

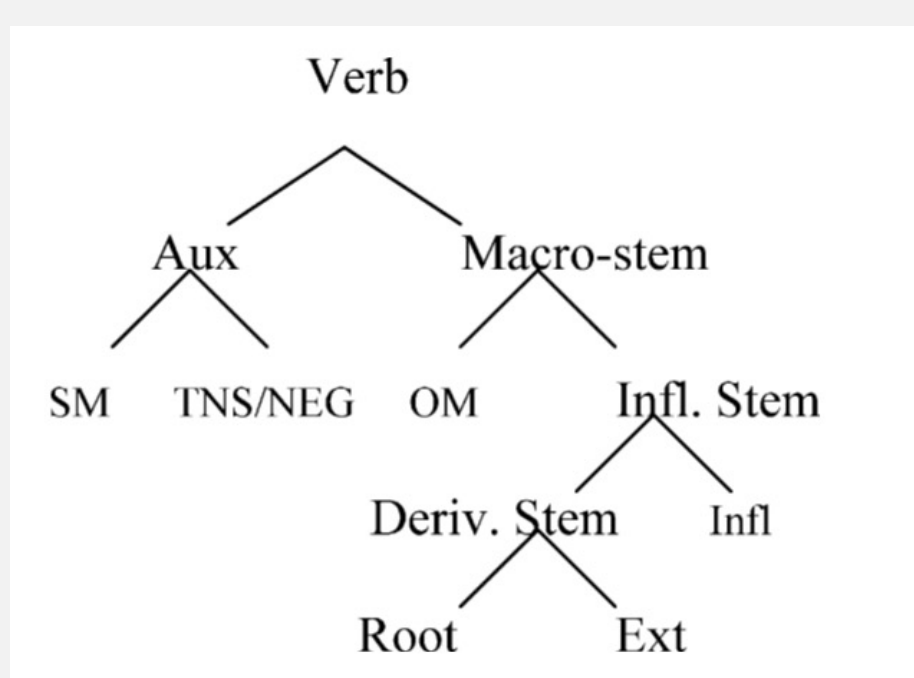
## Language Background

- ❖ Town Nyanja (TN) is a Zambian Bantu language of the Niger-Congo family, characterized as highly agglutinative and having an underlying tone contrast. It is primarily spoken in Zambia's capital, Lusaka, and it is one of the seven national languages.
- ❖ Town Nyanja is distinct from Eastern Nyanja spoken in the Eastern province which shows a very close resemblance to Chichewa spoken in Malawi. Apart from this research, there hasn't been much documentation done on the syntax of Town Nyanja in comparison to the documentation on Eastern Nyanja and Chichewa.

## Verbal Morphology

[(Negation)-Subject Marker-TAM-Object Marker-Verb Root-(Extensions)-FV]

Verb > IO (Indirect/Applied Object) > DO (Direct Object)



Ngonyani & Githinji (2005)  
Structure of Bantu Verb

Theory of Object Asymmetries (Alsina 1996), (Baker 1988),  
Bresnan & Moshi (1990) primary object properties:

- ❖ Represented as an object marker (OM) prefixed to the verb
- ❖ Expressed as an object NP immediately after the verb (IAV)
- ❖ Can be expressed as the passive grammatical subject
- ❖ Affected by reciprocalization

## Symmetric Applicatives

Symmetric Locative Applicatives

- O-lim-a a-suk-il-a ngombe mu-munda  
NOM-farm-FV C2-SM-wash-APPL-FV C5-cow LOC-field  
'The farmer is washing the cows in the field.'
- O-lim-a a-suk-il-a mu-munda ngombe  
NOM-farm-FV C2-SM-wash-APPL-FV LOC-field C5-cow  
'The farmer is washing the cows in the field.'

- ❖ Locatives do not show a difference between the applied object and the direct object, both objects have equal opportunity to IAV. This should also mean that both objects can surface as the grammatical subjects in the passive.
- ❖ The issue with these forms was that it was difficult to get an OM on the verb that referred to the Locative

Symmetric Instrumental Applicatives

- Dokta a-lemb-el-a (odwala) (praskripshan)  
C5-doctor C5-SM-write-APPL-FV C1-patient C9-prescription  
'The doctor is writing (for the patient) (a prescription).
- Dokta a-lemb-el-a (praskripshan) (na bopen)  
C5-doctor C5-SM-write-APPL-FV C9-prescription with C9-pen  
'The doctor is writing (a prescription) with a pen.'
- #Dokta a-(a)-lemb-el-a praskripshan odwala  
C5-doctor C5-SM-O1-OM-write-APPL-FV C9-prescription C1-patient  
'the doctor is writing a prescription for the patient'
- #Dokta a-a-lemb-el-a na bopen praskripshan  
C5-doctor C5-SM-O9-OM-write-APPL-FV with C9-pen C9-prescription  
'the doctor is writing a prescription with a pen'

- ❖ Object marking was an issue in Instrumental applicatives as well, the consultant varied on their opinion about the objects being marked on the verb.
- ❖ Although the ordering of the objects was free and both objects could be omitted, so some part of the symmetry is still there.

## Overview

- ❖ This research provides a morphosyntactic analysis of double object constructions (DOC) in Town Nyanja by extending the verb with argument-structure changing morphemes, and documenting their effects on transitivity, semantics, and syntactic constituency.

Extension	Form(s)	Effect on Valence
Causative (CAUS)	-is-, -es-	Addition of 1 argument
Applicative (APPL)	-il-, -el-	Addition of 1 argument
Passive (PASS)	-iw-, -ew-	Reduction of 1 argument

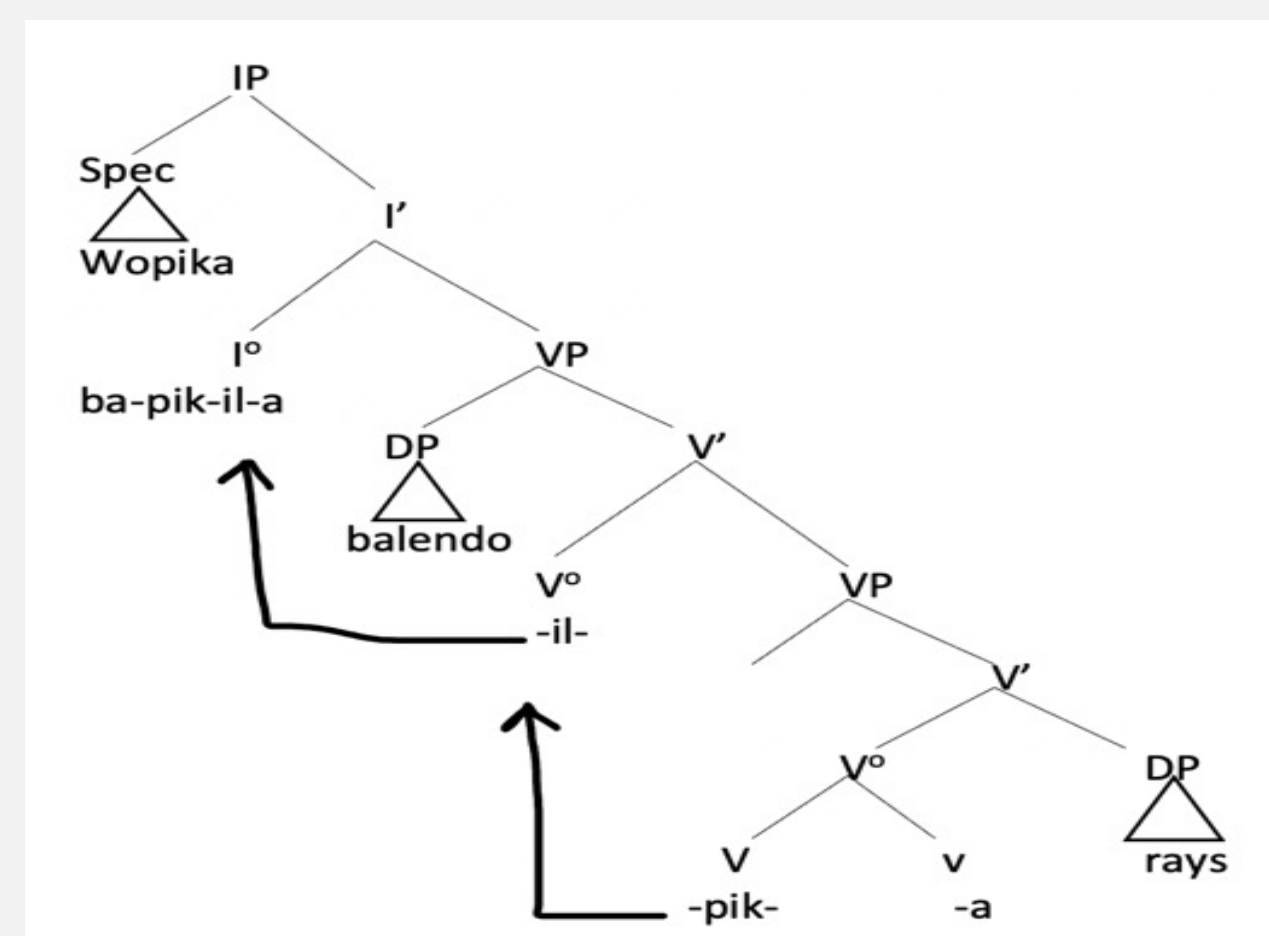
AO = applied object  
DO = direct object

## Asymmetric Applicatives

Asymmetric Benefactive Applicatives

- W-ó-pik-à bá-ø-pik-il-à bá-léndò rāys  
C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-PRES-cook-APPL-FV C2-guest C9-rice  
'The chef is cooking rice for the guests'
- \*W-ó-pik-a bá-pik-il-a rāys bá-lendo  
C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-PRES-C2.OM-cook-APPL-FV C9-rice C2-guest  
'The chef is cooking rice for the guests (intended)'
- W-ó-pik-à bá-ø-bá-pik-il-à rāys bá-léndò  
C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-PRES-C2.OM-cook-APPL-FV C9-rice C2-guest  
'The chef is cooking rice for the guests (them)'
- W-ó-pik-à bá-ø-(bá)-pik-il-à b-èvé.  
C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-PRES-C2.OM-cook-APPL-FV C2-them  
'The chef is cooking for them'
- \*W-ó-pik-a bá-bá-pik-il-a rāys  
C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-PRES-C2.OM-cook-APPL-FV C9-rice  
'The chef is cooking rice (for them) (intended)'

- ❖ The benefactive object *balendo* is IAV, it also takes an OM on the verb once it is dislocated from the IAV position. Although the OM is optional, it must be present when the benefactive object is move away from the verb. The direct object can be elided, but the benefactive object must always surface even when it is incorporated on the verb.
- ❖ Based on these forms there is a difference between the benefactive object and the direct object. The unequal status of the objects shows that one argument is given preferable status to be considered the primary object.



- ❖ The syntactic operations contribute to the morphological structure of the word. The verb root and the applicative suffix combine through the operation Attract F (Chomsky, 1995). And then the extended verb is attracted to INFL where it takes the Tense and Subject markers.

Asymmetric Malefactive Applicatives

- Ticha a-na-beleng-el-a baana buku ya Mwaka  
C5-teacher C5.SM-PST-read-APPL-FV C2-children C5-book of Mwaka  
'The teacher read the book of Mwaka for (the benefit) of the children.'
- Ticha a-beleng-el-a osati baana buku ya Mwaka  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-APPL-FV instead C2-children C5-book of Mwaka  
'The teacher read the book of Mwaka for (instead of) the children'
- Ticha a-ba-beleng-el-a osati baana buku ya Mwaka  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-C2.OM-APPL-FV instead C2-children C5-book of Mwaka  
'The teacher read the book of Mwaka for (instead of) the children'
- \*Ticha a-i-beleng-el-a osati ba-ana buku ya Mwaka  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-C5.OM-APPL-FV instead C2-children C5-book of Mwaka  
'The teacher read the book of Mwaka for (instead of) the children'
- \*Ticha a-vo-beleng-el-a osati ba-ana buku ya vo-vaala  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-C1.OM-APPL-FV instead C2-children C5-book of C10-clothes  
'The teacher read the book of clothes for (instead of) the children.'

- ❖ The objects in Malefactive applicatives are asymmetric too.
- ❖ The OM on the verb can only refer to the applied object *baana*, it cannot refer to the direct object *buku* or the possessor *Mwaka*.
- ❖ It is yet to be determined if the applied object is the subject of the passive and if it can be extracted.

## More Asymmetric Applicatives

Asymmetric Circumstantial Applicatives

- Mw-aana a-dy-el-a njaala rāys  
C1-child C1.SM-eat-APPL-FV C9-hunger C9-rice  
'The child is eating the rice because of hunger.'
- \*Mwaana a-dy-el-a rāys njaala  
C1-child C1.SM-eat-APPL-FV C9-rice C9-hunger  
'The child is eating the rice because of hunger (intended)'
- Rāys a-ma-dy-el-a njaala  
C9-rice C1.SM-HAB-APPL-FV C9-hunger  
'Rice, he eats because of hunger.'
- Rāys a-ma-i-dy-el-a njaala  
C9-rice C1.SM-HAB-C9.OM-eat-APPL-FV C9-hunger  
'Rice, he eats it because of hunger'
- \*Njaala a-ma-i-dy-el-a rāys  
C9-hunger C1.SM-HAB-C9.OM-APPL-FV C9-rice  
'Hunger, he eats it because rice (intended)'

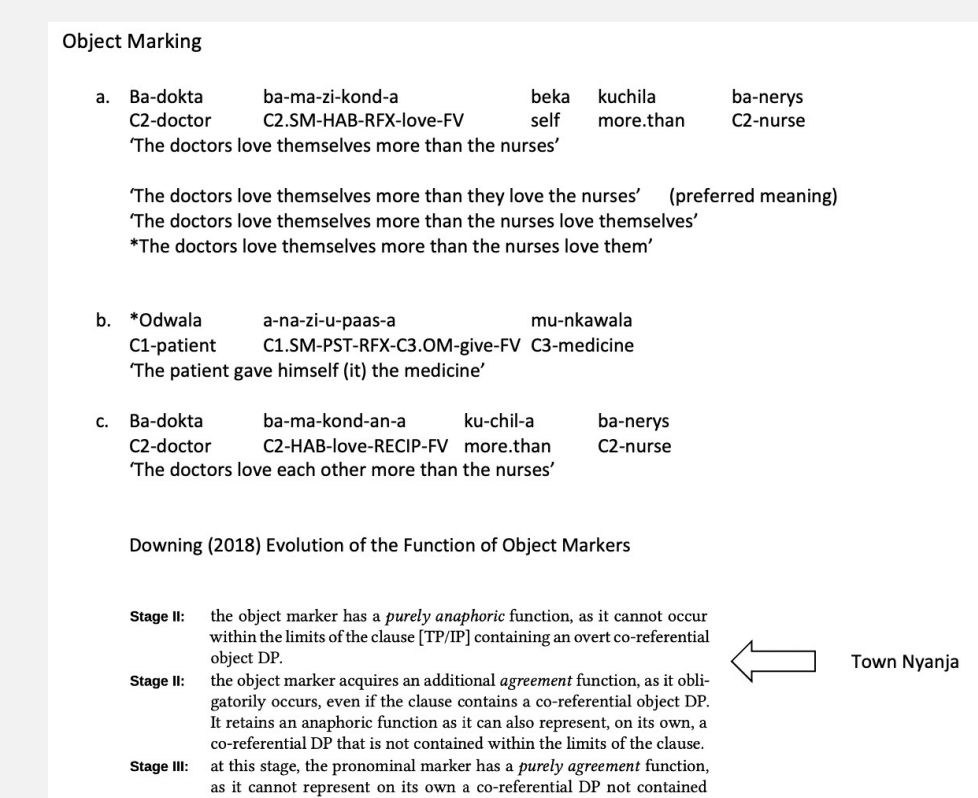
- ❖ The asymmetry in circumstantial applicatives is different. Although the AO *njaala* is in IAV position, only the DO *rāys* can be marked in the verb.
- ❖ This would mean in circumstantial applicatives the DO is treated as the primary object not the AO.
- ❖ A reason for this disconnect could be the fact that the AO is an abstract noun, and thus cannot be acted upon as a true object.

## Passivization & Extraction

- Bá-léndò bá-bá-pik-il-iw-à rāys kuli w-ó-pik-à  
C2-guest C2.SM-C2.OM-cook-APPL-PASS-FV C9-rice BY C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV  
'The guests are being cooked rice by the chef'
- \*Rāys i-pik-il-iw-a balendo bá-lendo (kuli wopika)  
C9-rice C9.SM-APPL-(PASS)-FV C2-guest BY C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV  
'The rice was cooked for the guests by the chef (intended)'
- Rāys i-pik-il-iw-à yá bá-léndò (kuli w-ó-pik-à)  
C9-rice C9.SM-APPL-(PASS)-FV FOR C2-guest BY C2.ADJ-NOM-cook-FV  
'The rice was cooked for the guests by the chef'
- í-yi ndiyé rāys yá-mémé ó-pik-à à-ná-pik-il-à bá-léndò  
C9-SM-this is C9-rice C9-REL NOM-cook-FV C1.SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV C2-guest  
'This is the rice the chef cooked for the guests'
- à-bà ndiyé bá-léndò bá-mémé ó-pik-à à-ná-pik-il-à ráāys  
V-C2 is C2-guest C2-REL NOM-cook-FV C1.SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV C9-rice  
'These are the guests the chef cooked rice for'

- ❖ In benefactive applicatives the AO is expressed as the passive subject; the direct object cannot be the grammatical subject
- ❖ Town Nyanja allows the extraction of both the AO and the DO in benefactive applicatives without an OM.

## Object Marking



- ❖ The RFX cannot take an OM as it occupies the same position as the OM on the verb.
- ❖ TN only allows one object to be marked on the verb.
- ❖ At the very least the RFX is an anaphoric bound within its binding domain while the RECIP is morphological operation that reduces the number of objects

## VP Ellipsis

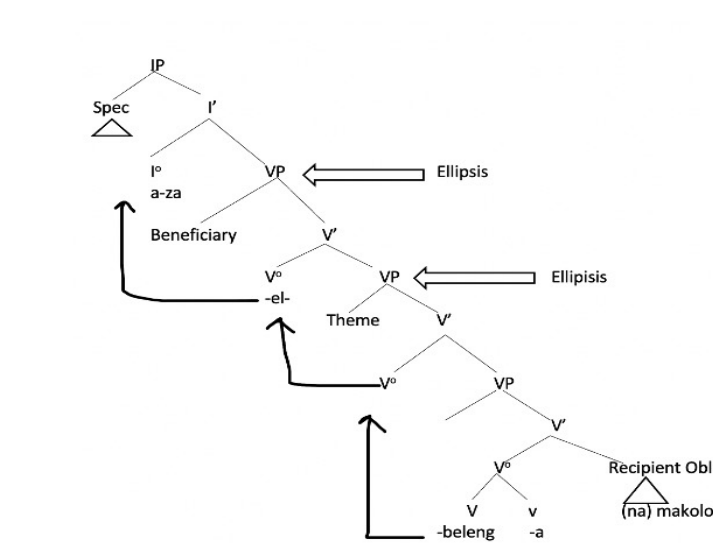
- Ticha a-beleng-el-a baana buku na  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book of  
ba-mayo ba-beleng-el-a ba-ana buku nawo  
C2-mother C2.SM-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book also  
'The teacher is reading a book for the children and the mothers are too.'
- Ticha a-beleng-el-a ba-ana buku na  
C5-teacher C5.SM-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book of  
ba-may ba-veleng-el-a ba-ana buku nawo  
C2-mother C2.SM-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book also  
'The teacher is reading a book for the children and the mothers are too.'

- ❖ The DO can be elided on its own, but the AO cannot be elided on its own. It is possible to omit both the AO and DO together so that only the verb remains and moves to INFL.

- Ticha a-a-beleng-el-a ba-ana buku ma-kolo  
C5-teacher C5.SM-FUT-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book C5-parent  
na hedmata ba-a-beleng-el-a ba-ana buku  
C5-principal C5.SM-FUT-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book  
(na) ma-kolo  
C5-parent  
'The teacher will read a book for the children for the parents, and the principal will read for the children for the parents.'
- na hedmata ba-a-beleng-el-a ba-ana \*buku (na) \*ma-kolo  
C5-principal C5-FUT-read-APPL-FV C2-child C5-book C5-parent  
'and the principal will read for the children for the parents.'

- ❖ This shows the structure of the applicatives is hierarchical and both objects must be within a large VP complex, but not the same minimal VP. This is what derives the asymmetry in Town Nyanja DOC

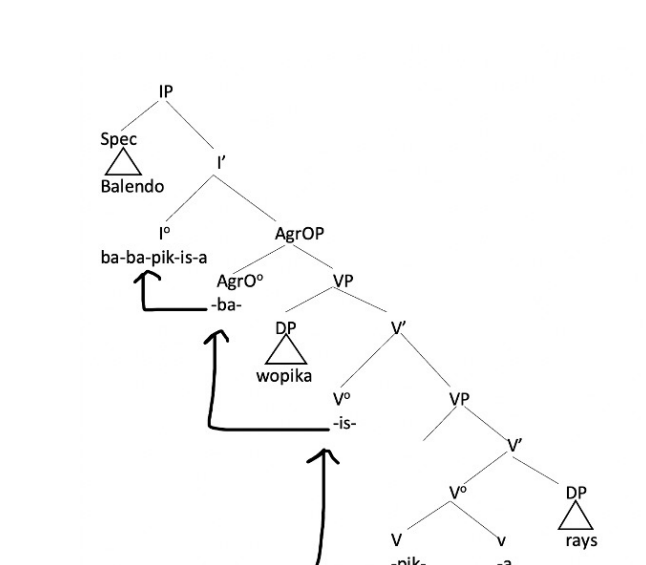
- ❖ With more than one AO none of the objects can be omitted on their own, unless they are grouped. The issue here is in TN the recipient is generated below the DO.



Thematic Relations Hierarchy  
Agent/Beneficiary/Goal/Experiencer/Patient/Theme/Location  
Agent > Theme > Goal/Beneficiary/Location  
Agent/Patient/Beneficiary/Theme/Location/Source/Goal  
(Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989)  
(Baker, 1989)  
(Jackendoff, 1990)

## Asymmetric Causatives

- Balendo ba-pik-il-a rāys wopika  
C2-guest C2.SM-cook-CAUS-FV C9-rice C2-NOM-cook-FV  
'The guests are making the chef cook rice for them'
- Balendo ba-pik-il-a w-ó-pik-a rāys  
C2-guest C2.SM-C2.OM-cook-CAUS-FV C2-NOM-cook-FV  
'The guests are making the chef cook rice'
- \*Balendo ba-pik-il-a wopika rāys  
C2-guest C2.SM-C2.OM-cook-CAUS-FV C2-NOM-cook-FV  
'The guests are making the chef cook rice'
- Wopika ba-pik-il-a rāys kuli balendo  
C2-NOM-cook-FV C2.SM-cook-CAUS-PASS-FV C9-rice FOR C2-guest  
'The chef is made to cook rice for the guests'
- \*Rāys i-pik-il-iw-a wopika kuli balendo  
C9-rice C2-NOM-cook-FV C2-NOM-cook-FV  
'Rice is made by the chef for the guests'



- ❖ The asymmetry in the causative mirrors the asymmetry of the benefactive applicatives.
- ❖ The causee *wopika* appears take all the primary object properties.
- ❖ Like the asymmetric applicatives, via head movement, the derived verb root combines with the CAUS and moves INFL to receive tense and subject marking.

## Closing Remarks

Conclusion

Object Properties	IAV	OM	Passive Subj	Reciprocalization	Extraction
Benefactive	AO	AO	AO	✓	AO,DO
Malefactive	AO	AO	✓	✓	✓
Circumstantial	AO,DO	DO	DO	✓	✓
Locative	AO,DO	✓	✓	✓	AO, ✓
Instrumental	AO,DO	✓	✓	✓	AO,DO

- Asymmetry is not characteristic of all applicative constructions, deriving the symmetry should be undertaken for Locative and Instrumental Applicatives.
- The asymmetric structure of the VP in Town Nyanja Benefactive & Malefactive applicatives is derived from stacked VPs
- OM in Town Nyanja is changing from purely anaphoric to both anaphoric and agreement marking
- Double object causatives also exhibit asymmetries
- The affect of reciprocalization on primary objects needs to be addressed

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