

The structure of the *do/make* construction in Chichewa and Chichewa/English*

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This paper analyzes a structure found in Chichewa for adapting English verbs. This structure, in which an English verb or adjectival predicate complements a Chichewa light verb meaning ‘do’ or ‘make’, appears to be employed during code-switching. Code-Switching (CS) is found quite frequently among populations which use more than one language. CS occurs when lexical items and strings of two languages are found in one discourse, sentence, or even phrasal category. This construction is not limited to English verbs. I suggest that the English items go through a nominalization process. The data illuminating the ‘do/make’ structure give strong evidence that two parallel structures exist. One structure works on a monolingual level, and the other structure employs two separate languages. I propose that the Chichewa verbs *-chit-* ‘do’ and *-pang-* ‘make’ serve as light verbs that contain little or no semantic information, which may precede a nominalized English bare verb. The English verb allows the semantic construal of an event, while the light verb creates the appropriate Chichewa syntactic structure and makes it well-formed. I suggest that most English verbs undergo a syntactic process of nominalization before being inserted into a Chichewa sentence structure following a ‘do’ or ‘make’ verb. This paper attempts to draw parallels between monolingual grammars and multi-lingual grammars of language rather than rely on code-switching specific models.

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes a structure found in Chichewa for adapting English verbs. The presence of lexical items from both English and Chichewa within a Chichewa structure creates a variety that I label Chichewa/English. English-educated Malawians use this variety in both spoken discourse and email. In Chichewa/English there is a particular structure in which an English item complements a Chichewa light verb meaning ‘do’ or ‘make’. I adopt the term light verbs¹ as being thematically

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¹ Some English examples: *give a talk*, *take a break*, *do math*.

impoverished "place-holder" verbs (Cattell 1984, Jespersen 1954), which are then combined with an additional item, regardless of syntactic category, that provides more meaningful semantic content. See the following examples:

- (1) Nanga ndine ndi-ku-**chit-a** **correct** apa?
 how.about 1SG 1SG-PRS-do-FV there
 'How about me, am I correct there?'
- (2) Ta-ngo-**pang-a** **check** apa.
 1PL.PRF-just-make-FV there
 'We have just checked there.'

In (1) the English item *correct* complements the Chichewa verb *-chita* meaning 'do'. In (2), likewise, *check* complements the verb *-panga* meaning 'make'. This construction is not limited to English items. In the following constructions, *-chita* and *-panga* take Chichewa complements:

- (3) Ku-thandiza Ena Ku-**chit-a** **Chifuniro cha**
 INF-help others INF-do-FV will of
Mulungu
 God
 'To help others to do the will of God'
- (4) Twinko wa-**pang-a** **zina** **zake...**
 Twinko 3SG.PRF-make-FV other some
 'Twinko has done some other things...'

In (3), *-chita* takes *chifuniro cha Mulungu* 'will of God' as a complement and *-panga* in (4) takes *zina zake* 'other things'. Both of these items are nouns. Verbs in monolingual Chichewa can also complement *-chita* 'do' and *-panga* 'make', as in (5):

- (5) nda-**chita** **ku-vala** jersey.
 1SG.PRF-do INF-wear
 'I have worn a jersey.'

I suggest that the English verbs are nominalized.

The examples in (1) and (2) contain verbs with only a final vowel and contrast with the following two examples containing verbs with applicative suffixes:

- (6) kuti mu-zi-**chit-ir-a** edit zithunzi zanuzi
 that 2PL-3PL-do-APPL-FV pictures news
 ‘...that you edit the news pictures.’
- (7) ndi-mu-**chit-ir-e** organize tiatsikana.
 1SG-2SG-make-APPL-FV little girls
 ‘I should organize little girls.’

In (6), the English verb *edit* complements *-chitira* ‘do (something) to/for/with (someone/something)’. Likewise in (7) *text message* complements *-pangila* ‘make (something) to/for (someone/something)’. The applicative in Chichewa serves the function of elevating an oblique adjunct to the position held by a verbal complement. The difference in using an applicative suffix lies in the thematic relations. Unlike (1) and (2), which assign a direct object case, the applicative in (6) and (7) assigns an indirect object case to a verbal complement.

These examples of CS contrast with monolingual Chichewa which adapts phonologically similar English verbs directly into the Chichewa verb. This allows for agreement and tense morphology to attach directly to the verb, as in (8):

- (8) Chabwino mw-a-**win-a** Koma what a stinker
 Good 2PL-PRF-win-FV but
 ‘Good, you’ve won, but what a stinker.’

The English verb *win* is assimilated entirely into the verb morphologically. This morphological integration allows the borrowed English verb to function as an inflected main verb rather than complement. Not only is the verb prefixed with agreement morphology, but it also contains a final vowel allowing it to resyllabify the English verb. The example in (8) is a case of borrowing, because of the complete adaptation of an English lexical item and because monolingual Chichewa speakers use it. The structure analyzed in this paper is a case of CS, because not only do the English lexical items remain English phonologically and morphologically, but also because it is primarily English-educated Malawians who have access to these words. The analysis presented in this paper suggests that the Chichewa/English data have a similar syntactic structure to that of monolingual Chichewa, but English lexical items do provide semantic content.

The data I use come primarily from an online threaded discussion group named Ntchezi. Malawians with access to email groups are predominantly English educated and frequently mix English with Chichewa online. Many

English lexical items appear in Chichewa constructions. Written data is very different from spoken data, because the contributors to this online discussion can go back and correct something if they choose.

The data illuminating the ‘do/make’ structure give strong evidence that two parallel structures exist. One structure works on a monolingual level, and the other structure employs two separate languages. I propose that the Chichewa verbs *-chit-* ‘do’ and *-pang-* ‘make’ serve as light verbs that contain little or no semantic information, which may precede a nominalized English bare verb. The nominalized English verb allows the semantic construal of an event, while the light verb creates the appropriate Chichewa syntactic structure and makes it well-formed. I argue that most English verbs undergo a syntactic process of nominalization before being inserted into a Chichewa sentence structure following a ‘do’ or ‘make’ verb. How can an analysis of a structure containing items from more than one grammar proceed without relying on constraints unique to code-switching? This paper attempts to draw parallels between monolingual grammars and multi-lingual grammars of language rather than rely on code-switching specific models. I introduce the relevant aspects of Chichewa grammar in section 2 and argue for a light verb analysis in section 3. In section 4, I argue for a nominalization process. I make some general conclusions in section 5.

2. The Chichewa verbal complex

Chichewa, much like other Bantu languages, adheres to an agglutinative verbal structure and a noun class system of agreement. Such morphemes as agreement, tense, and aspect are prefixed to the main verb. Noun class agreement morphology is found not only on the nouns themselves, but also as prefixes to the verb and other referential items such as demonstratives and possessives. Verbal suffixes alter the argument structures and the thematic relations the root verbs provide (Alsina & Mchombo 1990, Hyman 2002). Section 2.1 briefly discusses noun class agreement (markers are prefixed to the verb, although not shown). Section 2.2 further discusses how suffixes operate in relation to a root verb. Section 2.2.1 focuses on the applicative suffix, which is crucial to some usages of this construction.

2.1. Noun class agreement

The structure of Chichewa requires a noun to be assigned a noun class. Prefixed agreement markers SM and OM must refer to noun classes.

Meinhof (1907) categorized 18 noun classes across Bantu languages. Chichewa uses all but one of these classes. I adopt Mchombo's (2004) classification of the Chichewa noun class system. The markings of the noun class may be recognizable on the noun itself, but also the concord of other items that agree with the noun identifies the noun class. Adjectives, associative markers, possessives, locatives, as well as others must be inflected with agreement morphology of the noun class of which the noun is a member. Among Bantu languages, infinitive forms of verbs and gerunds belong to noun class 15. In Chichewa, *ku-* is used as this marker.

2.2. Verbal suffixes

Suffixes change the meanings of sentences and deserve more extensive discussion than the verbal prefixes. The base verb without suffixes contains only a final vowel², has at most two arguments and assigns at most two theta roles. The applicative morpheme *-ir-* allows a third argument, in which the additional complement of the verb may be a beneficiary, instrument, or location. The following morphemes play other roles attached to the verb stem: causative *-its-*, reciprocal *-an-*, stative *-ik-*, and passive *-idw-*. The syntactic structure of Bantu verb suffixes has been discussed in previous research by Givon (1971) and Mchombo (2002, 2004). The list in figure 2 shows some examples of verbs with and without suffixes:

-phik-a 'cook'	applicative -phik- ir -a 'cook for someone'
-yend-a 'move'	causative -yend- ets -a 'drive'
-meny-a 'hit'	reciprocal -meny- an -a 'hit each other'
-sw-a 'break (sth.)'	stative -sw- ek -a 'break (inherently)'
-pats-a 'give'	passive -pats- idw -a 'is given'

Figure 1. Verb suffixes

2.2.1. Applicatives

The applicative suffix, *-il-* or *-ir-*, attaches to the Chichewa verb stem. This suffix adds an argument to the verb, which at least for transitive verbs, creates a double-object construction. The applicative suffix is attested in many Bantu languages, such as Swahili, Bemba, and Luganda, and is very productive. In Chichewa, the applicative suffix assigns three different types of thematic roles, which are contextually determined. The

² A final vowel is always required in a verb chain due to a syllable requirement disallowing codas.

most frequent use of the applicative suffix is to promote a benefactive, but also can promote instrumentals and locatives. The promoted argument, more often than not, appears immediately following the verb and cannot be omitted. A benefactive is promoted in (9):

- (9) Naphiri a-na-phik-ira Chibwe nyemba
 Naphiri 3PL-PST-cook-APPL Chibwe beans
 ‘Naphiri cooked Chibwe beans.’
 (Dubinsky & Simango 1996:757)

The argument closest to the verb is *Chibwe*. This noun refers not to a theme or patient, but instead to a beneficiary of the action. If the applicative suffix were not present, then the interpretation would be that *Naphiri* cooked *Chibwe*. *Chibwe* receives its theta role from *-ira* and *nyemba* ‘beans’ likewise from the verb *-phik-*. The following section argues that the ‘do/make’ verb is a light verb.

3. The light verb argument

This section discusses the status of the main Chichewa verb. This paper argues that *-chit-* ‘do’ and *-pang-* ‘make’ function entirely as placeholders. No semantic information is distributed via this main verb. This light verb serves a syntactic function by allowing Chichewa affixes to be connected. The grammatical function of light verbs was first brought to light by Jespersen (1954). Light verbs serve the function in an English complex predicate for person and tense to be attached to an “insignificant verb” before the main verbal “idea.” He analyzed these verbs as being thematically impoverished.

Grimshaw and Mester (1988) analyze the Japanese light verb *suru* and highlight the thematic relations. They propose that a light verb case-marks and subcategorizes for a direct object NP, but cannot assign thematic roles. The direct object NP, instead, supplies the thematic roles through a process of *Argument Transfer* (AT). In this process, a direct object NP, which is also a thematic role assigner, lends the light verb its arguments. This results with the light verb being able to distribute thematic relations. The Chichewa/English structures utilize AT. The English lexical item lends the Chichewa light verb arguments. There are two pieces of evidence in this section regarding this argument: the lack of inflection on English lexical items and the use of the applicative suffix.

3.1. English inflection

No person or number agreement is found on the English verb in this construction. Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the lack of English verb morphology.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| (10) | chi-na- chita
3SG-PST-do | prefer | yakutali
far | ku
from | Ls
Ls |
| | ‘it prefers (to be) far from Ls’ | | | | |
| (11) | A-nz-anu
PL-friend -2PL.POSS | a- panga
3PL.PRF-make | kale | download.
already | |
| | ‘Your friends have already downloaded.’ | | | | |

In (10) and (11), the English verbs lack English-specific tense and number inflection, that is this information is found prefixed to the Chichewa light verb instead. Third person number agreement is found prefixed to *-chita* in (10), while in (11) the present perfect tense is found prefixed to *-panga*. Because English-based verbs do not carry tense and agreement information, this information must come from the Chichewa structure.

Tense and agreement information must be found in Chichewa structure for a sentence to be well-formed. Verbal prefixes in Chichewa express tense and agreement information; therefore a bound verb stem must be attached. A light verb is required, and *-chit-* and *-pang-* fulfill this requirement.

3.2. Applicative suffix in CS

Further evidence that these verbs do not directly convey semantic information comes from consideration of the applicative. The light verbs *-chit-* and *-pang-* cannot supply the thematic roles independently. The English nominalized verb originates the thematic roles, but cannot case-mark or subcategorize. The AT process (Grimshaw & Mester 1988) allows the thematic roles to be transferred to the Chichewa light verb from the English verb. The light verb complex can now assign thematic relations to its complements. The applicative allows an additional argument to be transferred from the English item. Without the applicative suffix, only one argument may be transferred to the light verb, and this argument can only be assigned to the English item itself. An additional theta role is targeted by the applicative morpheme, as in (12):

- (12) kuti mu-zi-**chit-ir-a** **edit** zithunzi zanuzi
 that 2PL-3PL-do-APPL-FV pictures news
 ‘...that you edit the news pictures.’

In (12), repeated from (6), the addition of the applicative morpheme *-ir-* treats the English item like a noun. The light verb borrows a theta role from *edit*, marks it for case, subcategorizes, and assigns the borrowed theta role to *edit*. The second object *zithunzi* ‘pictures’ is, in turn, assigned another borrowed theta role, also from *edit*, by the applicative. The sentence in (13) illustrates a parallel example using *-pangila*:

- (13) ndi-mu-**chit-ir-e** **organize** tiatsikana.
 1SG-2SG-make-APPL-FV little girls
 ‘I should organize little girls.’

In (13), repeated from (7), *text message* is assigned a theta role via the applicative *-il-*. Another thematic relation is assigned to an object, which is only visible as an agreement marker prefixed to the verb *-ku-* ‘you’. The next section lays out a nominalization argument.

4. Nominalization

This section argues that for English verbal items to be inserted into Chichewa, they are transformed into nouns via a Chichewa nominalization process. They then become complements of the light verbs. Evidence that there is a lack of English nominalization morphology is presented here. Two arguments for nominalization are considered. First of all, the complement of the Chichewa ‘do/make’ verb must be nominal as evidenced by monolingual examples. Secondly, in the complement, which functions like a nominal on the surface, there are underlying verbal properties from English. This section suggests that the English inserted verb may have both nominal and verbal qualities.

The structure of English nominalizations has been analyzed as verbal strings embedded in nouns (Lees 1963, Fu 1994, 2001). Likewise, in this analysis, complements of the light verbs *-chita* and *-panga* are NPs containing embedded VPs. Moravcsik (1978), in support of a nominalization argument in these complex predicates, argues that CS verbal events can only be nominal cross-linguistically. Some causative-type light verb in the first language is accompanied by a bare verb from the second language. She claims that the bare verb is treated like a nominal argument in the first language and lacks verbal properties

entirely. This analysis departs from the idea that all verbs transform completely into nouns and do not code-switch. Although many of these English verbs are nominal, verbal properties can also be found. In similar lines of previous nominalization research, this analysis proposes an embedded VP in an NP. First of all, the following monolingual Chichewa syntactic tree sets up the structure for a typical *-chita* predicate:

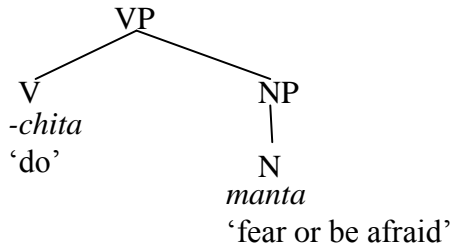


Figure 2. Monolingual Chichewa predicate

In figure 3 the NP *manta* ‘fear’ is the complement of the verbal head. There is no embedded verb for this structure. Contrast this structure with that of Chichewa/English, which includes a VP embedded in an NP (Lees 1963, Fu 1994, 2001):

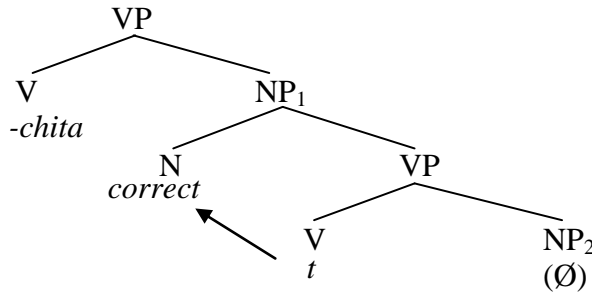


Figure 3. Chichewa/English predicate


The English bare form of the verb moves to a nominal position in order to enter the Chichewa structure. In figure 4 the verb *correct* moves from a verbal head to a nominal head position, but it does not carry any tense or agreement information from English. Chichewa, via the light verb, provides tense and agreement features to the English lexical item; therefore only a bare form of the English verb may surface. Perhaps an NP with an embedded VP functions as a compromise strategy, as analyzed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (1999). This analysis argued that Chichewa disallows inflecting English verbs with tense/agreement prefixes and on the other hand, English allows non-finite verb forms (infinitive, nominal-like), that is the two grammars form a compromise strategy based on these grammatical restrictions or allowances. This serves the purpose of creating

a mixed constituent in Chichewa/English and allows it to parallel that of monolingual Chichewa.

A similar structure allows for infinitive verbs to be taken as complements. It more clearly parallels the Chichewa/English structure, because the Chichewa verb is directly embedded in noun class morphology. See the following example:

- (14) **nda-chita** **ku-vala** jersey.
 1SG.PRF-do INF-wear
 ‘I have worn a jersey.’

In (14) repeated from (5), *kuvala* ‘to wear’ has a noun class prefix *ku-* which is found on both infinitives and gerunds (Meinhof 1907, Mchombo 2004). This verb lacks tense and agreement inflection. Infinitives and gerunds are treated with the same morphological shape and at least in the case of gerunds, allow for agreement with other elements in the sentence, as shown in (15):

- (15) [Ku-dya nyemba] ndi [kwa bwino].
 INF-eat beans COP AGR-good
 ‘Eating beans is good.’
- 

The fact that the verb in (14) has a noun class prefix and complements another verb is a characteristic shared with nouns. On the other hand, *kuvala* ‘to wear’ subcategorizes for its own argument *jersey* which is a feature shared with verbs. Whether infinitives are analyzed as nouns or verbs in Chichewa is besides the point. What is important is that both English verbs and Chichewa infinitives complementing light verbs seem structurally similar in that they have traits of both nouns and verbs, and perhaps a parallel can be made due to these similarities. The Chichewa verb complement construction parallels the English verb complement’s structure as follows:

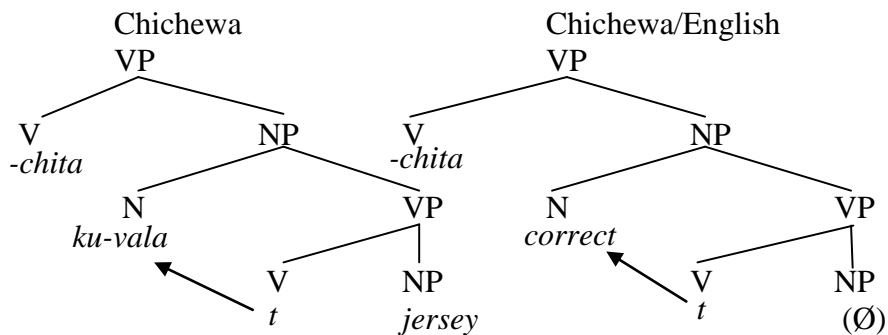


Figure 4. Structures of Chichewa and Chichewa/English side by side

The verb head *-vala* moves to the head of an NP, where it attaches the noun class agreement prefix *ku-*. The light verb *-chita* is a case-assigner and can only assign case to nouns, therefore the movement is motivated by needing to give and receive case. The Chichewa/English example parallels this structure as shown in figure 5. Unlike the Chichewa structure, the prefix *ku-* cannot be attached to a phonologically unassimilated English verb *correct*. Both have internal NPs with an additional VP embedded, where V raises to N.

The next argument is based on the morphology of English nouns and verbs. In English *download* may be construed as either a noun or verb. The following constructions show additional English items that can be construed as either nouns or verbs:

- (16) A-ngo-ku-ikani inu ku-ngo-fikila
 3SG-just-2SG-put 2PL to-just-reach.it
 ku-**chita** **punt**...
 INF-do punt...
 ‘They just place you to reach it in order to punt it’
- (17) Ta-ngo-**pang-a** **check** apa.
 1PL.PRF-just-make-FV there
 ‘We have just checked there.’

In (16) and (17) *punt* and *check* do not convey morphologically whether they are nouns or verbs. This contrasts with (18) and (19), which do provide morphological distinction of noun/verb counterparts:

- (18) Nanga ndine ndi-ku-**chit-a** **correct** apa?
 how.about 1SG 1SG-PRS-do-FV there
 ‘How about me, am I correct there?’
- (19) Iwo a-ma-limbana ndi-ku-kwera mapiri
 3SG 3SG-HAB-dispute 1SG-PRS-climb mountains
 ku-ka-**chita** **meditate** pamene...
 INF-COND-do on.which
 ‘He disputes that I climb mountains to meditate on which...’

In (18), *correct* is either an adjective or a verb in English, while in (19), *meditate* can only be a verb in English; their nominal counterparts are *correction* and *meditation*. Sentences like (18) and (19) contribute evidence that the English lexical items do not undergo an English nominalization process. When the English verbs are taken into Chichewa,

a nominalization process must occur for them to fit in the available structure. If the nominalization process occurred in English then *correction* and *meditation* would be found. Only bare forms surface in these complex predicates. This Chichewa process adapts an English verb into a Chichewa sentence by stripping English forms of their inflections.

The presence of verbal properties as well as nominal properties is crucial to the nominalization argument, because nominalization includes the transformation of a verb into a noun. Having verbal properties present indicates that this process exists. An embedded VP in an NP is indicative that some underlying verbal properties are present. The complements of the light verbs contain some nominal as well as some verbal properties in Chichewa/English. The structure of Chichewa/English would be identical in this regard to the structure of Chichewa. Even in monolingual Chichewa the infinitive verb is assigned a noun class. The noun class agreement marker *ku-* prefixes the verb form shown in (13). This suggests that even in some monolingual Chichewa these complements are not clearly nominal nor are they clearly verbal.

4.1. Nominal properties

Consider the following forms. The light verbs can take English NPs as complements, as in (20) and (21):

- (20) I think a-ma-**chita** ma-**estimates**.
 I think 3PL-HAB-do PL-estimates
 ‘I think he does estimates.’
- (21) A-ma-ku-uzani ndani kuti
 3PL-HAB-2SG-tell who that
 mu-sa-**chite** field team ya **experienced**.
 2PL-NEG-do of
 ‘Who tells you that you shouldn’t do an experienced field team?’

The complements of *-chita* in (20) and (21) are all nominal from start to finish. In (20) the plural agreement marker *ma* precedes *estimates*. This makes *estimates* plural in Chichewa. This is clear evidence of nominal status, because *estimates* is marked as a member of noun class 6. The presence of the English plural *-s* indicates that *maestimates* was derived from an English noun. In (21) the complement of the verb is also clearly nominal because *field team* is not only phrasal, but also assigned a noun

class. The associative marker *ya* clearly indicates that it is a member of noun class 9.

Section 4.2 has argued that the addition of the applicative suffix *-il-* adds an argument to the sentence. This shows that the English verb is nominal, because it functions as an argument. The applicative suffix *-il-* allows a double object argument. (22), repeated from (12), shows that an additional argument indicates nominal properties.

- (22) kuti mu-zi-**chit-ir-a** **edit** zithunzi zanuzi
 that 2PL-3PL-do-APPL-FV pictures news
 ‘...that you edit the news pictures.’

The applicative suffix *-il-*, or *-ir-* in this example permits *-chita* an extra argument. The applicative suffix in (22) subcategorizes and case-marks *edit* and *-chit-* does likewise for *zithunzi zanuzi*. Because *-chitira* is a light verb and does not have its own theta roles to assign, Argument Transfer occurs, in which *edit* loans its arguments to *-chitira*. This then enables theta roles to be assigned to both *edit* and *zithunzi zanuzi*. Adhering to the theta criterion, only arguments (represented by nouns and clauses) may have theta roles, therefore *edit* is a noun (Chomsky 1981/1993).

4.2. Verbal properties

In addition to the nominal properties described above the English forms in Chichewa/English also have verbal properties. First of all, noun classes are not assigned. Unlike the clearly nominal examples in (20) and (21), most English complements to *-chita* and *-panga* do not receive Chichewa noun class agreement morphology nor Chichewa plural morphemes. See the following examples of nominalized forms in Chichewa/English:

- (23) Olo mu-ta-**chita** **download** koma
 Olo 2PL-FUT-do but
 su-nga-ndi-menye!
 2SG.NEG-able-1SG-hit
 ‘Olo, you will download (it), but you can’t hit me.’
- (24) ...u-nga-**pange** **pronounce** **bwanji?**
 2P-can-make how
 ‘How can you pronounce...?’

The English items in (23) and (24) *download* and *pronounce* do not contain noun class agreement morphology, and since these words are derived from English verbs, it suggests they retain some of their verbal properties. On the other hand, overt noun class morphology is not always required on the Chichewa nouns themselves and there are no other elements (such as demonstratives, adjectives, or associative markers) that could share agreement morphology in either (23) or (24). Stronger evidence of verbal properties lies in the transitive property of some verbs. In (23) the verb *download* is used intransitively, but *pronounce* in (24) is transitive.³

Transitive uses of English verbs take the ability to subcategorize and case-mark away from the Chichewa light verb and give it to the English verb. This is evidence that verbal properties are still found within the English items themselves. Such transitive examples as (25) and (26) illustrate other English lexical items following the verb:

- (25) ...ndipo a-na-mu-**panga** **hire a kwacha troupe.**
 ...and.then 3PL-PST-3SG-make
 ‘...and then they hired a kwacha troupe.’
- (26) Mwa-**chita** **cross the floor** eti?
 2PL.PRF-do huh
 ‘You have crossed the floor, huh?’

Much like the intransitives, these transitive verb+noun sequences follow *-chita* or *-panga*. The applicative morpheme *-ir-* does not appear in these examples, which as previously discussed would allow for a double-object construction. Without the applicative, the English items *hire* in (25) and *cross* in (26) subcategorize, case-mark, and assign arguments to English items. The applicative predicates *-chitira* and *-pangila*, on the other hand, subcategorize and case-mark Chichewa nouns. The person agreement comes from Chichewa, because *destroy*, *hire*, and *cross* do not carry English agreement with the subject.

Another point of interest lies in the agreement prefixes. The object marker *mu-* agrees with *a kwacha troupe* in (25). In monolingual Chichewa, on the other hand, the object agreement marker agrees with the complement of the verb rather than an argument further from the verb. The

³ Although *download* is transitive in English, in Chichewa it is treated like an activity like saying: *I eat*.

complements to the English verbs in (25) and (26) are clearly not Chichewa. The items *a kwacha*⁴ *troupe* and *the floor* are English noun phrases. The final piece of verbal evidence lies in how many of these English items have clearly verbal forms.

As mentioned earlier, verbs found in (18) and (19) *correct* and *meditate*, respectively, do not resemble English nouns. The forms have nominal counterparts, but these counterparts do not appear in the Chichewa data. This supports the structure found in figure 4. The underlying form in these constructions is an English verb, although nominal properties are ascribed via movement to a higher placed N. This section has suggested that nominalization of an English verb is underlying this structure. However, not only are nominal properties found, but underlying verbal properties of some of the English verbs are still present.

5. Conclusion

Chichewa's structure for assimilating English verbs consists of a light verb that holds a Chichewa VP and allows for affixation. The prefixes themselves allow for tense and agreement information to be distributed. The duality of these constructions is apparent. If the applicative suffix is present, it allows for an additional argument, but in transitive cases where the applied suffix is not present, the English verb itself allows for further English arguments. The English verb has been nominalized by Chichewa structure, but inherently is a verb. Myers-Scotton and Jake's 1999 study of *-chita* suggests that a compromise strategy is essential for the adaptation of English verbs, and this analysis goes further by identifying the underlying processes by which light verbs and nominalized English items create a well-formed VP in Chichewa/English. This paper attempts to avoid constraints unique to code-switching, but instead relies on principles already found in the grammars of the participating languages.

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⁴ The unit of currency in Malawi is the kwacha. It is unclear what a 'kwacha troupe' is.

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