NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

PROCESSES OF NOMINALIZATION IN MWAN

BY

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NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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BY

YEGBE KOFFI ANTOINE

A Linguistic 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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July, 2000
STUDENT’S DECLARATION

PROCESSES OF NOMINALIZATION IN MWAN

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)____________________________________

Yegbe Koffi A.

July, 2000
DEDICATION

TO

Jesus Christ, my Savior and Redeemer

my wife, Yégbé Léonie

our daughters, Yégbé Dorothée, Yégbé Carole

and

our son, Yégbé Karl Noé
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I am indebted to Margrit Bolli, Eva Flik, and Caroline Fleming for their tremendous contributions to this present work. For their previous works on my language have been precious stones for the construction of this building.

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Besides, I would like to express special thanks and gratitude to my excellent tutor Dr. George Huttar and his beloved wife Mary Huttar. For not only have they been ‘spiritual parents’ to me during these two years of tedious studies away from my family by providing me with the necessary moral support to overcome the woes and odds of loneliness; they have above all endowed me with the skills and sense for academic work. I indeed appreciate the contributions of Dr. Blass to this work. Finally, I am indebted to many friends here at NEGST and at a distance, and whom I cannot name individually.
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<td>Imperfective</td>
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<td>Inalienable</td>
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<td>Inf</td>
<td>Infix</td>
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<td>Inclusive</td>
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<td>IRREAL</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lab</td>
<td>Labialized phoneme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Modal</td>
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</table>
N  Noun
Ng  Negation
NP  Noun Phrase
NUM Numeral
Nzr Nominalizer/Nominalizing device
NPO Noun Phrase Object
O  Object
Pal Palatalized
PAST Past Tense
Perf. Perfective
Pl  Plural
POSS Possessive
POST Postposition
PRE Preposition
PREF Prefix
PRES Present Tense
PROG Progressive
PRON Pronoun
QM  Question Marker
Relat Relativizer
S  Subject
Sg  Singular
SIL  Summer Institute of Linguistics

SO  Subject-Object

SOV  Subject-Object-Verb

SUFF  Suffix

SV  Subject-Verb

T  Tense

V  Verb

Vd  Voiced

VI  Voiceless

Vst  Verb stem

1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg  First, Second, Third person singular

1Pl, 2Pl, 3Pl  First, Second, Third Person plural

(‘)  High Tone

(-)  Low Tone

(=)  gliding Tone

( )  Mid Tone (Unmarked)
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Presentation of the MWAN

The purpose of this linguistic project is to describe the morphological as well as the semantic processes of nominalization in Mwan. This area has not yet been explored by any of the people who have carried out previous work on the language. The interest of this work resides on the one hand in the distinction of the major grammatical categories, nouns, verbs, adjectives from one another, and on the other hand, in tentatively describing how those grammatical categories can morphologically change into other categories which can be called nominalized categories. So first of all, to help my readers get acquainted with the Mwan and their language, I give an overall view of the Mwan. Then in chapter two, I explain the characteristics of the nominal, verbal and adjectival morphology. Chapter three is then devoted to the description of the processes of nominalization in its various aspects. To better assess the importance of this study, in the final chapter, I try to analyze how nominalization can be applied in discourse.

Location and the Population

The Mwan community lives in the North-central part of Côte d’Ivoire (Ivory Coast) (map), West Africa. The Mwan live within 18 villages and one town.

According to the Ethnologue of Barbara Grimes (1996: 250), the Mwan population was
17,000, figure provided by SIL, Côte d’Ivoire in 1993. But the recent figure resulting from the last census carried out in 1998 in the country, and kept in the official records of the government estimated the Mwan population between 20,000 and 25,000.

As in the legend of most of the Ivorian languages, the Mwan are said to have migrated in the long distant past from somewhere in Liberia to this part of the country. To know more about this legend, I interviewed different people of different ages in three different villages in May 1995. The stories of all those people seemed to be in agreement with the alleged migration of the Mwan from Liberia along with some others of the eight Mande language groups (Dan, Guro, Gban, Mbeng, Mwan, Tura, Wan and Yaore). Upon their arrival in the Ivory Coast, they first settled in the region of Man in the West of the country. As they lived together, a young man of the Mwan community committed adultery with one of the Dan women. To settle the case, the Mwan were requested to bring the milk of a she-elephant to the Dan. Being unable to pay this fine, the Mwan finally decided to run away from their neighbors, Dan. All of a sudden, one day, they moved together for an unknown destination. The suddenness of their departure and their togetherness as a single person was expressed by the onomatopoeia *mwan*, meaning “at once/sudden”. This is how the name of the Mwan people originated.
Religion and Culture

Religion

Before the Mwan were in contact with Christianity, their major religion was animism. Animism claims to have a belief in a supreme Being who is referred to as Waanbhaa ‘God’ or -Waangwlekëe Bhaa ‘eternal God’. But as human beings, we cannot have direct access to him. This supreme Being manifests himself to humans through invisible spirits which are referred to by Richard Gehman (1989: 139) as “ancestral spirits, that is, the ghosts of the dead, whether they are the recent dead (living-dead) or the long since dead (spirits)”. Those spirits are believed to live in the rivers, trees, mountains, sacred houses, sacred forests or any sacred flat grounds. Those spirits are called jielii ‘spirit of the departed ones’. Moreover, the fame of some individuals or clans is well-known throughout the whole language group, and this because of their mystical powers. In this respect, some people are endowed with extraordinary powers of healing or of changing into lions or panthers; and those powers are believed to have been given to them by the ancestral spirits. Concerning clans, some are known as rainmakers, and they are called upon during severe droughts for their help. Among those clans, the help of Yëgbe is very often requested both by the community and the government officials in times of droughts.

The Mwan are strongly attached to their traditional religion, and this explains why Islam has made very little progress among them so far, although it is the very first foreign religion to reach their geographical area. The handful of converts to
Islam among the Mwan are mainly women who, through their marriages to Muslims, have consequently adopted their religion. Christianity arrived within the Mwan community in the 1960s. There are between 15 and 20% of the population who are Christians.

Culture

The traditional culture, essentially oral, is also closely linked to the social, the moral conduct and religious life of the Mwan. Mwan society is rural. It is ruled by a group of males called the "notables" who have a chief at their head. He is chosen on the basis of his intrinsic qualities such as his being wise, and self-controlled and his ability to keep confidential matters. Solidarity and hospitality are the key virtues of Mwan society; and the transmission of its core values (social, moral, cultural and religious) is carried from the older generations to the younger ones in the following regulated way: adult men pass those values to boys, and women to girls.

Genetic Affiliation

According to Grimes (1996: 250) Mwan, also referred to as Muan, Mona, Mouan, Muana, Mwa, Moa is a Southeastern Mande language of the Niger-Congo family. There are mainly eight Southeastern languages. The Mwan people refer to themselves as Mwan or Muan, but the people outside the language group call them Muna, Mona or Muana.
Phonology and Orthography

Phonology

As I have mentioned in section 1.1, Mwan is spoken within 18 villages, and according to the language survey carried out by Margrit Bolli in 1970, there is a single dialect; however, we can notice some minor variations at individual level between the vibrant /r/ and the lateral /l/, and some people tend to make excessive use of the particle e ‘the’. The following phonology is based first of all on the phonological analysis done by Bolli, Margrit (1978), and is also based on the analysis which I have done in my first year of studies at NEGST. From these analyses I have determined 21 basic consonant phonemes, 15 labialized consonants and 9 palatalized consonants. With regard to the vowels, there are three front vowels, three back vowels and one central, and a back syllabic consonant NJ. Each of the oral vowels has its corresponding nasalized vowel. Finally, I draw your attention to the fact that both the oral and nasal vowels are lengthened in their occurrence in certain words. The only exception to this pattern is the back syllabic NJ. The phonological description includes the phonemes, and the standard orthography used. Below are the chart of the consonants including the palatalized and the labialized sounds, and that of the vowels.
# MWAN PHONEME CHART

## The Consonants

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<tr>
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<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Labiovelar</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Plosives</strong></td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>pw</td>
<td>tw</td>
<td>kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>vd</td>
<td>bw</td>
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<td>gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>pj</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>bj</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implosives</strong></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>bw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lab</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>fw</td>
<td>sw</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>zw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>vl</td>
<td>fj</td>
<td>sj</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>zj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>jn</td>
</tr>
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<td>lab</td>
<td>vd</td>
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</tr>
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<td>pal</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>mj</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oral</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>oral</td>
<td>nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>close/High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Back Syllabic consonant

N

Mwan Orthography

The following orthography is based on the standard one established by the translation committee in collaboration with an SIL team in 1974 after the analysis of the phonology. The first edition of a primer was published in 1975, and was revised and published in 1995 by SIL- Côte d’Ivoire/Abidjan.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>b</td>
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<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>/n/</td>
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<td>/c/</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y+/</td>
<td>y+nasal consonant (e.g. yaan ‘yam’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kp/</td>
<td>kp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gb/</td>
<td>gb</td>
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<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i+/</td>
<td>i+nasal consonant (e.g. yin ‘nose’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grapheme</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/_ROOM/</td>
<td>e + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ε/</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ə/</td>
<td>e + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/A/</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ə/</td>
<td>a + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ə/</td>
<td>o + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>ɔ + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
<td>u + nasal consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these graphemes, there are a certain number of labialized consonants which are written with two symbols: /pw/, /bw/, /tw/, /dw/, /g dwell, /k dwell, /sw/, /z dwell, /l dwell, /m dwell, /n dwell. Besides, I can add that any word containing a single or lengthened vowel which is either preceded or followed by a nasal consonant is automatically nasalized: this pattern is illustrated in the list of graphemes given above.
The Tone System

According to the analysis done by Bolli (1978), there are three basic levels of tones in Mwan: High, Mid and Low. The high tone is marked as (\'), while the low tone is marked as (-); the mid tone is not marked. Alongside those major tones, there are rising falling and gliding tones. In this respect, when the first syllable of a word begins with a high tone, and its last syllable ends either with a mid or low tone, we mark it in this way: (\' ...-); or the first syllable of a word can start with a low tone and its last one end with either a high or a mid tone; in this case, the tones are indicated in this way:

(-....\'). This rule is only applied to a one or two syllable-word, that is, ev, eve, evev, veve. If a word has more than two syllables, it is only the first syllable that is marked. Finally, the gliding tone is marked as (=). Below is the illustrative chart of the tonal system in Mwan.
High  'fe  'house'
Mid   le   'woman'
Low   -wa 'village'
High-low 'kpaa- 'dry'
High-mid 'gwlaan- 'man'
Low-mid -gbaan 'dog'
gliding =wia 'something broken'

Morphology and Syntax

Fleming, in her dissertation entitled “An Introduction to Mona Grammar”, when analyzing the characteristic features of the Mande languages has said that:

Other features of the Mande languages, mentioned by Dwyer, are the fact that they generally have SVO word order, that they mark tense and aspect through a combination of suffixes and auxiliary verbs which occur following the subject, and that possessive pronouns generally precede the noun (1995, 8).

This quote seems to be quite relevant to Mwan in regard to its morphological characteristics as well as its syntactic features. However, in some cases, the word order can be either SOV (or simply SV). In the examples below, evidence is given about this hypothesis.

(1)  S      O      V
     Taatoo   -goo    bhla
     Taatoo    maize  eat-Perf.
‘Taatoo ate the maize’

That is the common word order that we come across at the syntactic level in Mwan; but we notice that when the adjective is the predicate of a sentence, the word order generally is simply SV as indicated in the following example:

(2) S V
    Taatoo -o 'egbènele
    Taatoo be-PRES AD

‘Taatoo is big’

In the next chapter on morphology I will expand this hypothesis.

**Previous Work on the Language**

The Mwan language came into contact with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 1974. Thereafter, a certain number of translation, literacy and linguistic materials have been produced. The following is the list of the major works achieved on the language:

Mwan Literacy primer, first edition in 1975 by Margrit Bolli (SIL); the Gospel of Mark translated in Mwan in 1975, and published by SIL-Abidjan in 1982; the Epistle of Philippians translated and published in 1979 by SIL-Abidjan, the Gospel of Matthew translated and published in 1995 by SIL-Abidjan; Mwan Literacy primer, 2nd edition in 1995 by SIL-Abidjan. Margrit Bolli did the phonological analysis of Mwan and published it in the annals of the University of Abidjan in 1978. The second very significant linguistic work on Mwan was carried out by Caroline Brevard
Fleming, when she wrote a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics on the discourse structures in Mwan; the title of her work is "An Introduction to Mona Grammar". Since June 1996, the whole New Testament in Mwan has been in draft.

The Method of Data Collection

As a native speaker of the language, the data of this project are mainly provided by myself. I was born and grew up within the Mwan linguistic group. Besides that, in 1995, I interviewed five old people from three different villages about the origins of the Mwan. In addition, some of the data were collected by my co-worker in translation, Goua Bernard. He also is the Literacy coordinator; and he had the chance to record some texts in the villages during his literacy classes. Considering the topic and its relevance to Bible translation, I also collected some materials from the epistles and the Gospels because of their narrative, procedural or hortatory nature. All those texts have already been tested in the villages for their degree of naturalness in the language.
CHAPTER TWO
NOMINAL, VERBAL AND ADJECTIVAL MORPHOLOGY

My goals in this chapter are to identify the properties of prototypical nouns, verbs and adjectives in Mwan, in order to assess the credibility of my claims about the processes of nominalization that will be dealt with in the next chapter. Those features of the language are referred to as "parts-of-speech" by Schachter (1985), and as "grammatical categories" by Payne (1997, 32). The analysis of the morphosyntactical features of those grammatical categories will enable us to know which parts of them are retained to achieve the process of nominalization in its various aspects.

Nominal Morphology

Schachter states that: "The label noun is assigned to the class of words in which occur the names of most persons, places, and things" (1985, 7).

Considering this quotation, let us now examine the morphosyntactic features of nouns.

The Morphosyntactic Properties of Nouns

Payne notes that:

Morphosyntactic properties of nouns fall into two groups: distributional (or configurational) and structural properties. Distributional properties have to do with how words are distributed in phrases, clauses, and texts. For example, nouns can serve as heads of noun phrases...subjects and objects...and topics of texts. Structural properties have to do with the internal structure of the noun itself (1997, 33).

With respect to Mwan, the assertion above is more elucidated by Fleming (1995, 55) when she says that "Mona noun phrases consist minimally of a noun, pronoun,
demonstrative, or proper names, and can be expanded to include determiners, quantifiers, and a modifying phrase."

In fact, in Mwan, nouns can generally be classified into two major grammatical categories: "common nouns" and "proper nouns." Proper nouns can be semantically marked in reference to gender. There is no case marking system in Mwan.

**Morphology of Common Nouns**

In Mwan, with regard to the morphological features of nouns, they consist of one stem and a suffix *-mu* which is the marker of the plural. In general, there is no gender distinction in Mwan signaled by a specific marker as in English or French with the use of different pronouns for masculine and feminine nouns. The only gender distinction is semantic, not grammatical, and is made on biological considerations. A common noun appears as a free morpheme, and it can function as a subject, or an object.

Noun as subject

(1)  mɛɛɛ 'ɛ nebebhe 'zi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>ART</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>PROG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>PROG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The man is eating'

The common noun functions as the head of the noun phrase which in turn syntactically works as the subject of the sentence.

Noun as object
The common noun can further function as a direct object as well as an indirect object.

a. As a direct object

(2) Le ṣọ =lwa
S ART O V
woman the cloth bought

'The woman bought the cloth.'

b. As an indirect object

(3) ṣọ de -gōo do -na-a ṣọ ni
POSS S O DET V-Perf PRON POST
my father maize a give-T me to

'My father gave a piece of maize to me'

Number

As stated above, nouns syntactically occur as free morphemes. But with respect to number, the distinction between the singular and the plural forms is indicated by a morpheme. This amounts to saying when a noun is followed by the suffix -mu, this indicates that this noun is in the plural form.

(4) **Singular** | **Plural**
---|---
-gong ‘car’ | -gongmu ‘cars’
kpe ‘stool’ | kpemu ‘stools’
dri ‘cow’ | drimu ‘cows’
We can notice that a noun in the singular as well as in the plural form does not take any distinctive mark, except the suffix -*mu* which denotes the plural.

**Gender**

The main gender categories in Mwan are the male and the female. The distinction between those two categories of gender is made by suffixation which takes into consideration the sex distinction. This has to do with a few nouns on biological considerations as stated above. For instance, a male noun is followed by the suffix -*gwleen* which means ‘male’, whereas a female noun is followed by the suffix -*da*, meaning ‘female’. As a result of this suffixation, we actually have compound nouns instead of simple nouns. For, each component of those nouns distinguishing males from females bears in itself a semantic meaning (see some examples below):

(5)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drigwleen</td>
<td>drida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gbaangwleen</td>
<td>-gbaanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maagwleen</td>
<td>maada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘bull’          ‘cow’
‘male dog’       ‘female dog’
‘rooster’        ‘hen’

**Indefiniteness versus Definiteness of Nouns**

**Indefiniteness**

Indefiniteness refers to the use of the indefinite article. In Mwan the indefinite article is marked by the use of the numeral *do* ‘one/a’ which follows the noun.

(6) -wa do       ‘a/one village’
-yridin do  ‘a/one tree’

Definiteness

Definiteness refers to an entity which has just been mentioned in the syntactic environment or somewhere in the discourse. Definiteness is also signaled when the speaker assumes that his addressee or hearer knows what he is talking about. After having analyzed different texts either taken from the Scriptures or recorded, I note that the particle 'ε always occurs after a noun to which it refers, as Dwyer states that “Definite articles, demonstratives, and plurals tend to follow the noun or noun attribute while possessive pronouns precede” (1989, 58). So the particle 'ε fulfills that function of definiteness marker, and can be taken for the definite article ‘the’; it is part of the noun phrase. (see the example below taken from a procedural text in the appendix).

(7) 'Bhe blaan -o sogbe 'ε bo -gla 'yi 'ε ba
    this after 3Pl cloth ART put dying water ART POST

   ‘after this, they put the cloth in the dying water’

The particle 'ε ‘the’ denoting the function of definiteness as explained above, is anaphorically used. This is not a general rule for all the determiners that occur with the noun phrase. For instance, in the case of the demonstratives, as Fleming notes, the demonstrative adjective 'bhe ‘this’ can be used in a cataphoric reference, that is, a noun or a noun phrase which is coming next. And she further explains her analysis by
asserting that “When used as a demonstrative adjective, 'bhe' precedes the noun referring anaphorically to a previously mentioned entity” (1995, 74-75). Thus, the particle 'bhe', being a marker of definiteness, can be both used anaphorically and cataphorically in association with a noun or a noun phrase when it is used with either 'ə or 'lee- a particle which reinforces the deictic use of the demonstrative (see the examples below):

(8) Anaphoric use

\[ \text{gbon 'bhe mee 'e =dia -yrekapaa' yaga ta} \]
\[ \text{S DEM N ART V-Perf N NUM POST} \]

hunger this man the kill-T day three on

‘this man was hungry for three days’

This use of 'bhe 'this’ illustrates the anaphoric case, where 'bhe mee refers to a person previously mentioned.

(9) 'bhe -ne 'lee- nu gele -lakluu 'yi

\[ \text{DEM S DEM FUT V LOC POST} \]

this child this will go school in

‘this child will go to school’

In this example, 'bhe -ne 'lee- ‘This child’ happens to be mentioned later; it is cataphorically used.
Possessibility

‘Possessibility’ expresses the notion of possession or owning something. In Mwan, a category of nouns are always preceded by a possessive adjective and they are referred to by Payne (1997, 40-41) as “inalienably possessed nouns” referring to kin or to a part of the human body. Whereas another category of nouns are optionally preceded by a possessive adjective, and they are referred to by Payne as “alienably possessed nouns”, referring to inanimate objects or animals.

(10)

a. Alienably possessed nouns without possessive adjective

So 'ε -yoo 'fε ε' =la

cloth ART be house ART POST

cloth the is house the in

‘The cloth is in the house.’
b. Alienably possessed with possessive adjective

'An so 'e -yoo 'an 'fe 'e =la

POSS cloth ART be POSS house ART POST

my cloth the is my house the in

'My cloth is in my house.'

c. Inalienably Possessed nouns

'N de 'a gbε -kpa-a -a wiιŋ-

POSS father POSS hand put-Perf POSS head

my father his hand put his head

'My father put his hand on his head'

**Morphology of Proper Nouns**

Like many languages, Mwan makes a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns or names. Payne (1997, 39) gives this definition for proper nouns:

Proper names are nouns that are used to address and identify particular persons or culturally significant personages or places. Proper names are used to refer to specific individuals both speaker and hearer can identify, therefore they do not usually appear with articles, modifiers, possessors, relative clauses, or other devices that render nouns more identifiable.

In the light of those statements, one can make a distinction between the proper names of persons and those of place and other animate or inanimate entities. In Mwan, as in most languages, a distinction is made among the proper names of persons, and this is based on sex; see some examples below:

(11)  | **Male** | **Female**
------|----------|----------
       | Mani     | Bese     |
Zoogbe          Zoolu
Gogbe           Goolu
Yegbe           Delu
Gwa             Gwana

Proper nouns referring to male and female human beings do not differ with respect to any grammatical rules.

**Verbal Morphology**

According to Payne (1997, 47), the class of verbs in any languages is the grammatical category that includes lexemes which express the least time-stable concepts, e.g., events such as ‘die’, ‘run’, ‘break’, etc. (cf. Givón 1984, 51-55). The description below will be based on three main features of the verb: tense, aspect and mood. My main focus will be to find out which features of those properties of the verb (action or state) are retained in the nominalization process.

**Tense**

Saeed (1997, 114-124) defines tense as “a grammatical category indicating the temporal relationship between time of speaking and time of what is spoken about.”

The Mwan have three basic concepts of time which Comrie refers to as “absolute tenses” and which he represents on a diagram, Comrie (1985, 2):

**The diagram of the representation of time by Comrie**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present Tense

Comrie (1985, 37-38) defines the present tense as “a tense which describes the events that are simultaneous with the speech act as well as those which include the time of the speech act but also extend into the past and future.”

In Mwan, the present tense is used to express an action or a state in the present moment. It does not bear any particular morpheme as in English, as do the past and the future. The stem of the verb is maintained throughout the conjugation (see the example below):

(12) 'i pebhle ‘I eat’
    'e pebhle ‘you (Sg) eat’
    -e pebhle ‘he/she eats’
    'o pebhle ‘we (excl.) eat’
    -koo' pebhle ‘we (incl.) ‘eat’
    ka pebhle ‘you (Pl) eat’
    -o pebhle ‘they eat’

Past Tense

Comrie (1985, 41) describes the past tense as “location in time prior to the present.” Thus, the morphology of a verb in the past tense in Mwan is marked by adding a suffix -a which can comply with the tone system described above, depending on the stem of the verb.
(13)
Taatoo wi do -di-a -bon 'yi
Taatoo animal a kill-Perf bush in
'Taatoo killed an animal in the bush'

(14)
-Në 'e 'pue-la- 'pelelii-
Child the come-Perf outside
'The child came out'

Future Tense

Comrie defines the future tense as "locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment, i.e. to the right of the present moment on the diagram of the time line" (1985, 43). In the description of the future tense in Mwan, Fleming (1995, 51) states that "Like many Niger-Congo languages, Mona uses the word for 'come' (nu) in the auxiliary phrases that describe a future or potential event. The main verb in such a construction always includes the suffix -lë. In all likelihood this suffix is not a tense or aspect but rather an irrealis marker." (See some examples below):

(15)
Djaso nu -yaa' -gong 'e gon-lë -yrekpaa' do
Djaso FUT POSS car ART sell-IRREAL day one
'Djaso will sell his car one day.'

(16)
-O nu ge-lë 'taa do ta leë too
They FUT go-IRREAL trip ART POST year next

'They will go on a journey next year'

Aspect

Comrie defines aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976, 3).

In Mwan, I will just underline the main aspects that may be encountered in nominalization: the progressive, the perfective, and the imperfective.

The Present Progressive

According to Comrie the progressive aspect is used to describe situations that are not punctual but continue over a period of time, Comrie (1985, 38). In relation to the current definition, Fleming (1995, 39) says that "The Mona present progressive consists of a verb phrase which includes the auxiliary verb 'bo 'to be', the uninflected verb, and the progressive morpheme zi', which has an allomorph ziui. To that statement, I will add that in the present progressive, the auxiliary 'bo 'to be' has an allomorph which is 'yoo- which becomes 'yaa- in the perfective.

(17)
'Bhi -o 'fe do dɔ 'zi -wa la

2sg be house a build PROG village in

'You are building a house in the village.'
(18) 'yoo- pebhle 'zi
1sg be eat PROG
'I am eating'

The Perfective

The perfective aspect is indicated by the suffix -a which is also the past tense marker.

The Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is indicated by the suffix -le.

(19) -e nu-le 'ke-e yaa-le'
3Sg V-Imperf CJ-3Sg V-Imperf
he come-Imperf and he sit-Imperf

'He has come and sat,'

Mood

At first sight, there seem to be different ways of defining this term according to various linguists. While some would call it "mode" or "mood", others would refer to it as "modality" and so forth. So, I will first of all try to define what it actually is, then, I will briefly analyze how it works in Mwan.

Definition

Mood refers to the manner in which an action is regarded. However, since this is not the subject-matter of this project, I will briefly describe how mood works in
Mwan. Specially, I will describe the imperative and the infinitive mood which are also reflected in nominalization.

The Imperative

In Mwan we can describe four types of imperative clauses. The first consists of a verb stem with or without a noun phrase object, depending on the valency; it is a command.

First type:

a. Transitive clause (2Sg)

(20) -plakali 'e 'bhle
O ART V
plakali the eat

'Eat the plakali!'

b. Intransitive (2Sg)

(21) ge!

'Go!'

Second type (1Pl)

This type functions like the first one; the only difference lies in the use of the inclusive first person singular. It also has both the transitive and the intransitive form as above (see an example below):

(22) -Koo ge -wa la!
S V LOC POST
we go village to

‘Let us go to the village!’

**Third type with 2PI**

Syntactically speaking, it looks like the second type. But it makes use of the second person plural.

(23) -Ka ge!
    S V
    you(2Pl) go

‘Go!’

**Fourth type with 3PI**

This type syntactically functions as the third type, except it makes use of the second person plural referring to whoever has to execute the order or the permission. In meaning, it is a permission or an authorization that is being requested.

(24) -Ka a ‘to -o ge!
    S it MOD them V
    you let/permit them go

‘you (2pl)let them go!’

The Infinitive

In Mwan the infinitive morphologically differs from the stem verb by the addition of -le (See some examples below):
(25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Infinitive form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pele</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>gele</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nule</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deđ</td>
<td>deđle</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kun</td>
<td>'kunle</td>
<td>'catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sii-</td>
<td>'siile</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectival Morphology

Payne (1997, 63) states that:

An adjective is a word that can be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase. Adjectives are problematic in almost every language. Unlike nouns and verbs, adjectives cannot be characterized in terms of a prototype. This is because there is no semantically definable class of concepts that universally falls into a category that we would want to call adjectives; rather, adjectives stand “between” nouns and verbs, lexicalizing properties or characteristics that are indeterminate or variable in terms of time stability.

Adjectives, occurring as modifiers of the noun phrases and in predicate position, can be classified into two main groups according to their morphological properties or structural properties. When an adjective is used as a predicate, its stem is preceded by a prefix Ḭ-, and followed by a suffix -le. On the contrary, when it is used as an attribute (i.e. within a noun phrase), it is its stem which occurs in the noun phrase.
Moreover, an adjective always follows the noun that it modifies. The examples below will illustrate this pattern.

**Predicative Use**

The stem of an adjective in a predicate position is preceded by a prefix 'e- and followed by a suffix le.

(26) Meɛ 'lee- -yoo 'e -gebɛne -le

man DEM is PREF big SUFF

'This man is big'

(27) 'Bhe 'fe 'ɛ 'yaa- 'e -irele- le

DEM house ART be-Perf PREF-beautiful-SUFF

'This house was new'

**Attributive Use**

(28) a. le -gebɛne do

Woman big one/a

'a big woman.'

b. so -irele ple

cloth beautiful two

'two beautiful cloths'

Although I do not pretend to have thoroughly analyzed the morphology of nouns, verbs and adjectives in Mwan, I can assert that this step will prepare us not only to analyze the process of nominalization, but also to better understand how it works.
Negation in Mwan

The negation marker is the morpheme 'laa which imposes two different suffixes according to the aspect of the verb (perfective or imperfective). Thus, when 'laa is used with the perfective, the suffix -le is added to the stem of the verb. By contrast, when it is used with the imperfective, the suffix -le is added to the verb stem. The negation marker 'laa varies morphologically according to the number.

(29)
**Summary of the various morphological features of the negation marker 'laa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix 1</th>
<th>Suffix 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>'ŋ</td>
<td>'laa→'naa-</td>
<td>'I+ neg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2Sg</td>
<td>'e</td>
<td>'laa→'yaa</td>
<td>'you+ neg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Sg</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>'laa→ yaa</td>
<td>'he+ neg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Pl</td>
<td>'o</td>
<td>'laa→'waa</td>
<td>'we+ neg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Pl</td>
<td>'ka</td>
<td>'laa→'ka' laa</td>
<td>'you+ neg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Pl</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>waa→ waa</td>
<td>'they+ neg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER THREE

NOMINALIZATION PROCESSES

Definition

To begin with, "nominalization" can be defined as a process by which a verb, an adjective or a noun loses its original status to become a noun. This process involves morphosyntactic as well as semantic considerations. Comrie and Thompson (1995, 349) state that "the term 'nominalization' means in essence 'turning something into a noun'."

In the light of this statement, we can easily understand that the stem of the verb, the noun or the adjective undergoes a certain change; and that that change can be either lexical or morphological. As a result, the morphology of the derived noun can be either the same as the original of that grammatical category, or it can be different, depending on the type of nominalization. So, to better understand the following analysis, one needs to first bear in mind that in Mwan nouns, verbs, adjectives and any other grammatical categories function as free morphemes, that is, their stems are not bound to any other lexemes to bear a semantic meaning. Second, nominalization processes go beyond verbal lexemes to embrace other grammatical categories such as nouns and adjectives. So, in the current section, I will analyze the different devices that enable the semantic and morphological change of the status of those grammatical categories. In this analysis, I will consider various types of nominalization processes.
Action/State Nominalization

In the preceding chapter, I have described the morphology of the noun, verb and the adjective. Now, I can assert that, "nominalization" involves the derivation of nouns from both action verbs such as 'dance', 'work', 'run', 'walk', etc. and state verbs such as 'think', 'know', 'feel', 'understand', as well as adjectives such as 'good', 'bad', 'beautiful' etc. In the same line of ideas, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 350) state that:

Most languages in the world make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality, or occurrence of that verb or adjective.

As for Payne, he says that: "An action nominalization refers to the action, usually in the abstract, expressed by the verb root" (1997, 224).

As Payne does in English, I can hypothesize that two different types of action nominalization, namely the lexical and the morphological, also occur in Mwan.

Lexical Process

In the action nominalization of this type, whether it is an action verb or a state verb, there is not any morphological change of its root. Thus, the verb that is changing into a noun in status, remains the same. And the device that enables that change of status, since it is not marked, cannot be physically seen and consequently described. That is why Payne calls it "zero" operator and he considers this operation as a "lexical process" Payne(1997, 224). In Mwan, in daily life conversations as well
as in written materials, examples abound to support this hypothesis. I will illustrate
it with only a few of them as follows:

(30) **Verb roots**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pūbo-</td>
<td>'greet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tre̱bo</td>
<td>'get tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pebhle</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sɔnsi</td>
<td>'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zabra'</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisi'</td>
<td>'weep/cry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31) **Derived nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pūbo-</td>
<td>'greeting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tre̱bo</td>
<td>'tiredness/fatigue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pebhle</td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sɔnsi</td>
<td>'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zabra'</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisi'</td>
<td>'weeping/cry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31) **Verbal**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & V \\
'N & de & 'ŋ & 'pūbo & zrwanzi
\end{array}
\]

my father me greet-Pres morning

'My father greets me in the morning.'

**Nominal**

- Yaa' 'pūbo 'ɛ 'leku!

his greeting the answer

'Answer his greeting!'

This leads me to consider the second type of action nominalization process
which has to do with the morphology of the grammatical category.

**Morphological Process of Action Nominalization**

First, I can underline that the morphological process involves the change of the form or the morphology of the word. In Mwan, this is achieved by suffixation, that is, the change of morphology consists of the addition of a suffix to the stem of the grammatical category. Thus, one can distinguish four types of morphological processes of action nominalization.

**Nominalization of Infinitive/Gerund**

As in English, in Mwan such similar devices also occur. Thus, derivations can occur from verbs of action or of state by adding the suffix -le to the verb stem to form derived nouns. In Mwan, there is no clear-cut distinction between the infinitive and the gerund; in other words, we have one form that we choose to call 'infinitive' that occurs in two syntactic environments with two functions. That amounts to saying that the verb stem with the suffix -le syntactically following another verb functions as an infinitive. But when keeping that same form, it appears as a head-noun or head-noun phrase, it undoubtedly functions as a gerund. In so doing, it achieves a process of nominalization. Let us examine a few examples:

**An infinitive sentence**

\[(32)\]

\['N 'yoo -azi' 'u -janwo-le\]

I be want I V inf
I want to speak.

Nominalization of Infinitive/Gerund

(33)
1. Action/state verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'taawo</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yide</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>‘arrive/come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-janwo</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blasan-</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'taawole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yidele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-janwole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blasanle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N -janwo</td>
<td>'ebebele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I speak much/a lot

‘I speak a lot’

Nominal

-suff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-janwo-le</td>
<td>mεε mu -yre ta 'bhe la -a ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak</td>
<td>men pl face in this hard him for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Speaking in front of people is hard for him.’
Action Nominalization of Adjectives and Abstract Nouns

A second type of derivation can occur from the stems of the adjectives and stative verbs. In this case, a suffix -ya is added to the roots of all the adjectives and some abstract nouns to make of them derived nouns. Thus, -ya is the nominalizer for action nominalization on the morphological level.

(34)  
**Adjectives/abstract nouns**  
-yoo 'bad'  
gwegwe 'old'  
-lrele 'beautiful'  
kloo 'stupid'  
gblaan 'big/important'  
Irwanii- 'lazy'  
faŋgan- 'force/strength'  

**Nominalized form**  
-yooya 'badness'  
gwegweya 'oldness'  
-lreleya 'beauty'  
klooya 'stupidity'  
gblaanya 'importance'  
Irwaniiya 'laziness'  
faŋganya 'the act of'  

**Action Nominalization of Stative and Active Verbs**

This third type of nominalization is achieved by deriving a nominal from a verb of state or action by suffixation. The suffix -eya follows the stem of those verbs, and this process results in a derived noun. Thus, -eya becomes the nominalizing marker (see examples below):

(35)
### Verbs of state/action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'kpa</td>
<td>'put/believe'</td>
<td>'kpaley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so'</td>
<td>'be able'</td>
<td>'soleya'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazato</td>
<td>'forgive'</td>
<td>mazatoleya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tobho'</td>
<td>'glorify'</td>
<td>'tobholleya'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zon</td>
<td>'beat'</td>
<td>zonleya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Fourth Type of Action Nominalization

This fourth type of action nominalization is achieved by adding a suffix -za to the stem of a verb of action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action verb</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kle</td>
<td>'do/act'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhee</td>
<td>'save'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fewi</td>
<td>'destroy a house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Agent Nominalization

Payne (1997, 226) states that agent nominalization is "a nominalization that refers to the agent of the nominalized verb." In the light of that definition, I can say
that “agent nominalization” is achieved in Mwan, by adding a suffix -mi (singular) or -mu (plural) to an action verb to denote “the one who habitually does the action.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action verb</th>
<th>Singular noun</th>
<th>Plural noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yewo ‘work’</td>
<td>yewomi ‘worker’</td>
<td>yewomu ‘workers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-janwo ‘speak’</td>
<td>-janwomi ‘speaker’</td>
<td>-janwomu ‘speakers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōtan ‘weave’</td>
<td>sōtanmi ‘weaver’</td>
<td>sōtanmu ‘weavers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daan ‘teach’</td>
<td>daanmi ‘teacher’</td>
<td>daanmu ‘teachers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhee ‘save’</td>
<td>-bheemi ‘savior’</td>
<td>-bheemu ‘saviors’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Patient Nominalization**

Payne says that patient nominalization is “a nominalization that refers to the patient of the nominalized verb”, Payne(1997, 227). In Mwan, patient nominalization can be described at the level of two grammatical categories: nouns and action verbs. Thus, a derived noun can be obtained from a noun when the patient is a person; in this case, the nominal root will be followed by the suffix -demi (singular), and -demu (plural) to denote “person victim of.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Derived Noun(Sg)</th>
<th>Derived Noun (Pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga ‘sickness’</td>
<td>gadēmi ‘a sick person’</td>
<td>gadēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-niinii ‘cold’</td>
<td>-niiniidēmi ‘a person who is cold’</td>
<td>-niiniidēmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yrete ‘sun’</td>
<td>-yretteţēmi ‘a person who is’</td>
<td>-yretteţēmu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bathing in the sun'

ghon ‘hunger’ ghondemī ‘a hungry person’ ghondemu

-yimirōō ‘thirst’ -yimirōōdemī ‘a thirsty’ -yimirōōdemu ‘person’

On the other hand, the second type of patient nominalization occurs with a derivation from action verbs. With regard to this second type of patient nominalization, Payne referring to Panare states that: “there is also a ‘future participle,’ expressed by the suffix -se’ña. These nominalizations refer to an entity according to some event it is ‘destined’ to be involved in the future” (1997, 227).

In Mwan the nominalizers in this case, are the suffixes -pe (when the patient is inanimate), and -wi (when the patient is animate); and it is used in combination with verb action. The following examples are to be understood under the perspective of “future participles” as Payne states it.

(39)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action verbs</th>
<th>Derived nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhle ‘eat’</td>
<td>bhlepe ‘thing destined to be eaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lo ‘buy’</td>
<td>-lope ‘thing destined to be bought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zon ‘beat’</td>
<td>zonpe ‘thing destined to be beaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de ‘kill’</td>
<td>deve ‘thing destined to killed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga ‘dry’</td>
<td>gape ‘thing destined to be dried’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same verbs can be used in association with the suffix -\(wi\) to denote that the patient is an animate.

(40)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Action verb} & \text{Derived noun} \\
\text{bhle} & \text{bhlewi} & \text{‘meat destined to be eaten’} \\
\text{de} & \text{dewi} & \text{‘animal destined to be killed’} \\
\text{gon} & \text{gonwi} & \text{‘meat to be sold’} \\
-\text{lo} & -\text{lowi} & \text{‘meat to be bought’} \\
\end{array}
\]

In Mwan, the morpheme -\(wi\) refers both to meat and to an animal.

**Instrument Nominalization**

Payne says that "an instrument nominalization is a noun formed from a verb in which the noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb" (1997, 228). So in Mwan, instrument nominalization is achieved by deriving nouns from action verbs by combining a compound verb with a suffix -\(pe\). The resulting noun refers to the instrument used to perform the action of the verb. Concerning the verb itself, it is a compound verb, because it is made of a noun stem and an action verb; thus each of its components has a semantic meaning (see the example below):

(41)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Noun stem} & \text{Action verb} \\
\text{‘fe} & \text{‘house’} & \text{-lago} & \text{‘clean in’} \\
\end{array}
\]
The combination of those two lexemes syntactically becomes a verb of action. And when they are combined with the suffix -pe, we finally have a nominal (see examples below):

(42)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>compound verb</th>
<th>derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fe</td>
<td>'felago</td>
<td>'felagope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'knife'</td>
<td>'wla'</td>
<td>'wla kape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fight'</td>
<td>'gwle'</td>
<td>'gwledanpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'paper'</td>
<td>'sewe'</td>
<td>'seweyondepe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location Nominalization

Payne says that:

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).

So, location nominalization is achieved in Mwan by deriving a noun from an action a verb by means of a suffixing device -yere denoting ‘the place’ or ‘the location’ of the act of the verb.

(43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action verb</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yide</td>
<td>yideyere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pleegon</td>
<td>'pleegonyere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yewo</td>
<td>yewoyere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'office/working place'
-zablaka 'play'  -zablare 'playground'

biŋ 'bury'  biŋere 'cemetery'

gaan 'hide'  gaanye 'hiding place'

**Manner Nominalization**

Comrie and Thompson state that "some languages have a special derivation pattern for forming nouns which mean 'way of 'verbing'' from verbs" (1995, 354). Manner nominalization is achieved in Mwan by deriving nouns from action verbs by using the suffix -gbeya, a morpheme which denotes the 'manner' in which the act of the verb is performed.

(44) **Action verb**                      **Derived noun**

'taawo 'walk'  'taawogbeya 'conduct/behavior'

kle 'do'  klegbeya 'attitude'

daan 'teach'  daangbeya 'teaching'

'fedo 'build a house  'fedogbeya 'architecture'

taboo 'change'  taboogbeya 'change'

ya 'bear a child'  yagbeya 'manner of birth'

**Clausal Nominalization**

So far I have discussed cases where a verb, a noun, or an adjective seen as distinctive grammatical categories can be changed into a noun. In addition to those types of nominalization which are very common, a sentence or a clause can be
nominalized, thus function as subject, direct object, and indirect object. This is a frequent fact in Mwan. In this respect, Koptjevskaja-Tamm states that:

A number of verb-final languages nominalize clauses by attaching nominal inflectional suffixes to finite verbs. In the resulting constructions, the verbs decline in the same way (or in a similar way) as non-derived nominals (1993, 50).

In the light of this view, let us now examine some of the function of clausal nominalization such as subject, object and object of postpositions.

Nominalized Clause Functioning as Subject

a. Simple sentence

In this sentence, the verb is intransitive.

(45) -e 'taawo- 'edoole

3sg walk slowly

‗he walks slowly.‘

CL→NP V ADV

b. Nominalized clause as Subject

As mentioned in the quotation above, the head of the clause does not look like a nominal, it is the verb of the main clause which acknowledges an inflection within its stem, which is an infix -/a within the stem of the nominalized head, and thus becomes the nominalizer device and denotes the idea of ‘the fact that.’
(46) a. **Intransitive verb**

\[-e \quad '\text{taa-la-wo} \quad '\text{edole} \quad '\text{bhe} \quad \text{fangando} \quad -a \quad \text{ta}\]

3sg vst-nzr vst ADV PRON V PRON POST  
he walk slowly this strengthen him on

'His walking slowly strengthens him.'

The pronoun 'bhe 'this/it' can be seen as resumptive pronoun which refers to the nominalized clause. Now let us consider another example with a transitive verb.

b **Simple sentence**

(47) 

\[-e \quad '\text{lakluune} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{daan}\]

3sg pupil Pl teach

'He teaches pupils'

c **Transitive verb**

(48)-

\[-e \quad '\text{lakluune} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{daan-la-wo} \quad '\text{bhe} \quad \text{sO} \quad -a \quad \text{ni}\]

3sg pupil Pl vst- nzr-vst PRON V PRON POST  
he pupil Pl teach this please him to

'His teaching pupils pleases him.'

I can further specify that the verb of the nominalized clause can be put in all the major tenses in Mwan, that is, present, past and future including some aspectual features.

The preceding example is in the Present simple tense, now let us see other examples
in the future and the past tenses.

**a. Future tense**

**Simple sentence**

(49) 
\[-e\quad nu\quad nu-\text{le}\quad \text{too}\quad -wa\quad \text{la}\]

3Sg  FUT  come-Irrealis  tomorrow  village  to

‘He will come to the village tomorrow.’

**Nominal**

\[-e\quad nu\quad nu-la-\text{wo-\text{le}}\quad \text{too}\quad -wala\quad \text{’bhe} \quad \text{’n\ zrukpa’a} \quad \text{’zii}\]

3Sg  FUT  vst-nzr-vst-Irrealis  tomorrow  village  this  me  happy  Prog

‘His coming tomorrow makes me happy.’

**b. Past Tense**

**Simple sentence**

(50) 
\[-e\quad -\text{nu-a}\quad -\text{zon}\]

3Sg  come-Perf  today

he  came  today

‘He came today.’

**Nominal**

\[-e\quad \text{nu-\text{la-wo-a}}\quad \text{zon}\quad \text{’bhe}\quad =\text{swa}\quad \text{’n\ ni}\]

3Sg  come-nzr-vst-Perf  today  this  pleased  me  to

‘His having come today pleased me.’
Nominalized Clause as Direct Object

The same nominalizing infix -la as in the preceding examples, once again occurs here. The nominalized clause becomes the direct object of the next clause. In so doing, it is re-expressed by the resumptive pronoun 'bhe ‘it’ in that clause to denote the idea of the direct object.

(51)
Zesu ga-la -wo-a- -yirgbēẹle 'e ta 'o 'bhe 'yima-a-
Zesu vst-nzr-vst-Perf LOC ART POST 1PL PRON V-Perf.
Zesu dying cross the on we it/this understand-Perf.
‘We have understood Jesus’ dying on the cross.’

Nominalized Clause as Object of Postposition

The occurrence of the infix within the verb stem is also respected.

(52)
-Woo -we 'zi Zesu bwe-la-wo-a gale ba 'bheẹ- 'le
3pl V PROG Jesus vst-nzr-vst-Perf death PREP PRON POST
we speak PROG Jesus wake up death from it about
‘we are speaking about Jesus’ resurrection from death.’

Negation in Nominalization

Action nominals arenegated in the same way as positive verbal clauses in one area, that is, the nominalizing infix -la- occurs within the verb stem. In addition, the negation marker which goes along with the respective person (see section on negation of the verbs).
(53)

a. Simple negative sentence

'Naa -janwo' -zən
1Sg-Neg V T
I-Neg speak today

'I do not speak today'

b. The negative structure in a nominalized clause

'Naa -jan-la-wo -zən 'bhe la -a ma
1Sg-Neg vst-nzr-vst T DEM hurt PRON POST
I do not speak today this hurt him on

'My not speaking hurts him.'

In this chapter, you may have noticed the occurrence of a particle -wo going along with the stem of the verb. It is neither an aspect marker nor a tense marker; but it is the realization of some verbs which requires its presence along with their stems.

As you have noticed in this chapter, nominalization in Mwan is signaled by a variety of processes. These processes occur in the form of derivation from the stems of three grammatical categories: noun, verb and adjective.
CHAPTER FOUR

NOMINALIZATION IN DISCOURSE

So far, I have analyzed the process of nominalization at word and clause levels. But now, the interest of this chapter is to assess this process at the highest level of the syntactic hierarchy, that is, discourse. Blass defines “‘Discourse’ as a general term to refer to all acts of verbal communication” (1990, 10). According to her, discourse is not only the text that is written or spoken, but it also takes into account the background assumptions of that text before arriving at its meaning. In this section, I will analyze the syntactic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic functions of nominalization, and then will try to see its significance in relevance theory.

Syntactic Functions of Nominalization

In general, nouns are the heads of noun phrases, they can function as subject, direct object and object of postposition. In Mwan syntactically, the same functions are achieved by a noun derived from the process of nominalization. Now let us examine some examples with each of those grammatical categories.

As Subject

(54)

Simple clause

-o  meɛ  'ɛ  -di-a

3PI  O  DET  V-Perf

they  man  the  kill-Perf

“They killed the man’
Nominal

mee 'e de-za 'e =zi-an yrekpen- 'noo-
man the murdering-nzr the reach-Perf all place

'The murder of the man spread everywhere.'

As Direct Object

(55)
-o mee 'e de-za 'e 'ma-a-
they man the murder-nzr the hear-Perf

'They have heard about the man's murder.'

Object of Postposition

-o -la-a -a ta mee 'e de-za 'e 'le
they accuse-Perf PRON PRE man the murdering-nzr the with

'They accused him of the murder of the man.'

Sociolinguistic Considerations in Nominalization

In Mwan as in most languages, one distinguishes two main sorts of registers: the formal and the informal. When two adult people are brought into play in a conversation, they will tend to use a formal language; whereas when two children or two young people are verbally interacting, they will use an informal language. In those two types of language, we can notice the following phenomenon. From the sociolinguistic point of view, the register of language comes into play in the use of nominalization. Thus, as a native speaker of Mwan, my feeling is that adult people
tend to frequently use nominalization; whereas the younger ones use action verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The pragmatic implications arising from this distinction have to do with prestige. While on one hand the formal language making use of nominals aims at gaining respect from one’s addressee (especially when the conversation takes place between mature people), on the other hand, the familiar language is looked upon as “small talk”, or childish language, which undoubtedly makes the speaker lose respect in the eyes of his addressee (always among adult people).

(56)

**Verbal**

-o yaa' 'fe 'e 'wi-a-, 'bhe 'la-a - a ma

they POSS house ART destroy-Perf DEM hurt-Perf 3Sg POST

they his house the destroy-Perf this hurt-Perf him on

‘They destroyed his house, this pained him.’

**Nominal**

-Yaa' 'fe wi-za 'e 'la-a- -a ma

his house destruction-nzr the pain-Perf him POST

his house destruction the pain-Perf him on

‘The destruction of his house pained him.’

The use of a nominal in example b helps us to easily get access to the meaning of he whole message, and at the same time, it testifies to the mastery of the language by the adult or older people.
Pragmatic Functions of Nominalization

Before determining the functions that nominalization fulfills within the pragmatic context, I would say that according to Blakemore (1992: 39-48), "Pragmatics is the study of utterance interpretation. In this respect, the speaker phrases his utterance in such a way that he can have access to the intended context and draw the cognitive effects in the most efficient way."

In the light of that statement, I would first say that communication always occurs in the everyday life situation of human beings. It indeed involves interactions between two or more people, or between a person and a piece of written work. Nominalization, since it causes the change of status of one grammatical category into another one, must be a deliberate intention of the speaker, and of course demonstrates his attitude towards what he is saying. In Mwan, a speaker (if he is an adult person), wanting to make accessible the intended context of his message to his listener, will prefer using nominalized expressions.

(57)

Verbal

-Nε 'leε- 'taawo-zii' 'eyoole.

Child this walk PROG badly/bad

'This child walks badly'
Nominal

-Ne 'lɛɛ- 'taawo-gbɛya -yoo 'eyɔɔle
child this walk-nzr be bad

‘This child’s behavior/ is bad.’

If we consider the interpretation of those two utterances, we can see that in the utterance b, the speaker, by using a derived noun, has facilitated the interpretation of his intended message for his listener. Whereas, in the utterance a, the listener can give different interpretations, for instance, ‘this child is physically walking in a bad way’; and this is contrary to his moral conduct. So this example testifies to the fact that any process of nominalization in Mwan can somehow fulfill pragmatic functions.

**Discourse Features in Nominalization**

In nominalization three features of discourse are worth pointing out. Nominals can serve as topic marker, focus marker, and old versus new information marker.

**Topic Marker**

When two or more people want to start a conversation, they can use a derived form of an action verb as a nominal to mean that this is going to be the topic of that conversation.

(58)

**Verbal**

-O mɛɛ do di-a.

they man a kill-Perf
They killed a man.

**Nominal**

-Koo'  mée  'e  de-za  'e  ta  janwo
we(incl)  man  the  kill-nzr  the  about  speak

Let us talk about the killing(murder) of the man.

The death of that man is already known to the participants of the conversation, but they bring it up as the topic of their conversation on that particular occasion.

**Emphasis Marker**

Here two or more people are engaged in a conversation on any topic. Suddenly, one of them, wanting to make one of the aspects of that conversation more prominent, will use a nominalization.

(59) **Adjectival**

mée  'lée-  -yoo  'eyoole
man  this  is  wicked

This man is wicked.

**Nominal**

-a  -yoo-ya'  'e  kan  pe  'kpen  ta
his  wicked-nzr  the  surpass  thing  all
more

His wickedness surpasses everything.
All the participants know that person to be wicked. The use of the nominalization emphasizes his bad character which all of them condemn.

Old versus New Information Marker

The participants in a given conversation share in common a piece of information. However, to signal some new information, one of them may use a nominalization.

(60)

Old Information in a Verbal Form

Piɐri  fε  gblaan  do  =du-a

Peter  house  big  a  build-Perf

‘Peter has built a big house.’

New Information: Nominal

'Bhεε  yaa  -goŋ  'lo-za  'ε  'ka  'bhe  do  εε?

And  his  car  purchasing-nzr  a  you  this  konw  QM

‘And do you know about his having purchased a car?’

The examples a and b constitute one flow of conversation; so the new information here is the purchase of a car, the old information of the construction of a big house remains implicit.

Nominalization within Relevance Theory Context

Considering background assumptions (as stated above) occurring in the use of
nominals along with definite markers as in the case of the non-derived grammatical categories, now I want to assess the importance of nominalization in the light of "Relevance Theory". Let us first define this concept before describing how it can be applied within the scope of nominalization in Mwan. Gutt states that: "For an utterance to be relevant, it needs not only to be new (in some sense), but it must also link up with the context in some way" (1992, 21).

In the same line of idea, Sperber and Wilson define the notion of "context" as follows:

A context in this sense is not limited to information about immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterance: expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation (1995, 15-16).

According to Sperber and Wilson, to make an utterance relevant, it should cause "maximal contextual effects" or assumptions on the part of the hearer or the addressee with minimal processing effort. Gutt explains "contextual effects" by saying that "the link-up between an utterance and its context is called contextual effects" (1992, 21).

So, in relation to Sperber and Wilson, Blass says that "They claim that contextual effects are of three types: contextual implication; strengthening an existing assumption; and contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption" (1990, 44).

To apply this to our subject matter, that is, nominalization, in the example below, I will explain how contextual effects are produced from different propositions.
(61)  a. -o  mεε  do  di-a.

They  man  a  kill-Perf

'They killed a man.'

b. Mεε  'ε  de-za  =kla  Bidjan

man  a  kill-nzr  happened  Abidjan

'A man’s killing took place in Abidjan.'

c. 'Bheyi  -o  mεε  do  -di-a  Bidjan

So/then  they  man  a  kill-Perf  Abidjan

'So they killed the man in Abidjan.'

I can use this set of three utterances to explain how in relevance theory, we can reach the intended message. I can say that they are three premises or "assumed statements" that are supposed to be true. In the first premise, an utterance is made that a person was killed. The immediate contextual implication of that premise is that if a person/a man was killed, it must have been done in a place. In the second premise, I assume that a man was killed in Abidjan. And in the third premise, I draw a logical conclusion relation to the killing. So from one utterance, I draw two different contextual implications to finally get to a conclusion. As you can see in premise two, I have made use of a nominalization to raise some effects in the mind of the hearer. So I can assert from this example that nominalization can be used within the context of relevance theory in Mwan, this single example is not enough to make my assertion more credible.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this project has been to analyze the processes of nominalization in Mwan. In the first chapter, I have introduced my reader to the Mwan people and their language, and I have given the guidelines about how I will deal with my analysis. In the second chapter, the focus has been on morphosyntactic features of three basic grammatical categories: verbs (of action and state), nouns and adjectives. The purpose of this chapter has been to identify which parts of those grammatical categories can be retained and to serve as tools to describe the process of nominalization in Mwan. This chapter has constituted in fact the foundation of my present work. In chapter three, I have dealt with what really constitutes the core of this analysis, that is, nominalization. Its primary aim has been to describe how the three main grammatical categories mentioned above can be changed into nominals. In this respect, I have stated that ‘nominalization’ is mainly a derivational process which involves the change of status of those categories into nouns. This derivational process can be lexical or morphological. In the lexical process, I have pointed out that the lexemes do not undergo any change of form, yet since they have changed into nominals, they consequently change in meaning on the semantic level. With regard to the other type of nominalization, the focus has been on the description of the way nominalization can be achieved. Thus I note that the derivational process is achieved by means of affixation of the stems of the grammatical categories. In other words, to
have a nominal, prefixes and suffixes have been used as nominalizing devices. As evidence of nominalization in this case, the morphosyntactic features of the lexemes also change. In the final chapter, my efforts have been to assess the relevance of nominalization in discourse. In so doing, I have analyzed the syntactic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic functions of nominalization in Mwan. In the concluding section of this chapter, I have tried to see how some aspects of the nominalization process can fit in within “relevance theory.”

I do not assume therefore, to have covered all the various aspects of nominalization in Mwan. I do believe that this current work will continue stimulating my reflections, and will give the desire to other linguists in the field to investigate the languages they are working on and to analyze the same process in those languages. I hope that this study will provide me with more effective tools for my ministry of Bible translation.
REFERENCE LIST


Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


APPENDIX

A Procedural Text:

0. So tila -gbeya
cloth dye nzr.

'The dyeing of a piece of cloth?'

1. 'Ke -wa zisanle', -o - gla 'laa mu-la kan 'elwale 'pe.

   If they begin, they -gla (spice of tree) leaf pl. relat. cut first first

'To begin with, one first cuts the leaves of a tree called -gla.'

2. Bhe-e- -o ' mu zon -wee 'yi.

   And they them smash mortar in

'And one smashes them in a mortar.'

3. 'Bhe blaan, -o -gla -pee 'e si, 'bhe-e- -wa kla 'tasa 'yidele do -yi; 'bhe-e-

   That after, they -gla paste the take, and they put basin large a in, and

wa 'yaanmiŋgo 'ke -yi 'le.

they mix with water with.

'After that, one takes the paste of smashed leaves of gla, and puts it in a large

basin, and mixes it with water.'

4. 'Ke -gla -pee 'e -e-yi 'e 'tilaa-, -o 'bhe -yi 'e go-gla -pee 'e ba.
If/When -gla paste the it water the colored, they that water the remove paste the from.

‘After the paste of gla colors the water, one removes the paste from the water.’

5. 'Bhe bllaan, -o sogbe 'e bo -gla 'yi 'e ba yreekpaa yaga ta.

This after, they piece of cloth the put -gla water the in day three on/during

‘After that, one puts the cloth in the liquid of gla for three days.’

6. 'Bheee -'kee -tilaa' 'elrele 'gbu, -wa go -gla 'yi 'e ba , 'bheee -wa - kpaakpa'

And if/when dyes beautiful Emp, they-it remove liquid the from, and they-it spread

'peelii -bhle ta, -E so klele -bhle ta, -e so klele -bon -doo ta.

outside rope on. It can be rope on, it can be grass fresh on

‘When it is well colored/dyed, one removes it from the liquid and spread it’

outside on a line. It can be spread either on a line or on fresh grass.’

7. 'Ke 'yee -so 'e -gaa, -a tila leya 'e pwë 'elrele 'gbu.

If/when it cloth the dried , dye nzr the appears beautiful Emp.

‘When it is dry, its color appears brightly.’
8. 'Bhe blaan, -wa gbekpa, 'bhe-e- -e kle 'kla pe 'le meeta.

That after, they-it fold, and it becomes put nzr. man on

'After that, one folds it, and it is ready to be worn by someone.'

9. 'E 'yreekpa, -o so tilaa' gono lagbeen-bhe, 'bhe -le bhe.

You look, they cloth dye manner thus, that is so

'Look/listen! That is how one dyes cloth.'

The manner of dyeing a piece of cloth

To begin with, one first cuts the leaves of a tree called gla.

Then, one smashes them into a mortar.

After that, one takes the paste of the smashed leaves of gla, and put it into a large basin, and mixes it with some water.

When the paste of -gla has colored the water, one removes it from the water.

After that, one dips the piece of cloth into the liquid of the gla for three days.

And when it is well-dyed, one removes it from the liquid of gla, and spreads it outside on a line. It can be spread either on a line or on fresh grass.

When the cloth has dried, its color appears more brightly.

After that, one folds it, and it becomes ready to be worn by somebody.

Look! That is how one dyes a cloth.