

## *Coding and syntactic properties of ditransitive constructions in Jóola Banjal*

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### 1. Introduction

- Language spoken in Casamance (South of Senegal) by almost 7,000 speakers.
- Northern group / West Atlantic branch / Niger-Congo family (Greenberg, 1963).
- Noun class language.
- Vowel harmony system: 2 types of vowels according to ATR<sup>1</sup> feature.
- SVOX clause structure and presence of subject marker is generally obligatory.

### 2. Ditransitive constructions in Jóola Banjal

Jóola Banjal has about 10 ditransitive verbs : *e-sen* ‘give’, *e-nnom* ‘buy’, *e-gitten* ‘tell’, *e-kkúet* ‘steal’, *e-boŋ* ‘send’, *e-ppégul* ‘open’, *e-fíren* ‘forbid’, *e-roren* ‘ask’, *e-ccam* ‘pay’, etc.

The 2 objects of these verbs behave apparently like the monotransitive patient.

- (1) a. Atejo na-teg-e a-ŋɲil axu  
Atejo s3s-bit-TAM CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
Atejo bit the child.

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: 1s: 1<sup>st</sup> person singular; 3s: 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular; 3p: 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural; ATR: Advanced Tongue Root; CL: noun class; DEP: dependence; DEF: definite; DEM: demonstrative (1 = nearby; 2 = distant; 3 = vague; 4 = anaphoric); FOC: focalization; o: object marker; POST: post-prefix; PRIM: primary object; PRO: pronoun; PSF: passive; PSS: possessive; REFL: reflexive; REL: relativizer; s-: subject marker; -s: singular; -p: plural; TAM: Tense-Aspect-Mood.

- b. na-sen-e si-rálam ø-aare axu  
 s3s-give-TAM CL4-money CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 He gave money to the woman.

## 2.1. Coding properties

### 2.1.1. Linear order of the two objects

When R is not higher than T in animacy hierarchy: ‘give’ - *theme* - *recipient* is strict (2).

When R is higher than T in animacy hierarchy: ‘give’ - *recipient* or ‘give’ - *recipient* - *theme* (3) & (4).

- (2) a. na-sen-e su-júr-ol ø-áine axumu  
 s3s-give-TAM CL4-daughter-PSS3s CL1-man CL1.DEM<sub>2</sub>  
 He gave his daughters to this man.
- b. na-sen-e ø-áine axumu su-júr-ol  
 s3s-give-TAM CL1-man CL1.DEM<sub>2</sub> CL4-daughter-PSS3s  
 He gave this man to his daughters.
- (3) a. ø-aare axu na-sen-e fu-mangu a-ɲɲil axu  
 CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The woman gave a mango to the child.
- b. ø-aare axu na-sen-e a-ɲɲil axu fu-mangu (same translation as in a.)
- (4) a. na-gitten-e bug-an-ol e-lob yayu  
 s3s-tell-TAM CL2-person-PSS3s CL3-story CL3.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 He told the story to his relatives.
- b. na-gitten-e e-lob yayu bug-an-ol (same translation as in a.)

### 3.1.2. The indexation of the two objects

The ordering of the object markers is always: ‘give’ - *recipient* - *theme*, whether R is higher or not than T in animacy hierarchy.

- (5) a. na-sen-e su-júr-ol ø-áine axumu  
 s3s-give-TAM CL4-daughter-PSS3s CL1-man CL1.DEM<sub>2</sub>  
 He gave his daughters to this man.

- b. na-sen-ol-il-sen<sup>2</sup>  
s3s-give-o3s-o3p-give  
He gave them to him.
- (6) a. na-sen-e      ø-áine      axumu      su-júr-ol  
s3s-give-TAM   CL1-man   CL1.DEM<sub>2</sub>   CL4-daughter-PSS3s  
He gave this man to his daughters.
- b. na-sen-il-ol-sen  
s3s-give-o3p-o3s-give  
He gave him to them.
- (7) a. na-sen-e      a-ɲɲil      axu      ju-joba  
s3s-give-TAM   CL1-child   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL11-dog  
He gave a small dog to the child.
- b. na-sen-ol-jo-sen  
s3s-give-o3s-CL11.PRO-give  
He gave it to him.
- (8) a. na-sen-e      gu-mangu      w-aareaw  
s3s-give-TAM   CL8-mango   CL6-woman.DEF  
He gave mangos to women.
- b. na-sen-il-go-sen  
s3s-give-o3p-CL8.PRO-give  
He gave them to them.

Two identical object markers may follow each other, when they represent arguments with the same semantic properties or arguments belonging to the same noun class.

- (9) a. na-sen-e      a-ɲɲil      axu      ø-aareaw  
s3s-give-TAM   CL1-child   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL1-woman.DEF  
He gave the child to the woman.
- b. na-sen-ol-ol-sen  
s3s-give-o3s-o3s-give  
He gave him to her.

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<sup>2</sup> Jóola Banjal has two forms for the perfective. A simple form which takes the TAM suffix *-e*, and a reduplicated form. When no constituent is focalized or topicalized, they can be used indifferently.

- (10) a. ni-sen-e      su-joba    sasū      si-nnaŋ  
 s1s-give-TAM   CL4-dog    CL4.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL4-meat  
 I gave meat to the dog.
- b. ni-sen-so-so-sen  
 s1s-give-CL4.PRO-CL4.PRO-give  
 I gave it to them.

## 2.2. Syntactic properties

### 3.2.1. Relativization

- (11) a. e-bé      yayu      e-tiŋ-e      fu-mangu    fafu  
 CL3-cow    CL3.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL3-eat-TAM   CL7-mango   CL7.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The cow ate the mango.
- b. fu-mangu    fafu      f-o      e-bé      yayu      e-tiŋ-me  
 CL7-mango   CL7.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL7-REL   CL3-cow   CL3.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL3-eat-DEP  
 The mango that the cow ate.
- (12) a. ø-aare      axu      na-sen-e      fu-mangu    a-ŋŋil      axu  
 CL1-woman   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   s3s-give-TAM   CL7-mango   CL1-child   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The woman gave the mango to the child.
- b. fu-mangu    fafu      f-o      ø-aare      axu      a-sen-me  
 CL7-mango   CL7.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL7-REL   CL1-woman   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   s3s-give-DEP  
 a-ŋŋil      axu  
 CL1-child   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The mango that the woman gave to the child.
- c. a-ŋŋil      axu      ø-o      a-aare      axu      a-sen-me  
 CL1-child   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   CL1-REL   CL1-woman   CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>   s3s-give-DEP  
 fu-mangu    fafu  
 CL7-mango   CL7.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The child to whom the woman gave the mango.

In sentences (12)b&c, we observe that the theme and the recipient are treated like the monotransitive patient. The form of the relativizer as well as that of the verb are identical in each sentence.

### 3.2.2. Topicalization

- (13) a. Atejo na-sen-e bu-nux babu u-aŋ-a-aw  
 Atejo s3s-give-TAM CL5-wine CL5.DEM<sub>4</sub> CL6-farm-AG-DEF  
 Atejo gave the wine to the farmers.
- b. bu-nux babu Atejo na-sen-bo u-aŋ-a-aw  
 CL5-wine CL5.DEM<sub>4</sub> Atejo s3s-give-CL5.PRO CL6-farm-AG-DEF  
 The wine, Atejo gave it to the farmers.
- c. u-aŋ-a-aw Atejo na-sen-il bu-nux babu  
 CL6-farm-AG-DEF Atejo s3s-give-o3p CL5-wine CL5.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The farmers, Atejo gave them the wine.

The conclusion here is identical to that of the relativization test: the theme and the recipient behave like the monotransitive patient.

### 3.2.3. Passivization

- (14) a. Atejo na-jug-e fiŋen si-bé sasú  
 Atéjo s3s-see-TAM yesterday CL4-cow CL4.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 Atéjo saw the cows yesterday.
- b. si-bé sasú su-jug-i fiŋen  
 CL4-cow CL4.DEM<sub>4</sub> CL4-see-PSF yesterday  
 The cows have been seen yesterday.

When we look at the following sentences, we see that it is only the theme that is treated like the monotransitive patient. In the same conditions, the recipient cannot be the subject of a passive construction (16).

- (15) a. ø-aare axu na-sen-e fu-mangu a-ŋnil axu  
 CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The woman gave a mango to the child.
- b. fu-mangu fi-sen-i a-ŋnil axu  
 CL7-mango CL7-give-PSF CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 A mango has been given to the child.

- c. a-ɲɲil axu fu-mangu gu-sen-ol  
 CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> CL7-mango s3p-give-o3s  
 The child was given a mango (litt. The child, it's a mango they gave him.)

- (16) \*a-ɲɲil axu na-sen-i fu-mangu  
 CL1-child CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-PSF CL7-mango

### 3.2.4. Reflexivization and reciprocalization

#### Reflexivization

- (17) a. Gáleto na-lluj-e Atejo  
 Galeto s3s-see-TAM Atejo  
 Galeto looked at Atejo.

- b. Gáleto na-lluj-oro-e  
 Galeto s3s-see-REFL-TAM  
 Galeto looked at himself.

- (18) a. ø-aare axu na-sen-e fu-mangu ø-áine axu  
 CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-man CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The woman gave a mango to the child.

- b. ø-aare axu na-sen-oro-e fu-mangu  
 CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-REFL-TAM CL7-mango  
 The woman gave to herself a mango.

The co-reference between subject and theme in a ditransitive construction is not expressed by a derivational suffix, but with the noun *fu-xow* ‘head’ followed by a direct possessive (-*ol*).

- (19) ø-aare axu na-sen-e fu-go-ol ø-áine axu  
 CL1-woman CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub> s3s-give-TAM CL7-head-PSS3s CL1-man CL1.DEM<sub>4</sub>  
 The woman gave herself to the man (litt. The woman gave her head to the man).

- (20) ni-sen-i fu-go-om  
 s1s-give-o2s CL7-head-PSS1s  
 I gave myself to you (litt. I gave you my head).

## Reciprocalization

(21) Atejo ni Gáleto gu-ssaf-**or**-e  
 Atejo and Galeto s3p-greet-RECIPR-TAM  
 Atejo and Galeto greeted each other.

(22) a. gu-tteg-**or**-e su-mmoX  
 s3p-bit-RECIPR-TAM CL4-punch  
 They punched each other.

b. gu-boŋ-**or**-boŋ-or si-letar  
 s3p-sen-RECIPR-send-RECIPR CL4-letter  
 They sent letters to each other.

When the subject is in a reciprocal relation with the theme, the recipient is introduced by the preposition *ni* ‘at’.

(23) gu-mulakken-or-mulakken-**or** ni a-ffan e-súk  
 s3p-denounce-RECIPR-denounce-RECIPR at CL1-old CL3-village  
 They gave each other to the chief of the village.

## Conclusion

	<b>coding properties</b>	<b>syntactic properties</b>		
	<u>linear order &amp; indexation</u>	<u>relativization &amp; topicalization</u>	<u>passivization</u>	<u>reflexivization &amp; reciprocalization</u>
Verb <small>monotransitive</small>	[ <b>object</b> ]	[ <b>object</b> ]	[ <b>object</b> ]	[ <b>object</b> ]
Verb <small>ditransitive</small>	[ <b>theme recipient</b> ]	[ <b>theme recipient</b> ]	[ <b>theme</b> ] recipient	[ <b>recipient</b> ] theme

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