice versa

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 ABOUT THE LANGUAGE

##### 1.1.1 The Suba People

The Suba people are a Bantu language group living in the Eastern shores and islands of Lake Victoria, in Suba and Migori districts of Nyanza province, western Kenya (see Figure 1). However, they can also be traced to the southern shores of Lake Victoria in Tanzania and some islands in Uganda. Their language is generally known as *Olusuba* or *Ekisuba* (= *Ekisuva*) while the people are referred to as *Aba-Suba*. The phonemes /b/ and /v/ is a linguistic variation between the northern and southern dialects respectively, as much as /t/ and /θ/ ‘*omuntu*’ and ‘*omontho*’. Earlier historical-linguistic researchers, such as Ayot (1979), erroneously classified the Suba as a sub-group of the Luo tribe, hence “Luo-Abasuba”, because of the heavy cultural and linguistic assimilation trends at the time. In this paper we shall use *Olusuba* to refer to the language, and *Suba* to the people and/or tribe.

The Suba settled into their present homeland by crossing Lake Victoria on boats in the 18<sup>th</sup> century coming from Uganda as political refugees fleeing wrangles from a kingship succession feud in the Buganda kingdom (Ayot 1979). They claim ancestry from the Baganda people group who live on the Northern shores of the lake in Uganda, and whose language has linguistic similarities with *Olusuba*. The Suba also inter-relate with the Kuria, Gussi and Luhya people in Western Kenya, both linguistically and culturally. These southern groups in Kaksingri, Suna and Muhuru

Bay practised circumcision, a practice common with Bantu groups, but the Kaksingri group have since abandoned the practice owing to their association with the northern group and the surrounding Nilotic Luo tribe.

The Suba people are mainly fishermen, an occupation that gives them a reputation as the best canoe builders. They also keep livestock such as cattle, goats and chickens, which are valuable in settling bride price in marriages and for other payments. To supplement their diet, the Suba people practice subsistence farming in which they grow cassava, maize, sorghum, and groundnuts.

### **1.1.2 Genetic Affiliation and Typology**

*Olusuba* is classified under Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow-Bantu, Central, E, Kuria, E (10) (Grimes 2000, 142). Like most Bantu languages, It is a head-first language in constituent order classification and exhibits high agglutinative characteristics, with a number of morphemes attached to a stem to form a word with complex grammatical implications, ranging from a simple clause to a full sentence.

### **1.1.3 Dialects and Sociolinguistics**

The Suba population is estimated at about 190,000 people living within the Kenyan borders. This estimate was made from the *Statistical abstract* (2001) which indicates that Suba district has a population of 155,666 less a staggering 10,000 non-Suba immigrants; and taking the population of Subas living outside the district as 50,000. But the real number could be greater than this. Of these, there are about 120,000 speakers of *Olusuba*. The difference accounts for the younger generation who are victims of assimilation into the neighbouring Luo language (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Map of Suba (Source: Bible Translation & Literacy, calendar 2004)



In Kenya, there are seven Suba groups who speak different but somewhat mutually intelligible dialects: *Orukune*, spoken in Kaksingri; *Olusuba*, spoken in Mfangano island, Rusinga island, Ragwe and Kisegi; *Ekiiregi* and *Ekiigase*, both spoken in Gwassi; *Ekiingoe*, spoken in Nyagwethe; *Ekisuuna*, spoken in Suna; and *Olumuulu*, spoken in Muhuru Bay.

Owing to contact with several other languages, both during the historical migrational process and in their modern locations, *Olusuba* dialects exhibit a high degree of dissimilarity, especially between the Northern and Southern groups.

Most Subas are bilingual because of forced introduction of *Dholuo* into the school system, religious orientation (through the Luo Bible) and as the language for wider communication in local trade and mass media. This is also associated with a negative attitude prevalent among Suba ‘elites’ who rate *Olusuba* third, after English and *Dholuo*, the latter being the language of the tribal Luo people, a Nilotic group living around the shores of Lake Victoria surrounding the Suba homeland. Their influence on the Subas linguistically and culturally, has been greatly felt due to intermarriage and social interaction. Of late this trend is changing with the development of *Olusuba* into a broader functional language via the radio, media, literacy, religious resources (Suba Bible portions) and its introduction as mother tongue in the school curriculum. Consequently, more Subas are identifying with their language and culture, and seeking their own identity owing to this work started in 1993 by Bible Translation & Literacy (E.A), the church, partners and Ministry of Education. However, for a complete revolution to take place and put *Olusuba* back into its proper position as a legitimate functional language of the Suba people, research work in many areas, including descriptive linguistics as attempted in these pages, is necessary to recover lost values of the people through language.

## 1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

### 1.2.1 The Noun

A noun, or a nominal, in Olusuba is any word that can function as the subject or object of a clause, head of a noun phrase (NP), or as a topic of an extended discourse (Payne 1997, 33). This morphosyntactic definition of a noun extends the grammatical class to accommodate nominals that could not qualify as prototypical nouns, if this more restrictive definition suggested by Payne (and attributed to Givón) is adopted:

The class of nouns in any language includes words that express the most time-stable concepts, e.g., “rock”, “tree”, “mountain”, “house,” etc. These are concepts that characteristically do not vary appreciably over time. Prototypical nouns, then, are words that express highly and obviously time-stable concepts. (Payne 1997, 33)

This definition limits the extent to which words from different grammatical categories can be manipulated in a language, like *Olusuba*, to function in the same way as a “time-stable” concept (noun) does in the language.

- (1) *I-waale ri-waluuk-re.* [STONE = time stable]  
 3s-stone 3s-crack-cmp  
 ‘The stone has cracked.’
- (2) *Olu-gendo lu-wuere.* [JOURNEY = unstable, concept]  
 Nzr-walk be-finish-Prs  
 ‘The journey is over.’

Although Payne (1997) lists some typical structural properties that can be used as criteria for identifying nouns such as case, number, class, gender and definiteness, the class of *Olusuba* nouns demonstrates a large number of items that may meet only a few of these criteria. The following are some of the characteristics that most *Olusuba* nouns exhibit:

- i) Can function as subject or object of a clause
- ii) Can take a wide range of descriptive modifiers
- iii) Can be pluralized or stated in diminutive or augmentative form
- iv) Can be possessed or can possess another noun
- v) Can be referred to by a pronoun or anaphoric clitic

The following Olusuba examples (3) – (7) illustrate the noun characteristics i) to v) above.

(3) **Em-bwa** *e-fwi-re.*

3s-dog 3s-die-Cmp

‘The dog is dead.’ (subject of clause)

(4) *Kimoko a-it-re em-bwa i-ifu e-ntinzi e-nene e-mwamu.*

Kimoko 3s-kill-Cmp 3s-dog 1p-pos 3s-fierce 3s-big 3s-black

‘Kimoko has killed our big black fierce dog.’ (descriptive modifiers)

(5) **Ogu-bwa** *gw-ifu gu-fwi-re.*

3p.Aug-dog Aug.3p-1p.pos Aug.3p-die-Cmp

‘Our (**giant**) dog is dead.’ (augmentation)

(6) **Em-bwa** *e-ya Malowa e-lum-re awa-ana.*

3p-dog NC-Prp Malowa 3p-bite-Cmp 3p-child

‘Malowa’s dog has bitten children.’ (possession)

(7) **E-mbwa e-no** *ne e-yange. Ng-e-ka-luma awa-ana. E-indi **ni-yo** e-wa-lum-re.*

3s-dog 3s-Dem be 3s-mine Neg-3s-Pst-bite 3p-child 3s-other be-that 3s-bite-p

‘**This** dog is mine. **It** did not bite the children. Another **one** bit them. (pronouns)



### 1.2.2 Morphology

Since the Olusuba noun functions in similar ways to a noun phrase, we can begin by the larger form. Structurally, the Olusuba noun phrase (NP) is composed of an obligatory head noun (N), a possessive word (Pos), descriptive adjectives (Adj), a numeral (Nrl) and a demonstrative (Dem). All the other constituents, apart from the N, are optional as shown here (8a).

(8a) NP → N (Pos) (Adj) (Adj) (Adj) (Nrl) (Dem)

(8b) *Omw-ala o-wa-nge omu-liire omw-akanyu omu-lala o-yo.*

NC1-N NC-of-my NC1-tall NC1-red NC1-one NC-that

‘That tall brown only daughter of mine.’

The noun (N) component of the structure (8a) and (8b) above can be expanded as in (9) below to represent the morphology of the Olusuba noun, which consists of a fused noun class and number marker (NC) and the noun stem (Nst).

(9) N → NC.Num-Nst

Examples (10) and (11) below illustrate the structure in (9) above.

(10) *ø-ng'ina* ‘mother’

NC.sg-mother

(11) *waa-ng'ina* ‘mothers’

NC.pl-mother

Welmers’ study of the Bantu noun system reveals that nouns consist of a base form and a prefix noun class marker (1973, 159-160), confirming Moe’s analysis of Olusuba noun class system (Appendix 1). The following examples (12) and (13) can give us adequate examples of this structure of the Olusuba noun in singular and plural form.

(12) *omu-ntu* 'person'

NC.sg-person

(12) *awa-ntu* 'people'

NC.pl-person

Another important process with the noun in Olusuba is that the verb, through its pronominal affixes, must agree in number with the noun, through its class prefix and its determiners, in a clause.

(14a) *E-mbwa e-no e-gona*

NC.sg-dog NC.sg-this NC.sg-sleep

'This dog is asleep.'

(14b) *E-mbwa zi-no zi-gona.*

NC.pl-dog NC.pl-this NC.pl-sleep

'These dogs are asleep.'

### 1.2.3 The Derivational Process

Derivation is a morphological process in which the grammatical category or sub-category typically undergoes change in its linguistic form, which correlates with a change in its grammatical class (e.g. Swahili: *safiri* 'travel' (V) → *safari* 'journey'; *msafiri* 'traveller'; *msafara* 'caravan'). Derivational operations involve a stem and an addition or dropping of a derivational morpheme. Payne defines derivation as

"...operations which derive an inflectable stem from a root or an intermediate stem." (1997, 25)

Therefore, what Payne means in effect is that not all morphological processes may amount to derivational morphology. Some may be an inflectional process of number or augmentation (or diminution). The most common processes of derivation according to Payne (1997, 25) are:

- i. Operations that change the grammatical category of a root.
- ii. Operations that change the valence (transitivity) of a verb root.
- iii. Operations that in other ways significantly change the basic concept expressed by a root.

Olusuba examples of a derivational process involve nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

(15) Noun-verb derivation:

*omu-rema* ‘lame person’ → *reme-ra* ‘be lame’ (Root: *rema*)

(16) Noun-adjective derivation:

*owu-eru* ‘light’ → *enz-eru* ‘white, bright’ (Root: *eru*)

(17) Adverb-verb derivation:

*wu-angu* ‘quickly’ → *angu-ya* ‘hurry’ (Root: *angu*)

#### 1.2.4 Nominalization

Nominalization is a derivational process in which the root or stem of a given grammatical category changes to become a noun, or changes from one noun to another. The reverse process is termed denominalization. For example, an English verb can change and function as a noun (‘entertain’ [V] → ‘entertainment’ [N]). Such a process involves a number of operations and operators that we shall look at below.

The nominalized categories in Olusuba may fail the time-stable criterion for prototypical nouns, but they definitely qualify as nouns because of their distributional and structural properties. The most common type of Olusuba nominal derived from verbs is the infinitive form, which is equivalent to the English gerund or infinitive. Like prototypical nouns, most nominalizations can take modifiers which must agree

with the noun class of the nominalization by acquiring the noun class prefix, in this case the prefixes *owu-* (18) and *eki-* (19) below.

(18) *Owu-fugi owu-a emi-andu no owu-lootu.*

Nzr-keep NC-of NC.pl-animal be NC-good

‘Keeping of animals is good.’

(19) *Eki-vundu eki-a eriosi ki-mwam-ia e-nyumba.*

Nzr-rise NC-of smoke NC-dirt-Caus NC-house

‘The rising of smoke dirtifies a house.’

The syntax of an Olusuba phrase or clause shows that most constituents have to agree in their formal properties by taking the noun class prefix of the head noun in a phrase. Consequently, possessive, adjectival, numerical and definitive modifiers of a noun or nominal in a phrase will show some characteristics of the noun class of the head word. Table 1 summarizes Olusuba noun class markers found on various types of modifiers. Also included are the pronominal subject and object markers on the verb.



Table 1. Olusuba noun system and modifiers

	Noun	Possessive	Numeral	Adjective	Demonstrative	Subject marker	Object marker
NC 1.	<i>omw-ana</i> child	<i>w-ange</i> my	<i>omu-lala</i> one	<i>omu-lootu</i> good	<i>o-no</i> this	<i>a-toola</i> (s)he takes	<i>amutorre</i> takes him
NC 2.	<i>awa-ana</i> children	<i>w-ange</i> my	<i>awa-wiri</i> two	<i>awa-lootu</i> good	<i>wa-no</i> these	<i>wa-torre</i> they take	<i>awatorre</i> takes them
NC 3.	<i>omu-ti</i> tree	<i>gw-ange</i> my	<i>omu-lala</i> one	<i>omu-lootu</i> good	<i>gu-no</i> this	<i>gu-kala</i> it dries	<i>agutema</i> cuts it
NC 4.	<i>emi-ti</i> trees	<i>gi-ange</i> my	<i>i-wiri</i> two	<i>emi-lootu</i> good	<i>gi-no</i> these	<i>gi-kala</i> they dry	<i>agitema</i> cuts them
NC 5.	<i>i-ng'ana</i> word	<i>ri-ange</i> my	<i>i-lala</i> one	<i>i-lootu</i> good	<i>ri-no</i> this	<i>ri-wuere</i> it is over	<i>arimiire</i> finish it
NC 6.	<i>ama- ng'ana</i> words	<i>g-ange</i> my	<i>a-wiri</i> two	<i>ama-lootu</i> good	<i>ga-no</i> these	<i>ga-wuere</i> they're over	<i>agamiire</i> he finishes them
NC 7	<i>eki-raato</i> shoe	<i>ki-ange</i> my	<i>eki-lala</i> one	<i>eki-lootu</i> good	<i>ki-no</i> this	<i>ki-teekre</i> it is lost	<i>akitorre</i> he takes it
NC 8	<i>ewi-raato</i> shoes	<i>wi-ange</i> my	<i>ewi-wiri</i> two	<i>ewi-lootu</i> good	<i>wi-no</i> these	<i>wi-teekre</i> they lost	<i>awitorre</i> takes them
NC9/10	<i>en-tewe</i> chair	<i>y-ange</i> my	<i>en-dala</i> one	<i>end-ootu</i> good	<i>e-no</i> this	<i>e-vuniike</i> it breaks	<i>akivunre</i> breaks it
NC 11	<i>olu-uzi</i> river	<i>lw-ange</i> my	<i>olu-lala</i> one	<i>olu-lootu</i> good	<i>lu-no</i> this	<i>lu-ika</i> it flows	<i>aluziwre</i> blocks it
NC 12	<i>aka-zia</i> small boy	<i>ka-nge</i> my	<i>aka-lala</i> one	<i>aka-lootu</i> good	<i>ka-no</i> this	<i>ka-giire</i> he goes	<i>akatoola</i> takes him
NC 13	<i>otu-yumba</i> small house	<i>tw-ange</i> my	<i>out-lala</i> one	<i>out-lootu</i> good	<i>tu-no</i> this	<i>tu-gwa</i> it falls	<i>atugwisiiz ie</i> 'he fell us'
NC 14	<i>owu-sera</i> porridge	<i>wu-ange</i> my	-----	<i>owu-ngi</i> much	<i>wu-no</i> this	<i>wu-fugika</i> 'it pours'	<i>awuyorre</i> collects it
NC 15	<i>oku-twi</i> ear	<i>kw-ange</i> my	<i>oku-lala</i> one	<i>oku-lulu</i> painful	<i>ku-no</i> this	<i>ku-ziwre</i> it is deaf	<i>akunyarre</i> 'hurt you'
NC 16	<i>mp-ano</i> here	<i>mp-ange</i> my	-----	-----	<i>a-no</i> this	-----	-----
NC 17	<i>ku-mugizi</i> in home	<i>gw-ange</i> my	-----	<i>omu-lootu</i> good	<i>ogw-o</i> that	-----	-----
NC 18	<i>mu- nyumba</i> in house	<i>y-ange</i> my	-----	<i>en-dootu</i> good	<i>omw-o</i> there	-----	-----
NC 20	<i>ogw-ato</i> big boat	<i>gw-ange</i> my	<i>ogu-lala</i> one	<i>gu-lootu</i> good	<i>gu-no</i> this	<i>gu-owoka</i> it's rocked	<i>aguowole</i> he rocks it

## CHAPTER TWO

### VERB NOMINALIZATION

#### 2.1 THE VERB STRUCTURE

Most languages have two major grammatical classes: the noun and the verb. A semantically prototypical verb can be described as a word that stands for less time-stable concepts such as events, situations and conditions (Payne 1997, 47). Usually, verbs occur in the predicate part of the clause and express the action or condition directed to the object by the subject. An analysis of the verb in Olusuba reveals that most verbs have a common *-a* ending; even borrowed verbal words also acquire this characteristic *-a* ending as they are incorporated into the Olusuba verbal class. The *-a* ending, which can be considered generally as the verbal class marker, is part of the verb word, though it can exist in a different form in some verbs.

The Olusuba verb structure consists of a negative marker (Neg), a subject marker (Sbj), a tense marker (Tns), an object marker, the verb stem (Vst), and an aspect marker (Asp), in that order. All of these constituents are optional except the stem. The re-write rule (20) and examples (21) and (23) below illustrate this structure.

(20) V → (Neg)-(Sbj)-(Tns)-(Obj)-Vst-(Asp)

(21) *E-ngoko eyo ng-e-ka-ki-zoma-nga no omunwa.*

NC-hen 3s.Dem Neg-3s.Sbj-Pst-3s.Obj-Vst-Cnt with mouth

‘That hen was not pecking it with the beak.’

However, intransitive verbs cannot have the object marker (Obj). In view of the above structure a simple verb may form a clause or complete sentence just by

taking subject and object affixes as exemplified in (23) below. This follows from the fact that Olusuba is a highly agglutinative language.

(22) VP → (Neg) (Sbj) (Tns) (Obj) Vst (Asp)

(23) *Ng'a-nya-ka-mu-tuukra.*

Neg-1s.Subj-Pst-3s.Obj-find

'I did not find him.'

## 2.2 VERB NOMINALIZATION MORPHEMES

We described nominalization in section 1.2.4 as the process by which a word belonging to a different grammatical category becomes more like a noun in function and form by means of adding affixes or radically changes meaning from one noun to another. In this unit we shall look at those affixes which perform nominalization on verbs – and we shall call them verb nominalization morphemes.

Olusuba prefixes the morphemes (24) to various verbs to convert them into nominals, as exemplified in the list in (25):

(24) *omu-, i-, eki-, oku-, owu-, en-, olu-, em(-en),*

(25)	<u>Verb Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	<i>ria</i>	'eat'	<i>oku-ria</i>	'food; to eat, eating'
	<i>emba</i>	'sing'	<i>olu-embo</i>	'song'
	<i>lwaala</i>	'be sick'	<i>owu-lwiire</i>	'sickness'
	<i>rira</i>	'dig, cultivate'	<i>omu-riri</i>	'farmer'
	<i>kola</i>	'do, perform'	<i>en-kola</i>	'character'
	<i>taza</i>	'step on'	<i>eki-tazro</i>	'foot, sandals'
	<i>gesa</i>	'to harvest'	<i>i-gesa</i>	'the harvest'
	<i>woola</i>	'say'	<i>em-boola</i>	'speech, dialect'



As we can notice, in most cases the nominalization process involves more than just adding a prefix to the verb. Another change in the morphology of the word concerns its characteristic *-a* ending. While some nominalized forms retain the characteristic *-a* verb ending in Olusuba, the following suffixes commonly replace the *-a* ending on some nominalized verbs.

(26.a)	<u>Verb ending</u>	<u>Nominal ending</u>	<u>Example-Verb</u>	<u>Example-Nominal</u>
	--a	--a	<i>koola</i> 'weed'	<i>i-koola</i> 'weeding'
	--a	--e	<i>sia</i> 'grind'	<i>owu-sie</i> 'flour'
	--a	--i	<i>joja</i> 'write'	<i>omu-joji</i> 'writer'
	--a	--o	<i>waaya</i> 'play'	<i>omu-waayo</i> 'game'
	--a	--u	<i>kala</i> 'dry'	<i>en-kalu</i> 'dried XX'
	--a	--ire	<i>lwala</i> 'be sick'	<i>owu-lwire</i> 'sickness'
	--a	--ni	<i>ima</i> 'deny'	<i>owu-imani</i> 'miser'
	--a	--ro	<i>niina</i> 'climb'	<i>eki-niinro</i> 'ladder'
			<i>ikala</i> 'sit'	<i>eki-karro</i> 'seat'
			<i>luma</i> 'bite'	<i>eki-lumro</i> 'teeth'
			<i>saaza</i> 'churn'	<i>eki-saazro</i> 'churner'
	--a	--wa	<i>wulula</i> 'untie knot'	<i>eki-wululwa</i> 'reef knot'
	--a	--si	<i>luka</i> 'create'	<i>omu-lusi</i> 'creator'
	--a	--zi	<i>kola</i> 'work'	<i>omu-kozi</i> 'worker'
			<i>awa</i> 'dig'	<i>owu-awizi</i> 'burial'
			<i>serera</i> 'marry'	<i>en-serezi</i> 'marriage'
			<i>loga</i> 'bewitch'	<i>omu-lozi</i> 'a witch'
	--a	--lo	<i>soola</i> 'quarrel'	<i>olu-soolo</i> 'a quarrel'



We can assume from this point that most Olusuba verbs will add other morphemes in the process of nominalization, notably, a prefix and a suffix as shown in (26.a) above. The type of suffixed morpheme that each verb takes in the nominalization process is in most cases phonologically conditioned. For example, where the final nominal prefix *-ro* is preceded by a lateral, the lateral /l/ changes to a trill, /r/, as in (26.c).

(26.b) l → r / \_\_\_ r

(26.c) *ikala* ‘sit’ → *ekikarro* ‘seat’

But there is still more to be discovered from some deviant forms in the language like the one below:

(27) <u>Nouns</u>	<u>Verb</u>
<i>omu-rema</i> ‘lame person’	<i>rem-era</i> ‘be lame’
<i>owu-rema</i> ‘lameness’	
<i>oku-rem-era</i> ‘to be lame’	

There are two possible hypotheses about the process involved in (27). One is that the process could be one of denominalization where the noun *omurema* ‘lame person’ becomes a verb by dropping the nominal prefix *omu-* and acquiring a verbal suffix *-era*. But some theorists could also argue that it is a reverse nominalization where the verb *remera* ‘be lame’ drops its final syllable *-ra* (or rather *-era*) to form the stem of a nominal. I could buy this argument for the strong reason that other nominals exhibit some features of nominalization found in (26) above.

### 2.3 MORPHOSYNTAX OF NOMINALIZED VERBS

The nominalization process involving the verb as the starting point goes through a syntactic elimination of the noun apart from a nominalized form in the

construction of a clause. In such a situation, a nominalization process works out and the speaker gets to the right nominal from the verb without problem. However, the choice of the right nominal form depends on the semantic needs of the clause at hand. The infinitive nominalization prefix *oku-* ‘to do/be’ is the most commonly picked form for nominals that stand for abstract concepts and situations. The example in (28) is sufficient.

- (28) *Awa-ana wano wa-gonzii-zie oku-soma no oku-waya.*  
 3p-child 3p.Dem 3p-like-Cmp Nzr-read and Nzr-play  
 ‘These children like studying and playing.’

Another commonly used nominalization morpheme is the *i-* prefixed to the verb. In most cases it denotes the activity or process described by the verb stem, as in (29) below.

- (29) *I-soma eria awa-ana wano ri-onwa no omu-waayo guno.*  
 Nzr-study of 3p-child 3p.Dem 3s-spoilt with Nzr-play 3s.Dem  
 ‘These children’s education is spoilt by this game.’

From the above examples, there is a slight difference between the *oku-* nominalization prefix and the other nominalizations. While both *omuwaayo* and *isoma* (29) can be pluralized (see the underlined words in (30)), the *oku-* nominalizations *okuwaya* and *okusoma* cannot. Therefore, *oku-* nominals generally remain as true infinitive forms of the verbs and they have limited operations in a clause when functioning in nominal positions. Also, they cannot be modified by free adjectives nor adverbs, while the others can (see the underlined words in (31)).

- (30) *Emi-waayo ne emi-rimo egia awa-ana awa-ta-gonzii-zie ama-somo ga-awu.*  
 Nzr.pl-play be NC.pl-work of 3p-child 3p-neg-like-Cmp Nzr.pl-study 3p-Pos  
 ‘Games are the occupation for children who do not like their studies.’

- (31) *Owu-lwire owu-kulu owua owugenge wu-mu-amb-re omu-wiri.*  
 Nzr.sg-be.sick 3s-old of leprosy 3s-3s-hold-Cmp Nzr.sg-swell  
 ‘The old leprosy disease has infected his body.’

Generally we can place the nominalizer prefix *oku-* on a ‘partial nominalization grid’. This means that the nominalized verb still shows some characteristics of the verb. The structure and examples below illustrate this weak or partial nominalization, which can still be used as a verb and a noun.

- (32) V → [V]<sub>Noun</sub>  
 (33) *iwa* → *oku-iwa* (steal → stealing, to steal)  
 (34) *gula* → *oku-gula* (buy → buying, to buy)

Both Olusuba words (nominals) can be considered nouns because they fulfil some of the characteristics required to categorize them so (see characteristics i – v, page 5). At the same time they are still verbs since they can function in the verb phrase or predicate of a clause.

The form of the strongly nominalized verb therefore exhibits a stable position on the noun side and shares some characteristics of more typical nouns - functions and operations. They graphically show this kind of change:

- (35) Verb → Noun  
 (36) *iwa* → *owu-iwi, omu-iwi* (steal → theft, thief)

Examples (37a) and (37b) illustrate the claims in the foregoing paragraph.

- (37a) *Owu-iwi owua eng’ombe wu-gawukaane no oku-iwa enguwo.*  
 Nzr-theft of cows is-different from stealing clothes  
 ‘Cattle theft is different from stealing clothes.’

(37b) *Oku-iwa ne eki-ntu e-kia omw-iwi a-kola.*

Nzr-steal be NC-thing NC-which Nzr-steal NC-do

‘Stealing is that which a thief does.’

### 2.3.1 Action Nominalization

Action nominalization is one strategy of verb nominalization where the resultant nominal (product) is semantically ‘action oriented’. That is, the nominal denotes the action of the verb. This can be represented as follows:

V → V [Nom, Action]

An example in English further explains the process and product as belonging to the noun class of lexical categories.

(38) travel (V) + -ing (Nzr) = travelling (Nom, action)

In light of the above analysis and the Olusuba verb structure, action nominalization in Olusuba involves a morphological process. An operator is either prefixed and/or suffixed to the root or stem of the verb to produce an action nominal. The most common action nominalizer is the infinitive prefix *oku-*, which occurs virtually with all verbs. The others include *owu-*, *eki-*, *olu-*, *em-*, *en-*, and *i-*. Below are examples of the prefix operation on the verb that results in an ‘action nominal’.

39) Nzr + V → Nom (Action)

(40) *oku-* + *iwula* = *okuiwula*

Nzr give-birth giving-birth

(41) *owu-* + *iwa* = *owuiwi*

Nzr steal stealing

(42) *eki-* + *kolola* = *ekikolola*

Nzr cough coughing



- |      |             |   |                |   |                    |
|------|-------------|---|----------------|---|--------------------|
|      | Nzr         |   | cough          |   | a cough            |
| (43) | <i>olu-</i> | + | <i>genda</i>   | = | <i>olugendo</i>    |
|      | Nzr         |   | go             |   | travelling/journey |
| (44) | <i>em-</i>  | + | <i>woola</i>   | = | <i>emboola</i>     |
|      | Nzr         |   | say            |   | speech             |
| (45) | <i>en-</i>  | + | <i>tambuka</i> | = | <i>entambuko</i>   |
|      | Nzr         |   | cross          |   | step               |
| (46) | <i>i-</i>   | + | <i>rima</i>    | = | <i>irima</i>       |
|      | Nzr         |   | cultivate      |   | cultivation        |

The nominal examples above give good illustrations of phonological conditioning at morpheme boundaries in the process of nominalization. Examples (44) and (45) reveal two allomorphs of the same nominalizer morpheme *en-*, with *m-* if prefixed to a bilabial initial word, and with *n-* if prefixed to a dental initial word. This means that /em/ and /en/ are allomorphs in the two processes above. In fact, there is a third allomorph /eŋ/. We can represent this allomorphic variation as follows:

- (47) /n/ → [m] / \_\_\_ C [+labial] e.g. [wala] ‘count’ → [embala] ‘counting’  
 [ŋ] / \_\_\_ C [+velar] e.g. [gula] ‘buy’ → [eŋgula] ‘shopping’  
 [ɲ] / \_\_\_ V [-consonantal] e.g. [awa] ‘drill’ → [eɲawa] ‘drilling’  
 [n] /elsewhere e.g. [tolola] ‘clear’ → [entolola] ‘cleared place’

The example below also illustrates the phonological conditioning process above.

- |      |             |   |            |   |               |
|------|-------------|---|------------|---|---------------|
| (48) | <i>seka</i> | + | <i>en-</i> | = | <i>enseko</i> |
|      | laugh       |   | Nzr        |   | laughter      |

In examples (44) and (45) above, the process of phonological change, represented in rule (47), also involves assimilation of the initial consonant of the stem to match the consonant of the prefix. For example,

(49) /w/ → [b] / m + \_\_\_\_

(50) General rule: [+Cont] → [-Cont] / [+Nas] + \_\_\_\_

To summarize, action nominals denote an activity or action designated by the original verbal idea. They are characterized by a prefixed nominalizer in all cases and an additional suffix operator in some. The additional suffix, as we saw previously (in section 2.2), is not a major operator in the action nominalization process, but a supplementary one whose function is not quite clear. The suffix is also significantly absent in all infinitive/gerund forms of nominals formed by the prefix *oku-* and other nominals, while in other instances it is but a replacement of the characteristic *-a* verb ending. This makes it insignificant to consider the suffix as a nominal operator here, but as a residual issue for further investigation, beyond the limits of this paper.

Some Olusuba action nominals, like other nouns, can be pluralized. The pluralized form takes a plural morpheme which is a variant of the nominalizer. The following examples demonstrate the pluralization process.

(51.a) *olu-gendo* ‘journey’ → *en-gendo* ‘journeys’

*olu-embo* ‘song’ → *eny-embo* ‘songs’

*eki-serengeto* ‘slope’ → *ewi-serengeto* ‘steep sides, slopes’

*omu-waayo* ‘game’ → *emi-waayo* ‘games’

*owu-temo* ‘cleared land’ → *ama-temo* ‘cleared lands’

It is observable from (51.a) above that the prefix nominalizer doubling as the singular morpheme changes to a plural morpheme which is also a class marker as follows.

(51.b) singular → plural

<i>olu-</i>	<i>en-</i>
<i>eki-</i>	<i>ewi</i>
<i>omu-</i>	<i>emi-</i>
<i>owu-</i>	<i>ama-</i>

Action nominals can also take adjectives as dependents within a noun phrase or nominal clause. In this case, the adjective comes normally after the nominal and must agree with it in prefixed noun class and number markers. Generally, the noun class marker (NC) is prefixed on the adjective for agreement. We can illustrate the situation as follows:

(52) *Omu-goowa a-gii-re olu-gendo olu-liire.*

Nzr-driver 3s-go-Cmp Nzr-go Agr-long

‘The driver has gone for a long journey.’

(53) *Keesia a-sie-re owu-sie owu-eru owu-nyuke owu-a ewi-duuma.*

Keesia 3s-grind-Cmp Nzr-grind Agr-white Agr-fine Agr-of pl-maize

‘Keesia has ground white fine maize flour.’

In the same way, if an action nominal takes a demonstrative, the demonstrative will come after the nominal and will also agree in number and nominal class prefix. This also applies to any pronoun used along side the nominal and has a referent relationship with it.

(54) *Luwasi a-sawa Katonda a-wurre oku-sawa okwa-ye ku-no.*

Luwasi 3s-ask.Prs God 3s-hear.Prs Nzr-ask Pos-3s NC-Dem

‘Luwasi is asking God to hear this prayer of his.’

(55) *Nyalando al-owe-re oku-emba olu-embo o-lwo.*

Nyalando 3s-refuse-Cmp Nzr-sing Nzr-sing NC-Dem

‘Nyalando has refused to sing that song.’

Action nominals vary in range from pure action verb nominals to the less active verb nominals, which are also called stative verbs. In the next section we shall look at nominals formed from stative verbs, their formal properties and operations.

### 2.3.2 Stative Nominalization

Stative nominalization involves transforming a stative verb to function like a noun. In this case the resultant nominal has the semantics of the stative verb, that is, it states the condition or state of the subject or topic. This can be represented by the following example with the English stative verb:

(56) know (V) + -ledge (Nzr) = knowledge (Nom, state)

Olusuba nominals formed from stative verbs involve infinitive prefixes such as *oku-* and *owu-* in the process of nominalization which relies on the semantics of the verb as stative. A stative verb states the condition, and so there is no real action denoted but a state or condition of the topic. There are morphological changes in the structure similar to the ones we saw in action nominalization above. These are the significant changes:

- A prefix is added to the verb root or stem.
- A suffix (in some cases) is added to the stem or the characteristic *-a* ending is displaced.

See the examples in (57) below.

(57) StativeVerb                      Noun (oku+V; owu+V)

*luya* ‘be tired’ → *oku-luya* ‘to be tired’; *owu-luyu* ‘tiredness, fatigue’

*remera* ‘be lame’ → *oku-remera* ‘to be lame’; *owu-rema* ‘lameness’

*gataya* ‘be lazy’ → *oku-gataya* ‘to be lazy’; *owu-gata* ‘laziness’

*kiriya* ‘be old’ → *oku-kiriya* ‘to be old’; *owu-kiire* ‘old age’



*sianiya* ‘be brave’ → *oku-sianiya* ‘to be brave’; *owu-siani* ‘bravery’  
*kalanguka* ‘be strong’ → *oku-kalanguka* ‘to be strong’; *owu-kalangufu* ‘strength’  
*kala* ‘be dry’ → *oku-kala* ‘to be dry’; *owu-kalu* ‘dryness’

It is interesting that stative verbs are so limited in their operators to only two of the most common nominalizers, *oku-* and *owu-*, which are also the class markers for Olusuba noun classes 14 and 15. It will be important to investigate the limitation further to ascertain whether stative verbs can have other nominalizers than these two.

Stative nominals in Olusuba can also take adjectives, demonstrative pronouns and possessive pronouns in their nominal phrases and/or clauses. These items agree with the nominal in number and nominal class marking. All these properties show that the words are indeed nouns. Let us look at the following examples, in which the adjectives are underlined, for illustration.

(58) *Makonya ari no owu-lwire owu-wiwi owua Lu-mala.*

Makonya 3s-be with Nzr-sick NC-bad NC-of NC-finish  
 ‘Makonya has the dreaded AIDS disease.’

(59) *Awa-ri na am-asendi wa-meny-re owu-lamu owu-lootu.*

3p-be with 3p-money 3p-live-Cmp Nzr-health NC-good  
 ‘Those who have money live a good life.’

(60) *Oku-luya ku-no no owu-lwire owu-a emi-rimo.*

Nzr-tired NC-Dem be Nzr-sick NC-of NC-work  
 ‘This fatigue is a disease to work.’

## 2.4 ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION

An argument in syntax is one of the participants in the action or state of the verb in a clause. Argument nominalization, also called participant nominalization, is a

“verb based nominalization strategy that results in a noun that refers to one of the participants of the verb root” (Payne 1997, 225). This can be illustrated as follows:

(61) V → N [participant of V]

Olusuba argument nominals are strategically formed by the common Olusuba nominalizer *omu-* (or its plural variant *awa-*). Argument nominals can either be agents or patients. An agent will function as the doer of the action of the verb, while a patient will function like the receiver of the action or the one affected by the action of the verb concerned. In the next two sections we shall look at these two processes: agent nominalization and patient nominalization. We shall also look at a third category of argument nominals, instrument nominalization.

#### 2.4.1 Agent Nominalization

As noted above, the nominalizer for agent nominals is commonly *omu-*, prefixed to verb roots (whether transitive or intransitive). The resultant noun derived from the verb denotes the person or thing responsible for doing the action of the verb from which it is derived. Most of the nominalizations in this strategy are human agents taking the prefixes for the mostly human noun class *omu- / awa-*. Consider the structural illustration (62) and the following examples (63) – (67) below.

(62) prefix + V → N [agent]

(63) *omu-* + *lagula* = *omulaguzi*  
 Nzr do divination N[diviner]

(64) *omu-* + *mba* = *omwamba* (not human)  
 Nzr hold/support pillar/mast

(65) *omu-* + *joja* = *omujoji*  
 Nzr write writer/secretary

(66) *omu-* + *galusia* = *omugalusi*  
 Nzr translate translator

(67) *omu-* + *vuwa* = *omuvuwi*  
 Nzr fish fisherman

However, there is an irregular agent nominalization with *eki-* as the nominalizer. This type of agent nominalization de-humanizes the nominalization and classifies it under a non-human noun class. The example in (68) below gives the ‘demon / haunter’ as an agent of the verb ‘to haunt’; i.e., the one who does the haunting.

(68) *eki-* + *keena* = *ekikeeno*  
 Nzr haunt haunter/demon/spirit

Whenever an agent nominalization has a reduplication of the verbal root after receiving the nominalizer, this becomes an attitude marker on the nominal, or an intensifier. In the example below, the nominal does not only show that the person is the actor of the verb ‘walk’ but also that walking is his unpopular habit (an attitude of dislike to this habit is conveyed by the re-duplication).

(69) *omu-* + *genda* + *genda* = *omu-genzi-genzi*  
 Nzr go go ‘habitual walker’

Notice also the change in the morphology of the duplicated part of the nominalization, with the ending *-da* changing to *-zi*. In every nominalization duplication of the verbal word always conveys this negative attitude toward the activity or situation attributed to the subject.

(70) *Owu-genzi-genzi owu-ae owuwiiwi wu-mu-rete-re olumbe.*  
 Nzr-walk-walk NC-poss.3s 3s-bad 3s-brought-Cmp death

‘His bad habits/behaviour has brought him death.’

(71) *Omu-ntu o-gonzii-zie en-seko-seko a-esa oku-wa omu-siru.*

NC-person 3s-like-Cmp Nzr-laugh-laugh NC-can to-be 3s-fool

‘A person who likes laughing as a habit may be a foolish person.’

(72) *Omu-gerezi no omu-gambi-gambi ino.*

Nzr-teach be.Prs 3s.Nzr-talk-talk so

‘The teacher is so talkative.’

In (71) *ensekoseko* is an action nominal; it has an agent nominal *omusekiseki*, a person who notoriously likes laughing. Both of them derive from the verb *seka* ‘laugh’ which is a stable action word in positive use. Duplication can also be used with almost all operators of nominalization, notably *oku-*.

Agent nominalization also can inflect for diminution. Here an agent nominalization receives a diminutive prefix nominalizer according to the diminutive noun class system (number 11, 12, 13 and 20; appendix 1). In using a diminutive nominalizer an attitude of smallness, uselessness, insufficiency or insignificance accompanies the nominal expressed. It expresses a very strong attitude of dislike. The most common diminutive prefixes are *aka-* and *olu-*. Consider the examples below:

(73) *Wanga na aka-gerezi aka-wula emirimo.*

Wanga be.Prs Dim.Nzr.-teach NC-have.not work

‘Wanga is a useless teacher.’

(74) *Mabaala no olu-genzi-genzi ino, reka lu-fwe!*

Mabaala be.Prs Dim.Nzr-walk-walk so let 3s.Dim-die

Mabaala is such a notorious wanderer, let him die!’



### 2.4.2 Patient Nominalization

A nominalization that refers to the patient of the verb root is termed patient nominalization. A patient is one of the arguments in a clause to which the action or state described by the verb is directed. Patient nominalization occur frequently with active verbs which take objects.

Olusuba patient nominalization again frequently uses the common nominalizer *omu-*, plus others like *eki-*, and *owu-*. The following examples will illustrate this assertion with some more morphological and functional details.

(75) *Omwami aambiire omu-suwe oria amasasra amulekula.*

Chief 3s-hold-Cmp Nzr.Pnt-tie that compassion 3s-3s-leave

‘The chief had compassion on that prisoner and released him.’

The verb in (75) is *suwa* ‘tie/bind’ and the patient nominalization *omusuwe*

‘prisoner/captive’ is actually the person to whom the tying or capturing is directed; it is semantically the patient of the verb ‘tie/hold’ in an independent clause.

(76) *Ekiambu kiifu kiteekre kandi.*

Nzr-find ours 3s-lose-Cmp again.

Our precious recovery is lost again.

In (76) above, the verb stem *ambula* ‘find/recover a lost thing’ is nominalized into *ekiambu* ‘precious recovery’/ ‘lost and found’. This nominal is a true patient of the action of finding – what was found or recovered. There are many other changes in the morphology of *ambula* to arrive at *ekiambu* which need more study. In the same fashion, *owusie* ‘flour’ is the product of the action verb *sia* ‘grind’, therefore, the patient of the verb (77). But the example here illustrates a patient nominalization strategy.

(77) *Owu-sie owua a-sie-re nga-wu-lootu.*

Nzr-grind that 3s-grind-Cmp Neg-NC-good

‘The flour he has ground is not good.’ (Lit: ‘His ground-thing that he ground ...’)

(78) *Owu-rime owu-aye wu-mer-re no owusuwi.*

Nzr-dig NC-3s.Pos NC-grow-Cmp with grass

‘His seedbed is grown with grass.’ [Lit: ‘His dug-thing is grown with grass.’]

Most patient nominalizations are found with active or transitive verbs that will take an object or affect a patient in the predicate. But the patient nominalization (product) can function as subject or object of a clause – it is not restricted to the predicate as we have seen in examples (76), (77) and (78) above. Below is an illustrative structure of the process and more examples of patient nominalization.

(79) V → N [patient of V]

	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Verb</u>	=	<u>Patient nominal</u>
(80)	<i>oku-</i>	+	<i>ria</i>	=	<i>okuria</i>
	Nzr		eat		food
(81)	<i>omu-</i>	+	<i>igerera</i>	=	<i>omwigerera</i>
	Nzr		‘learn/teach self’		‘learner/pupil/student/disciple’
(82)	<i>omu-</i>	+	<i>gula</i>	=	<i>omugule</i>
	Nzr		buy		‘slave/one bought’
(83)	<i>omu-</i>	+	<i>tuma</i>	=	<i>omutumwa</i>
	Nzr		send		message

Note that in (83), *omutumwa* does not refer to the person sent but to the message sent. This is the patient of the verb *tuma* ‘send’ while the agent is the person who sent the message. In most cases, the means of sending is insignificant here to warrant mention by the speaker, but Olusuba has other ways of expressing the same.

### 2.4.3 Instrument Nominalization

Another argument nominalization strategy is instrument nominalization.

Instrument nominals have the denotation of the ‘thing’ used to perform the action of the verbal idea. We can simply say they refer to the tool or equipment for the action.

Instrument nominalization operators include prefixes such as *omu-*, *eki-*, and *en-*.

Another characteristic feature in instrument nominalization is the common suffix *-ro*, which in most cases replaces the characteristic *-a* verb ending. Although this is not true of all instrument nominals, we will consider it as a significant feature in this strategy. The process can be represented thus:

$$(84) \quad V \quad \rightarrow \quad N \text{ [instrument of V]}$$

We can exemplify the process with the following data.

(85)	<u>Prefix Nzr</u>		<u>Verb</u>		<u>Suffix Nzr</u>		<u>Nominal</u>
(86)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>wunga</i>	+	<i>-ro</i>	=	<i>eki-wungro</i>
	Nzr-		trap		-Nzr		collecting basket
(87)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>taza</i>	+	<i>-ro</i>	=	<i>eki-tazro</i>
	Nzr-		step on		-Nzr		foot/shoe/sandal
(88)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>ikala</i>	+	<i>-ro</i>	=	<i>eki-karro</i>
	Nzr		sit		Nzr		seat
(89)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>wuula</i>	+	<i>-ro</i>	=	<i>eki-wurro</i>
	Nzr		pound		Nzr		pestle
(90)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>sená</i>	+	<i>-ro</i>	=	<i>eki-senro</i>
	Nzr		scoop		Nzr		scooper

Apart from the double ‘prefix/suffix’ nominalization strategy in the above examples of instrument nominals, we also mentioned that there is some irregular instrument nominalization in Olusuba where the instrument nominals do not have the

suffix *-ro*. Examples (91-95) illustrate instrument nominalizations done mostly with prefix additions to the verb.

	<u>Prefix</u> <u>Nzr</u>		<u>Verb</u>	=	<u>Nominal</u>
(91)	<i>omu-</i>	+	<i>olola</i>	=	<i>omw-olo</i>
	NZR		cut grass, weeds		sickle (for cutting grass, weeds)
(92)	<i>omu-</i>	+	<i>amba</i>	=	<i>omw-amba</i>
	Nzr		hold/support		pillar/post/fulcrum
(93)	<i>eki-</i>	+	<i>laga</i>	=	<i>eki-lago</i>
	Nzr		tell/show		picture/illustration/map/symbol
(94)	<i>en-</i>	+	<i>lagirra</i>	=	<i>en-dagirra</i>
	Nzr		instruct		instruction/rule
(95)	<i>en-</i>	+	<i>sikirra</i>	=	<i>en-sikirra</i>
	Nzr		emphasize/press on		commandment/law

Instrument nominalization brings to attention non-human entities which are used as instruments for accomplishing an activity. Only a few [as in (91) and (92)] irregularly take the human nominalizer *omu-*, while the rest are regular.

To summarize, verb nominalization in Olusuba has a whole range of nominal products that can function as nouns in all the positions a noun phrase can occupy in a clause. These nouns also take adjectives and demonstratives that agree with them depending on the nature of the prefix nominalizer in operation. The prefix nominalizer determines what noun class the nominal belongs to in the Olusuba noun class system. We will deal with their functions in discourse later in chapter 4. In the next chapter, we shall look at adjectival and adverbial nominalizations in Olusuba.



## CHAPTER THREE

### ADJECTIVE AND ADVERBIAL NOMINALIZATION

Adjectives form a significant part of the lexicon of many languages. Generally speaking, adjectives are the descriptive words in a language. They describe nouns or nominals, as we saw earlier in (52) and (53). Adverbs, on the other hand, include words that describe the time, manner or intensity of the verbal action carried out.

Olusuba adjectives and adverbs have a common function: they both modify other words. Adjectives modify nouns while adverbs modify verbs in their own right. Most adjectives and adverbs in Olusuba can also undergo the nominalization process to become nominals, which can function as nouns in clauses. Let us look at each separate case in the following sections.

#### 3.1 ADJECTIVE NOMINALIZATION

##### 3.1.1 Morphosyntax of Adjectives

Olusuba adjectives bear a prefix agreeing with the class of the nouns that they modify. Here are some examples:

(96) *En-yumba en-zeru e-ri no olusala olwa-kanyu ne eyange.*

3s-house 3s-white 3s-be with roof 3s-red be 1s-Pos

‘A white house with a red roof is mine.’

(97) *Omuntu omu-lootu ng-afuga embwa en-tinzi e-luma awa-ntu awa-maya.*

Person 3s-good Neg-keep dog 3s-fierce who-bite 3p-person 3p-stupid

‘A good person does not keep a fierce dog that bites stupid people.’

The agreement between an adjective and the noun it modifies is both for nominal class and number. Note that in (96) and (97) above the singular nouns are modified by adjectives with similar singular prefixes to the nominal class. Compare that with the forms used to modify the plurals of the same nouns in (98) and (99) below.

(98) *En-yumba enz-eru ezi-ri ne en-sala enz-akanyu ne ezi-ange.*

3p-house 3p-white 3p-be with 3p-roof 3p-red be 3p-Pos-1s

‘The white houses with red roofs and black doors are mine.’

(99) *Awa-ntu awa-lootu nga-wa-fuga embwa en-tinzi ezi-luma emi-andu.*

3p-people 3p-good Neg-3p-keep dogs 3p-fierce 3p-bite 3p-animal.

‘Good people do not keep fierce dogs that bite animals.’

### 3.1.2 Morphosyntax of Nominalized Adjectives

Adjectival nominalization has a morphological impact on the formal properties of the adjectives. As with the verb, the adjective stem receives a prefixal nominalizer *owu-*. The following examples will illustrate the point expressed here.

(100) Adj → Nominal

	<u>Nominalizer</u>		<u>Adjective</u>	=	<u>Nominal</u>
(101)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>lamu</i>	=	<i>owulamu</i>
	Nzr		healthy		life
(102)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>kulu</i>	=	<i>owukulu</i>
	Nzr		old		old age
(103)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>tono</i>	=	<i>owutono</i>
	Nzr		small		smallness

A prefixed adjectival form may be used alone, without any noun to be modified, to function as nominal. The following examples show deadjectival nominals functioning in a clause as nouns.

(104) *Awa-lamu* *woona wa-ri-galusi-wua* *kalala*.

3p-living all 3p-Fut-change-Caus once

‘All the living will be transformed at once.’

(105) *Awa-kulu* (*awa-ganga*) *wa-sugaane wa-gerere* *awa-tono* (*awa-siru*).

3p-old Nzr-clever 3p-should 3p-teach 3p-small Nzr-stupid

‘The (wise) old should teach the (stupid) young.’

## 3.2 ADVERBIAL NOMINALIZATION

An adverbial is a descriptive word showing how, when or where the action of a verb took place. Their function is central to understanding the pattern of discourse. As we said earlier, adverbials modify verbs and adverbs. In this section we shall look at the use of adverbials in discourse as nominals (noun-like).

### 3.2.1 Morphosyntax of Adverbials

Most adverbs occur after the verb they qualify but do not have to agree in any way with the verb. Unlike adjectives they are independent modifiers of the action of the verb. This means that adverbs have no affixes added to their roots as agreement markers. However, some of them are prefixed according to their root forms. This means that they have no significant structure to warrant our study of their morphology. Here are a few examples:

(106) *u-angu* ‘quickly’

*u-mbu* ‘selfishly’

<i>u-iwisi</i>	‘secretly’
<i>ki-migimigi</i>	‘unnoticeably’
<i>u-nyoowu</i>	‘softly/gently’
<i>u-kalu</i>	‘strongly/tightly’
<i>poola</i>	‘slowly’
<i>ma-garikira</i>	‘inside out’
<i>a-agani</i>	‘evenly/equally’
<i>u-lalwa</i>	‘once’
<i>u-lootu</i>	‘nicely/well’
<i>ku-wuene</i>	‘surely/intentionally’

Olusuba adverbials may function in some cases to add illocutionary force to the verbs. They may tone down the intensity, or function as the intensifier of, the action. Different adverbials can have the same function and co-occur in a string where only one verb receives their modification. Let us look at the following examples.

(107) *Omw-ana a-iwoyi-re en-guwo magarikira.*

NC-Child 3s-wear-Cmp 3s-cloth inside.out

‘The child is wearing the cloth inside-out.’

(108) *Omu-ntu o-ria owu-iwisi a-ria owu-umbu.*

3s-person 3s-eat Nzr-hide 3s-eat Nzr-selfish

‘A person who eats secretly eats selfishly.’

(109) *Rumuka wu-angu o-ambe olu-goye ka-lala wu-kalu.*

(2s)Run Nzr-quick 2s-hold NC-rope Nzr-one Nzr-tight

‘Run quickly and hold onto the rope tightly once.’



### 3.2.2 Morphosyntax of Nominalized Adverbs

Nominalized adverbs operate as nouns in clauses. They function as subjects and objects, most of the time denoting abstract activities or conditions. Olusuba adverb nominals refer to the manner or state of the action depicted by the adverbial, as in English, where ‘hurriedly’ (adverb) can turn to ‘hurry’ and function as a noun in ‘Hurry, hurry has no blessings’. In this case, the word hurry is a nominal, although its form may be similar to the verb ‘hurry’.

Olusuba examples of adverbial nominals and the process of their formation are listed below.

(110)	Adv	→	Nom		
	<u>Nominalizer</u>		<u>Adverb</u>	=	<u>Nominal</u>
(111)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>uangu</i>	=	<i>owu-angu</i>
	Nzr		quickly		speed
(112)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>ulootu</i>	=	<i>owu-lootu</i>
	Nzr		nicely		goodness
(113)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>nyoowu</i>	=	<i>owu-nyoowu</i>
	Nzr		softly/gently		gentility/softness
(114)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>magarikira</i>	=	<i>owu-garikira</i>
	Nzr		inside out		idea of ‘inside outness’
(115)	<i>owu-</i>	+	<i>kuwuene</i>	=	<i>owu-ene</i>
	Nzr		surely (for true)		surety/truth

In the above examples the adverbial denotes a condition described by the root adverb (which may have been originally a verb in some cases). This abstract noun can function as subject or object of a verb in a sentence, or even as the topic in an extended text. The fact that not all cases of adverbial nominalization have their stems

originating from a verb root leads one to analyze this process as an Adverb-Nominal, and not as a Verb-Nominal. Here are examples to illustrate this statement.

(116) *Owu-umbu ng'a-ne eki-ntu eki-lungi.*

Nzr-selfish Neg-be NC.3s-thing NC.3s-please

'Selfishness is not something pleasant.'

(117) *Awa-ntu wa-toola owu-agani owu-a ewi-raato na ama-gulu ki emi-waayo.*

3p-person 3p-took Nzr-equal 3s-of 3p-shoe and 3p-leg as Nzr.3p-play

'People take the equality of shoes and feet casually.'

(118) *Omu-wuuka ono ari omu-nyoowu-nyoowu.*

NC.3s-lad this 3s.be 3s-softly-softly

'This lad is a weakling.'

Example (118) shows another strategy for adverbial nominalization. The adverbial stem, *nyoowu*, reduplicates after prefixation of a nominalizer. This double operation, which is both morphological and lexical, is rare and will not be explored further than presenting a few more examples.

(119) *u-kalu* → *owu-kalu-kalu*

Nzr-tight-tight

tightly 'difficulties'

(120) *u-angu* → *owu-angu-wuangu*

Nzr-fast-fast

quickly 'hastiness/quick action'

(121) *u-tono* → *owu-tono-tono*

Nzr-small-small

minimally 'smallness/tiny-sized'

In summary, in this chapter and the previous one, we have seen that nominalization in Olusuba is mostly a morphological process in which the nominalized word is prefixed and/or suffixed, to produce a nominal category. The derived noun enjoys all the rights of a noun such as taking adjectives and plural forms in noun phrases, and functioning in various positions in a clause. The most common syntactic functions are the subject and object. We shall see more about the functions of nominals in extended texts in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **NOMINALIZATION IN DISCOURSE**

Discourse is the highest linguistic unit in syntactic hierarchy in any language. It is simply any act of verbal communication (Blass 1990), consisting of a single word or a string of connected sentences, produced at one time, by the same person under the same topic. In analyzing discourse, background assumptions must be taken into account in addition to grammatical, syntactic and sociolinguistic considerations. In this chapter we shall analyze these grammatical, semantic and pragmatic factors of nominalization in Olusuba discourse.

#### **4.1 GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC RELATIONS**

As we said earlier, grammatical relations in a discourse between lexical categories determine their functions in a clause. For example, a subject functioning as an agent, needs a transitive verb probably with a direct and/or an indirect object. In practical communication, however, these grammatical-semantic relations keep on changing whenever a lexical form changes its formal properties and lexical class. This is amplified in Payne's statement that

“the category membership of any given form varies according to how that form is used in discourse.” (1997, 32)

Usually, this variation is observed at the morphosyntactic and discourse levels. The most common syntactic functions that nominals have is subject and object of a verb. Nominals that function as subjects or objects are mostly agent, patient or instrument in relation to the verb. Olusuba clauses below illustrate this statement.



(122) *Om̄w-ayi a-it-re em-buzi endala.* [Sbj as Agent]

Nzr-graze 3s-kill-Cmp NC-goat one

‘The herdsman has killed one goat.’

(123) *Em-bwa eyo emanyre oku-wunya okwa enyama.* [Obj as patient]

NC-dog that 3s-know Nzr-smell of meat

‘That dog recognizes the smell of meat.’

Although grammatical relations in Olusuba discourse generally follow the semantic functions of the lexical categories, nominalized categories do not strictly follow this pattern. A nominalization functioning as subject may be related to the nominalized verb root as a patient or instrument.

#### 4.1.1 Nominals as Subject, Object and Predicate

In Olusuba, nominalized forms vary in their syntactic functions. As we said earlier, nouns or noun phrases can function as subjects or direct objects of clauses, and in other relationships nouns are heads of noun phrases. These functions can be assumed by nominalized categories in discourse. The choice of whether to use a prototypical simple lexical noun, or a nominalized form, depends on the formality of the language and/or the appropriateness of the one form over the other in that position.

(124) Nominal as subject:

*Omu-lusi owa ekialo ni igulu ni Katonda.*

Nzr.3s-create of earth and heaven is God

‘The creator of earth and heaven is God.’

(125) Nominal as object:

*Kitegwa awula owu-ambo.*

Kitegwa 3s-lack Nzr-hold

‘Kitegwa has no income.’

(126) Nominal as predicate of the be verb (equative):

*Wambo no omu-gayi.*

Wambo be Nzr-separate

‘Wambo is a judge.’

#### 4.1.2 Nominals as Agent, Patient and Instrument

In simple clauses, as we saw in 4.1.1 above, nominalizations may have a grammatical and a semantic relationship with the main verb. So, in many cases, Olusuba nominalization derived from verbs can give a connotation of the person doing the action of the verb (agent), the item receiving the action of the verb (patient), or even the object used to perform the action of the verb (instrument). As we saw earlier, these semantic relations constitute what we called agent, patient and instrument nominalization.

In this section, we shall examine how these types of nominalizations are useful in communication in Olusuba discourse. The position of the nominal in the discourse text (that is, its syntactic function) does less to determine its semantic function. As we said, the choice of a nominalized form over a simple form depends on the social register of the language (see [130] versus [131]). Let’s look at the following examples.

(127) Agent nominalization:

- a) *Omu-tusi a-tusii-zie owuato owulootu.* [SUBJ.= person who builds]

Nzr-build.boat 3p-build-Cmp boat good

‘The boat builder has built a good boat.’

- b) *Omu-rinzi ya-kuba Kingo.* [SUBJECT = person who watches]

Nzr-watch 3s.Pst-beat Kingo

‘The watchman beat Kingo.’

- c) *Kasera no omw-iwi o-wa-iwa engoe.* [PREDICATE = person who steals]

Kasera be Nzr-steal 3s-Pst-steal nets

‘Kasera is the thief who stole nets.’

(128) Patient nominalization:

- a) *Owu-rime wu-no no owu-ange.* [SUBJECT = what is cultivated]

Nzr-cultivate NC-this be NC-mine

‘This seedbed is mine.’

- b) *Magolo a-siimba en-simbo.* [OBJECT = what is planted]

Magolo 3s.Prs-plant Nzr-plant

‘Magolo is planting potato cuttings (seedlings).’

- c) *Ku-no no oku-ria.* [PREDICATE = what is eaten]

NC-this be Nzr-eat

‘This is food.’

(129) Instrument nominalization:

- a) *Eki-niinro ekia ekiagi ki-vuniike.* [SUBJECT = what is used to climb]

Nzr-climb of granary 3s.Prs-break

‘The ladder to the granary is broken.’

b) *Kidera a-gii-re oku-gula eki-tazro eki-yia.* [OBJ.=what is used to step up]

Kidera 3s-go-cmp to-buy Nzr-step.on 3s-new

‘Kidera has gone to buy new sandals/shoes.’

c) *Amiino ne ewi-lumro ngani ewi-miro.* [PREDIC.=what is used to swallow]

3p-teeth be Nzr-bite not Nzr-swallow

‘Teeth are biters not swallowers.’

Olusuba nominalizations make it possible for expressions which could have warranted the use of ambiguous genitives or prepositions to be constructed with simple clauses using nominalizations. In the example (130) and (131) below the construction usually would require a longer phrase to explain the meaning of the nominal *okulambuka* or *owulambu*, ‘starvation’.

(130) *Kagungu a-fwi-re ku oku-lambuka.*

Kagungu 3s-die-Cmp over Nzr-starve

‘Kagungu has died of starvation.’

The gerund construction *okulambuka*, also doubling as a nominalization (see section 2.3.2), is an infinitive verb construction. But the use of a nominalized verb changes the expression to formal Olusuba as follows:

(131) *Kagungu a-fwi-re owu-lambu.*

Kagungu 3s-die-Cmp Nzr-starve

‘Kagungu has died of starvation.’

## 4.2 SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF NOMINALIZATION

On the semantic-pragmatic level, nominalization plays a big role in balancing what is said and what is meant. Since any nominalized category is assumed to be a noun form of a derived stem, a variety of the same stem can be observed from our



previous examples as having different functions depending on syntactic functions. In this section, we shall see how one verb can generate a variety of semantically different nominals.

#### 4.2.1 Semantic Functions

Semantically, an Olusuba verb like *iwula* ‘give birth’ can be manipulated in nominalization to produce the following nominals with different but related meanings.

- (132) *omw-iwu-zi* ‘parent’ - the person who gives birth (agent)  
 (133) *okw-iwu-la* ‘birth’ - the action or state of giving birth (abstract)  
 (134) *olw-iwu-lo* ‘system/ability’ - potential ability to give birth or birth system  
 (135) *owu-iwu-zi* ‘parenthood’ - the state of being a parent  
 (136) *owu-iwula-ne* ‘family line’ - the relationship ties by birth from one parent

We can see from the above nominals that a variety of forms with different meanings can be derived from the same stem. This means that a nominal derived from the verb is chosen for a syntactic function depending on its denotation (semantic function) or connotation (pragmatic function).

#### 4.2.2 Pragmatic Functions

Borrowing from Blakemore’s definition of pragmatics as the study of utterance interpretation (1992, 39-40), we can say that nominalization in Olusuba determines interpretation by signposting the exact meaning of the form of a root in particular grammatical and communication contexts. Given the role of nominalization in changing the status of a word from one lexical category to another, pragmatic factors such as attitude are also carried along in the process. This is most common in the diminutive and augmentative forms of nominals and the lexical strategy of

reduplicating forms to produce nominals. Let us examine these two ways of nominalization and their pragmatic implications.

Forms in the diminutive and augmentative categories carry attitude and point of view as interpretive signposts. When these are used in a discourse they may act as constraints on explication of the whole clause or discourse text. In (137) below there is agreement marked on the nominal, determiner and verb that may have an implication of an extraordinary action by the augmentative nominal used as agent.

(137) Augmentative:

*Ogw-iwi gu-no gu-iw-re enguwo ziifu ziona.*

Nzr.Aug-steal Aug-this Aug.3s-steal-Cmp clothes ours all

‘THIS THIEF has STOLEN all our clothes.’

In (138) below, the diminutive prefix *ka-* on the nominal *ekimuri* ‘lantern’ is marked on the relative clause *aka ari nako* ‘that he has’ and the verb *nakafumia* ‘does not give’. This means that the effect of the diminutive/nominalizer is realized across the clause.

(138) Diminutive:

*Aka-muri aka ari nako na-ka-fumia owu-eru geeza.*

Dim.Nzr-illuminate Dim-that 3s-be Dim.with Neg-Dim-give Nzr-light well

‘The (small) lantern that he has does not produce enough light.’

It may be important to mention here that augmentation and diminution can be traced in a discourse where an augmentative or diminutive noun is the topic of reference. The pronoun referents in this case will bear the augmentative or diminutive operators which are basically the nominalizer.

### 4.3 CLAUSE NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization clauses vary in length and scope in discourse. A nominal clause can be constituted by a nominalization as its head and yet still contain other constituents that are normally dependent on a verb. In a nominalized clause, the nominal form does not change its morphological structure but maintains it even in its use as one syntactic unit.

Nominalized clauses can function as subject, direct object, indirect object or object of an entire proposition. The following examples substantiate these claims.

(139) Nominalized clause as subject:

*Oku-riisia omw-ana ku-agala o-ng'in-wae omw-ene.*

Nzr-feed NC.3s-baby 3s-want 3s-mother-Pos 3s-alone

‘Feeding a baby requires its own mother.’

(140) Nominalized clause as direct object:

*Kanga a-e-re embwa oku-ria okwa tu-rekii-re Suju.*

Kanga 3s-give-Cmp dog Nzr-eat that 3s-leave.for-Cmp Suju

‘Kanga has given the dog the food we preserved for Suju.’

(141) Nominalized clause as indirect object:

*Suju a-e-re omu-fugi o-gur-re oku-ria igunia ilala eri-sigaale.*

Suju 3s-give-Cmp Nzr-keeper 3s-buy-Cmp Nzr-eat sack one 3s.Dem-remain

‘Suju has given the farmer who bought the food the remaining sack.’

(142) Nominalized clause as predicate of a ‘be’ verb

*Awa-Suba na awa-vuwi awa-kola owu-ire no omu-wasu.*

3p-Suba 3p.be Nzr.3p-fish 3p-work NC-night and NC-sunheat

‘The Subas are fishermen who work day and night.’

In Olusuba discourse, the form and function of the nominalized clauses is not different from the simple clause, except that it has the nominalized form as its head. In our analysis above the clause exhibits the characteristics of the nominal clause and its functions. This can be claimed of the predicate nominal as below.

(143) Nominalized clause as predicate:

*Awakerewe na awa-vuwi awa-ta-ria ekintu kindi.*

Awakerewe 3p.be 3p.Nzr-fish 3p-Neg-eat thing other

‘Awakerewe are fishermen who eat nothing else.’



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

I have presented in this work an analysis of the forms and functions of nominalization in Olusuba. Considering that there are many verbs in Olusuba without simple corresponding nouns, the language users spontaneously derive nominal forms from verbs, adjectives and adverbs to express concepts and entities that otherwise would not be found in the language.

Olusuba nominals use a variety of both prefixed and suffixed nominalizers (morphemes). There is also a minimal combined lexical and morphological strategy in which a stem is reduplicated after a prefix nominalizer is added to form a nominal. This is largely pragmatic in its sense as an attitude marker. The determiners and modifiers appended to the nominalization must agree with it.

In my general estimate, about one third of Olusuba nouns originate from this process forming a great deal of discourse agents, patients and instruments where the speaker would like to combine arguments and their actions in a clause. Consequently, the mention of one word (nominalized verb) can conceptually replace a whole clause in Olusuba discourse. The functions of nominals range from being constituents of a clause (syntactic) to markers of attitude in their use (pragmatic). Nominal categories and nominalized clauses function as subject, object or predicate in Olusuba. It is my view then that this study enlarges our understanding of the nominal class and its properties.

Linguistic descriptions may not be conclusive, as is the case in this paper, because of continual change in language systems. It is therefore true that the

statements of this paper may be based on current trends and can be disproved by future analysis. However, that does not make my proposals invalid because linguistic analyses are presumed relevant based on the linguistic nature of the language at the time. However, I welcome any criticism of this work on the basis of modern Olusuba and focussed on the Olusuba dialect.

Having gone to some depth to describe the process, this work lays a foundation for anybody interested in Olusuba to draw insights useful for describing other features in the language. It has been also my goal to reveal the intricate web or network that exists in the features of a language, like Olusuba. These discoveries may be relevant in the study of other related languages and may inspire the study of the system in these languages. It can also be a tool to begin a comparative study of Olusuba and its neighbouring language, *Dholuo*, to ascertain the extent to which assimilation has affected each other's linguistic systems.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Olusuba Noun Class System

(Adapted from Ron Moe, Suba Nouns, English glosses added)

Note: Each noun belongs to a class of nouns. Each member of the class begins with the same prefix. Here is a list of the classes with some examples of nouns in that class.

#### Class Examples (with class identity prefix)

- NC1. *omu-ntu, omu-kazi, omu-saaza, omu-zito, omu-lala*  
person woman male/man heavy person one person
- NC2. *awa-ntu, awa-kazi, awa-saaza, awa-zito, awa-lala*  
people women males/men heavy-people united-people
- NC3. *omu-ti, omu-twe, omu-rro*  
tree head fire
- NC4. *emi-ti, emi-twe, emi-urro*  
trees heads fires
- NC5. *i-ng'ana, i-gi, i-tooke, i-riiwua, i-seero*  
word egg banana cassava skin
- NC6. *ama-ng'ana, ama-gi, ama-tooke, ama-riiwua, ama-seero*  
words eggs bananas cassavas skins
- NC7. *eki-raato, eki-sanda, eki-giri, eki-kaate, eki-itu, eki-gosi*  
shoe calabus hill big-thing thing neck
- NC8. *ewi-raato, ewi-sanda, ewi-giri, ewi-kaate, ewi-itu, ewi-gosi*  
shoes calabuses hills big-things things necks
- NC9/10. *en-tiang'i, en-zovu, en-tewe, enyembo*  
animal elephant chair songs  
(the two classes have similar members)
- NC11. *olu-zia, olu-uzi, olu-kwira, olw-embo*  
Aug-boy river fish-trap song

- NC12. *aka-zia, aka-atu, aka-yumba, aka-ala*  
Dim-boy Dim-thing Dim-house Dim-girl
- NC13. *otu-yumba,*  
Dim-house
- NC14. *owu-sera,*  
porridge
- NC15. *oku-twi*  
ear
- NC16. *mpa-no, mpa-o, mpa-ria*  
here there there(farther)
- NC17. *ku-kialo, ku-lumbe, ku-mugizi*  
on-earth in-funeral in-home
- NC18. *mu-nyumba, mu-lukwira, mu-ngra, mw-ilowa*  
in-house in-fish-trap on-road in-soil
- NC19. *ogu-utu, ogw-ato, ogu-fwa*  
Aug-person Aug-boat Aug-dying-one

## APPENDIX 2

### Narrative text with key nominalized forms

1. *Olumbe Lukengre Otonda Okuwa Omwami (Title)*

death 3s-cut-cmp Otonda to-be chief

Death cuts Otonda from becoming chief

2. *Sa-ifu y-a-etwa-nga Maginga Otonda omuzia owa Mtindi owa-ema*

father-Pos.1p 3s-pst-call-Cnt Maginga Otonda son of Mtindi who-came

My father was called Maginga Otonda the son of Mtindi from

3. *mu-kitemo ekia Eukinga. Kiema omulala ku awa-zia awa-kulu owa-sooka*

in-area of Waking as one of 3p-son 3p-old who-reach.first

in the village of Waking. Being one of the first old sons

*mu-ma-kono aga awi-iwuzi, Otonda y-a-tuukrac olu-gonzi lwona okuema ku*

in-3pl-hands of Nzr-give.birth Otonda 3s-pst-find Nzr-love all from on

to their parents, Otonda received abundant love from his father

4. *sa-wae alala ni nyoko waae. Olumbe olwa ekiteena lwa-n-gawula ni*

father-Pos at-one and mother his death of calamity 3s.Pst-Obj.1s-divide and

and mother. A cruel death separated me from

*sa-ifu ni n-di ne emi-igo ama-kumi a-wiri ni itaanu.*

father-Pos.1p while I-be with NC.pl-year NC.pl-ten pl-two and five  
my father when I was twenty-five years old.

5. *Na a-kiari oku-fwa, isa-ifu no omwami Wankolo wa-a-wa-nga aw-iiko*  
while Sbj.3s-yet to-die father-Pos.1p and chief Wankolo 3p-Pst-be-Cnt 3p-friend  
Before his death my father and chief Wankolo were tail and fish friends.

6. *eki-weye ne engege. Ki-a-wula-ngao ekintu ekia omwami Wankolo*  
Nzr-float and tilapia 3s-pst-was.not-Cnt thing that chief Wankolo  
There was nothing the chief could do

*y-a-esa-nga oku-kola na-ta-wuzii-zie soifu na-wuno wa-ki-gamba-gambamo*  
3s-Pst-can-Cnt to-do if-Neg-Prs-ask-Cmp father-Pos.1p and-till sbj.3p-obj3s-talk-talk  
without consulting my father and until they had discussed it

7. *geeza. Nikulondekana ne en-dagirra eya ekialo, omwami na a-reka*  
well as-following with Nzr-lagirra of region chief while Sbj.3s-leave-Prs  
well. According to the law of the land, when a chief stepped down from

*emi-rimo, y-a-rekeranga omu-ntu omu-longoovu mu en-kola kandi owa a-mii-re*  
3s-dig 3s.Pst-leave-for-Cnt person Nzr-straight in Nzr-do again who 3s-finish-Cmp  
his work, he would hand over to a good person in character whom he has



8. *oku-wa na a-kola nae ampi. Awa-ntu woona alala ne emi-andu namba*  
 to-be and 3s-work-Prs with close 3p-person all together with 3p.animal even  
 closely worked with. Everybody, including all animals,

*enyonyi zi-ona, zi-a-wa-nga ni zi-many-re geeza mbwe emirimo*  
 3p-bird Agr-also Agr-3p-Pst-be-Cnt while 3p-know-Cmp well that work  
 even birds, knew very well that the position would remain

9. *gi-a-siga-rra-nga Otonda. Enkawi eya emirimo egia owuami ya-wa-nga ni*  
 Sbj.pl-remain-for-Cnt Otonda luck of work of chief Pst.3s-be-Cnt be  
 for Otonda. The good luck of chieftainship was imminent to Otonda

10. *e-enge-ere so-ifu ki iwute. Eki-sangaalo ekingi kino ki-a-izuzia omwoyo*  
 Sbj.sg-ripe-for father-Pos as boil Nzr-happiness many this Sbj.3s-fill heart  
 like a swollenly bursting boil. A time of great joy welled up in the heart

11. *ogwa Maginga ki enswa eizuule na amanzi. Omwami yoona ya-mu-laga*  
 of Maginga as pot full with water chief also Sbj.3s-Pst-Obj.3s-tell  
 of Maginga like a full water pot. The chief also told confirmed it by telling him so

*i-ng'ana ri-no k-angi.*

NC.3s-word Agr-this times-time

many times.

12. *Reka omw-ezi gu-sigale omu-deerwa kugere Otonda a-tanike emi-rimo.*

leave 3s-month 3s-remain NC.only so.that Otonda 3s-begin Nzr-dig

When only one month was left and Otonda would begin reigning

13. *Olumbe lw-azra sa-ifu olwa awantu wa-a-luguula kandi wakia-luguula*

death 3s-came-for father-Pos which people 3p-Pst-surprise again still-surprised

An unexpected death came to my father which was to be a surprise to all till today.

14. *na katio. Omu-wasu dula, enzoka ya-rumuka e-mu-lowola agati eya*

till now Nzr-sunheat ----- snake 3s.Pst-run Sbj.3s-obj.3s-Prs-select middle of

At broad daylight, a snake ran and selected him among the people,

*awantu mala e-mu-tema ka-satu. Omu-rima ya-tanyika a-teeka ki*

people so 3s-Obj.3s-cut by-three NC.3s-crowd Sbj.3s.Pst-disperse Sbj.3s-disperse as

then bit him three times. The whole crowd dispersed like

*omurro ogwa ama-kwati.*

fire of 3p-dry.stalk

fire smoke in hot day.

15. *Saifu ya-fwirra ao. Awantu wa-a-ganyana na amiire oku-awurwa*

father-Pos. Sbj.3s.Pst-die there people Sbj.3p-Pst-agree when Prs-finish Nzr-bury

My father died on the spot. Everyone conceded after burial that they go and

*mbwe wa-fume wa-gie owu-laguuzi. Awa-a-fuma wa-a-tuukra mbwe omwami Wankolo*  
 that 3p-go.out 3p-go Nzr-divine NC-Pst-go.out 3p-Pst-find that chief Wankolo  
 consult a diviner. Those who went to the diviner found out that it was chief

17. *nio o-wa-konera sa-ifu enzoka e-ya-mw-ita. Y-a-kola otio kugere a-rekre*  
 is 3s-Pst-cast father-my snake Sbj-Pst-3s-kill 3s-Pst-do so 3s-leave  
 Wankolo who directed the snake to kill him. He did so in order to hand over

18. *owundi musasa emirimo egia owu-ami. Awagaaka wa-a-ikunza, wa-ta*  
 another altogether work of NC-chief elders 3p-Pst-gather 3p-put  
 the chieftainship to somebody else. The elders came together

*omwami ansi wa-mu-wuuzia, kandi y-a-ganya mbwe eki-keeno ni-kio*  
 chief down 3p-ask-him again 3s-Pst-agree that Nzr-haunt is-that  
 and reprimanded the chief asking him to tell them the truth, and he obliged. He said

19. *eki-a-mu-niina. Awagaaka w-a-mu-soozia-usoozia w-a-mu-reka aeniki enyonyi*  
 that-Pst-Obj-climb elders 3p-Pst-Obj-quarrel-quarrel 3p-Pst-Obj-leave for bird  
 it was the devil that overcame him. They reprimanded him and left him for people who

*eya oinyu e-ku-ria ya-ku-reka olu-waala.*  
 of your-place 3s-Obj-Prs-eat 3s-Obj-leave Nzr-side  
 know you cannot do you harm beyond reprimand.