

1 Doubling Data

Table 1 is an alternative presentation of the Chichewa doubling data (Poster (3–4)).

Table 1: Permitted orderings of Applicative /il/ + Reciprocal /an/ in Chichewa

Single exponents	Reciprocalized Applicative		Applicativized Reciprocal	
	[[[Root]Appl]Rec]		[[[Root]Rec]Appl]	
a. <i>Root</i> -APPL-REC (CARP) <i>mang-il-an-</i>	✓ (MP)		✓	
b. <i>Root</i> -REC-APPL <i>mang-an-il-</i>	✗		✗ (MP)	
Doubled exponents				
c. <i>Root</i> -APPL-REC-APPL <i>mang-il-an-il-</i>	✗		✗	
d. <i>Root</i> -REC-APPL-REC <i>mang-an-il-an-</i>	✗		✓	

2 Nyakyusa Analysis

This section provides the OT analysis of overapplication opacity in Nyakyusa.

(1) Spirantization in base forms

/sob, _i TRANS/	*C _[-strident] j	IDENT[±strident]-IO	/sob, an _{REC} /	*C _[-strident] j	IDENT[±strident]-IO
a. so b-j-	*!		a. ^{ESP} so b-an-		
b. ^{ESP} so f-j-		*	b. so f-an-		*!

(2) Opaque spirantization in Reciprocalized Transitive (Poster (10d))

BASE: [so _f RT- _i TRANS]	[[Rt]Trans]	REC-TRANS	Id[_{str}]-BD	*C _[-_{str}] j	Id[_{str}]-IO
INPUT: /sob _{RT} , _i TRANS, an _{REC} /	[[[Rt]Trans]Rec]				
a. so b-an-j- (Root-Rec-Trans)			*!		
b. ^{ESP} so f-an-j- (Root-Rec-Trans)					*
c. so b-j-an- (Root-Trans-Rec)		*!	*!	*!	
d. so f-j-an- (Root-Trans-Rec)		*!			*

(3) Regular non-spirantization in Transitive Reciprocal (Poster (10c))

BASE: [so _b RT-an _{REC}]	[[Rt]Rec]	REC-TRANS	Id[_{str}]-BD	*C _[-_{str}] j	Id[_{str}]-IO
INPUT: /sob _{RT} , _i TRANS, an _{REC} /	[[[Rt]Rec]Trans]				
a. ^{ESP} so b-an-j- (Root-Rec-Trans)					
b. so f-an-j- (Root-Rec-Trans)			*!		*
c. so b-j-an- (Root-Trans-Rec)		*!	*!	*!	
d. so f-j-an- (Root-Trans-Rec)		*!			*

References

- Baker, Mark. 1985. The Mirror Principle and Morphosyntactic Explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16(3):373–415.
- Benua, Laura. 1997. Transderivational Identity: Phonological Relations Between Words. PhD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Good, Jeff. 2005. Reconstructing Morpheme Order in Bantu: The Case of Causativization and Applicativization. *Diachronica* 22(1):3–57.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2000. Bantu Suffix Ordering and its Phonological Consequences. Talk Presented at University of California, Berkeley.
- . 2003. Suffix Ordering in Bantu: A Morphocentric Account. In Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 2002*, 245–281. Kluwer.
- Hyman, Larry M. & Sam Mchombo. 1992. Morphotactic Constraints in the Chichewa Verb Stem. In *BLS 18: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on The Place of Morphology in a Grammar (1992)*, 350–364.
- Mchombo, Sam. 2004. *The Syntax of Chichewa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Myler, Neil. 2017. Exceptions to the Mirror Principle and Morphophonological ‘Action at a Distance’: The Role of ‘Word’-Internal Phrasal Movement and Spell-Out. In Heather Newell, Maire Noonan, Glyne Piggott & Lisa Travis (eds.), *The Structure of Words at the Interfaces*, 100–125. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Persohn, Bastian. 2017. *The Verb in Nyakyusa: A Focus on Tense, Aspect and Modality* (Contemporary African Linguistics 2). Berlin: Language Science Press. doi:10.5281/ZENODO.926408.
- Rice, Keren. 2000. *Morpheme Order and Semantic Scope: Word Formation in the Athabaskan Verb*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan, Kevin M. 2010. Variable Affix Order: Grammar and Learning. *Language* 86(4):758–791.
- Zukoff, Sam. 2023. The Mirror Alignment Principle: Morpheme Ordering at the Morphosyntax-Phonology Interface. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 41(1):399–458. doi:10.1007/s11049-022-09537-2.