Coding and syntactic properties of ditransitive constructions in Jóola Banjal

Alain-Christian BASSENE
Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage
CNRS/Université Lumière Lyon 2
alain-christian.bassene@univ-lyon2.fr

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 ATR1 feature.
- SVOX clause structure and presence of subject marker is generally obligatory.

2. Ditransitive constructions in Jóola Banjal


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

(1) a. Atejo na-teg-e a-ŋnil axu
    Atejo s3s-bit-TAM CL1-child CL1.DEML
    Atejo bit the child.

1 Abbreviations: 1s: 1st person singular; 3s: 3rd person singular; 3p: 3rd 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.DEM₄
   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’ - theme - 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.DEM₂
    He gave his daughters to this man.

   b. na-sen-e  ø-áine  axumu  su-júr-ol
    s3s-give-TAM  CL1-man  CL1.DEM₂  CL4-daughter-PSS₃s
    He gave this man to his daughters.

(3) a. ø-aare  axu  na-sen-e  fu-mangu  a-ŋ nil  axu
    CL1-woman  CL1.DEM₄  s3s-give-TAM  CL7-mango  CL1-child  CL1.DEM₄
    The woman gave a mango to the child.

   b. ø-aare  axu  na-sen-e  a-ŋ nil  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.DEM₄
    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.DEM₂
    He gave his daughters to this man.
b. na-sen-ol-il-sen\(^2\)
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\(_2\) 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-ŋnil axu ju-joba
s3s-give-TAM CL1-child CL1.DEM\(_4\) 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-ŋnil axu ø-aareaw
s3s-give-TAM CL1-child CL1.DEM\(_4\) 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.

---

\(^2\) 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 sasu si-nnaŋ
   s1s-give-TAM CL4-dog CL4.DEM4 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.DEM4 CL3-eat-TAM CL7-mango CL7.DEM4
   The cow ate the mango.

b. fu-mangu fafu f-o e-bé yayu e-tiŋ-me
   CL7-mango CL7.DEM4 CL7-REL CL3-cow CL3.DEM4 CL3-eat-DEP
   The mango that the cow ate.

(12) a. o-aare axu na-sen-e fu-mangu a-ŋnil axu
   CL1-woman CL1.DEM4 s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-child CL1.DEM4
   The woman gave the mango to the child.

b. fu-mangu fafu f-o o-aare axu a-sen-me
   CL7-mango CL7.DEM4 CL7-REL CL1-woman CL1.DEM4 s3s-give-DEP
   a-ŋnil axu
   CL1-child CL1.DEM4
   The mango that the woman gave to the child.

c. a-ŋnil axu o-o a-aare axu a-sen-me
   CL1-child CL1.DEM4 CL1-REL CL1-woman CL1.DEM4 s3s-give-DEP
   fu-mangu fafu
   CL7-mango CL7.DEM4
   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-ap-a-aw
   Atejo s3s-give-TAM CL5-wine CL5.DEM4 CL6-farm-AG-DEF
   Atejo gave the wine to the farmers.

b. bu-nux babu Atejo na-sen-bo u-ap-a-aw
   CL5-wine CL5.DEM4 Atejo s3s-give-CL5.PRO CL6-farm-AG-DEF
   The wine, Atejo gave it to the farmers.

c. u-ap-a-aw Atejo na-sen-il bu-nux babu
   CL6-farm-AG-DEF Atejo s3s-give-o3p CL5-wine CL5.DEM4
   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 figen si-bé sasu
   Atéjo s3s-see-TAM yesterday CL4-cow CL4.DEM4
   Atéjo saw the cows yesterday.

b. si-bé sasu su-jug-i figen
   CL4-cow CL4.DEM4 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-ŋŋil axu
   CL1-woman CL1.DEM4 s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-child CL1.DEM4
   The woman gave a mango to the child.

b. fu-mangu fi-sen-i a-ŋŋil axu
   CL7-mango CL7-give-PSF CL1-child CL1.DEM4
   A mango has been given to the child.
c. a-ŋ-nil axu fu-mangu gu-sen-ol
   CL1-child CL1.DEM₄ CL7-mango s3p-give-o₃s
   The child was given a mango (litt. The child, it’s a mango they gave him.)

   (16) **a-ŋ-nil axu na-sen-i fu-mangu**
       CL1-child CL1.DEM₄ 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.DEM₄ s3s-give-TAM CL7-mango CL1-man CL1.DEM₄
    The woman gave a mango to the child.

    b. ø-aare axu na-sen-orø-e fu-mangu
    CL1-woman CL1.DEM₄ 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.DEM₄ s3s-give-TAM CL7-head-PSS₃s CL1-man CL1.DEM₄
    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-bon-or-bon-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>coding properties</th>
<th>syntactic properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>linear order &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indexation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>relativization &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topicalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>passivization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reflexivization &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reciprocalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb</strong> monotransitive</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb</strong> ditransitive</td>
<td>theme recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>theme recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>theme recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>recipient theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliographie


