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Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

Chavula, J.J.

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Verbal Derivation and Valency in Citumbuka

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Promotor: Prof. dr. Maarten Mous
Co-promotor: Dr. Leonid Kulikov (Universiteit Gent)

Promotiecommissie:
Prof. dr. Lisa Cheng
Prof. dr. Laura Downing (University of Gothenburg)
Prof. dr. Lutz Marten (SOAS, University of London)

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List of figures and tables

Figure 1.1	Map of northern Malawi showing languages spoken there
Table 1.1	Consonant phonemes in Citumbuka
Table 1.2	Permitted consonant clusters in Citumbuka
Table1.3	List of noun classes for Citumbuka and their examples
Table 2.1	Summary of objecthood in Citumbuka
Table 5.1	Ambitransitive/labile bases
Table 6.1	Examples of seemingly non-valence adding applicatives
Table 6.2	Object properties of derived applicaive ditransitives
Table 7.1	Examples of impositive causatives
Table 7.2	Examples showing that *-isk-* can attach to any verb
Table 7.3	Examples of *-isk-* and *-ik-* verbalisers
Table 7.4	Summary of the semantics of causatives in Citumbuka
Tabel 8.1	Causative *-isk-* vs intensive/excessive *-ísk-* in Citumbuka
Table 9.1	$Caus_2$-$Caus_3$
Table 9.2	$Caus_2$-Appl order
Table 9.3	Appl-$Caus_1$ order

Contents

Acknowledgements v
List of figures and tables vii
Contents ix
Abbreviations xiii
1. Introduction 1
1.1. Sociolinguistic background information 1
1.1.1. The Tumbuka people 1
1.1.2. Language Classification and Geographical distribution 3
1.1.3. The Post-colonial linguistic environment 5
1.1.4. Dialects/Varieties 6
1.1.5. Language Use 6
1.1.6. Available Literature 8
1.1.7. Literacy 9
1.2. Orthography 9
1.3. Earlier studies of Citumbuka 13
1.4. Noun Class system 14
1.5. An overview of Bantu verb extensions 16
1.6. Data 18
1.7. Structure of the thesis 19
2. Grammatical Relations 21
2.1. Introduction 21
2.2. Basic word order in Citumbuka 21
2.3. The Subject in Citumbuka 22
2.3.1. Basic properties 22
2.3.2. Locative subjects 23
2.3.3. Noun class 17 prefix *ku-* as default agreement 24
2.4. The Object in Citumbuka 24
2.4.1. Arguments and Adjuncts 25
2.4.2. Word order is not a criterion for objecthood 28
2.4.3. Subject of a passive as criterion for objecthood 30
2.4.4. OM as a criterion for objecthood 32
2.4.5. Locative objects 32
2.4.6. Cognate objects 36
2.5. Depictive Secondary predication 38
2.6. Prepositional Phrases 40
2.6.1. Instrumental constructions 41
2.6.2. Comitative *na* 43
2.7. Summary and Overview of non-subject NPs 48
3. Object marking in Citumbuka 51
3.1. Introduction 51
3.2. Object marking in non-derived monotransitive constructions 52
3.2.1. Object marking and Animacy 52
3.2.2. Independent Pronouns 53
3.2.3. Kinship terms and titles 54

3.2.4. Locative object marking 55
3.2.5. Cognate object 56
3.3. Object marking in ditransitives 57
3.4. Definiteness and Specificity 58
3.5. Object marking and coordinated objects 60
3.6. Summary of Chapter 63
4. Passive 65
4.1. Introduction 65
4.2. The form of the passive suffixes 66
4.3. Personal Passives in Citumbuka 69
4.3.1. Semantics of the personal passive 74
4.4. Impersonal Passives 75
4.4.1. Impersonal Passives in Citumbuka 76
4.4.2. Impersonal passives derived from a transitive base 78
4.4.3. Semantics of Impersonal passives 79
4.5. Polysemy of the derivational suffix *-ik-* 80
4.5.1. Stative/ anticausative 80
4.5.2. Facilitative meaning 84
4.5.3. Potential passive 85
4.6. Lexicalised passives 86
4.7. Summary of chapter 87
5. Reciprocal 89
5.1. Introduction 89
5.2. The form of the reciprocal 90
5.3. Prototypical reciprocal 90
5.3.1. Single plural NP reciprocal 91
5.3.2. Coordinated reciprocal 92
5.3.3. Split co-participants 93
5.3.4. Sequential reciprocal 94
5.3.5. Chain reciprocal 94
5.4. Polysemy of the suffix *-an-* 95
5.4.1. Depatientive /deobjective/antipassive 95
5.4.2. Anticausative 98
5.4.3. Associative/collective situations 100
5.4.4. Distributive 101
5.5. Reciprocal derivation and transitivity 101
5.5.1. Monotransitive base 102
5.5.2. Ambitransitive/labile 102
5.5.3. Ditransitive base 103
5.5.4. Reciprocals derived from an applicative base 105
5.5.5. Reciprocals derived from causatives 107
5.6. Summary and conclusion 107
6. Applicative 109
6.1. Introduction 109
6.1.1. The form of the applicative suffix 110
6.1.2. Lexicalized applicatives 111
6.2. Transitivity of the base 111

6.2.1. Intransitive base 111
6.2.2. Monotransitive base 112
6.2.3. Ditransitive base 113
6.3. Semantics of applicatives 114
6.3.1. Beneficiary 114
6.3.2. Maleficiary 116
6.3.3. Possessor applicatives 118
6.3.4. Instrument 120
6.3.5. Manner Applicative 121
6.3.6. Motive/reason/purpose applicative 122
6.3.7. Goal/Directional Applicative 124
6.3.8. Locative 126
6.3.9. Path/ by way of 127
6.3.10. Source 127
6.3.11. Sociative applicatives 129
6.3.12. Judicantis 131
6.3.13. The seemingly non-valence change applicative 132
6.3.14. Multiple applicative morphemes 134
6.3.15. Summary of section 136
6.4. Object properties of applied objects 136
6.4.1. Benefactive/malefactive applicative 137
6.4.2. Goal/directional applicatives 138
6.4.3. Possessor 140
6.4.4. Motive/purpose/reason applicatives 141
6.4.5. Judicantis applicative 143
6.4.6. Sociative applicative 144
6.4.7. Instrumental 146
6.4.8. Locative applicative 147
6.4.9. Summary of the section 150
6.5. The High/Low applicatives dichotomy 151
6.5.1. (A)symmetric vs. H/L applicative typology 152
6.6. Summary of the chapter 152
7. Causative 155
7.1. Introduction 155
7.2. Impositive causative suffix *-ik-* 155
7.2.1. Semantics of *-ik-* causative 158
7.2.2. Summary of *-ik-* causative 161
7.3. The *-Y-* causative 161
7.3.1. Transitivity of the base 164
7.3.2. Lexicalised *-Y-* causatives 166
7.4. The *-isk* causative suffix 166
7.5. Periphrastic causatives 168
7.6. Transitivity of the base versus *-Y-* and *-isk*/*esk-* forms 169
7.6.1. Intransitive 170
7.6.2. Monotransitive 171
7.6.3. Ditransitive 179
7.7. Autobenefactive Causatives 181

7.8. Conversive causatives 182
7.9. Associative causatives 183
7.10. Double Causatives 185
7.11. Causative suffixes as verbalisers 187
7.12. Semantics of causatives (-*Y*- and -*isk*-) 189
7.12.1. The -*Y*- form 190
7.12.2. The -*isk*- form 193
7.12.3. Permissive/Coercive meaning 195
7.12.4. Assistive meaning 196
7.12.5. Deliberate vs. accidental or unintentional causation 196
7.13. Distinguishing the excessive from causative 197
7.14. Summary and Conclusion 199
8. Intensive/excessive 201
8.1. Introduction 201
8.2. Double intensive/ or excessive markers 201
8.3. Conclusion 202
9. Suffix ordering in Citumbuka 203
9.1. Introduction 203
9.2. Combinations involving C_3 and Applicative 203
9.2.1. Causative$_3$ and Applicative 204
9.2.2. Causative$_3$ and Reciprocal 205
9.2.3. Applicative and Reciprocal 207
9.3. Causative$_3$, Applicative and Reciprocal 209
9.4. Combinations involving C_2 212
9.4.1. Combinations involving Reciprocal and Causative$_2$ 213
9.4.2. Combinations involving Causative$_2$ and Applicative 213
9.4.3. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Reciprocal and Applicative 215
9.4.4. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Causative$_3$, and Applicative 216
9.5. Combinations involving the passive 216
9.5.1. Passive and C_3 216
9.5.2. Applicative and Passive 217
9.5.3. Combinations involving C_2 and Passive 218
9.6. Combinations involving c_1 219
9.7. Doubling and tripling of some suffixes (-*il*-, -*isk*- and -*ísk*-) 220
9.8. Summary and Conclusion 221
10. Summary and further research. 223
10.1. Summary and conclusion 223
10.2. Further Research 225
Bibliography 227
Data Sources 239
Samenvatting 241
Curriculum Vitae 245

Abbreviations

1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
A	Applicative
AO	Applied object
Appl	Applicative
CARCP	Causative Applicative Reciprocal Causative Passive
C_1	-*ik*- causative
C_2	-*Y*- causative
C_3	-*isk*- causative
Comp	Complementizer
Cop	Copula
Distal.Dem	Distal demonstrative
Fut	Future tense
FV	Final vowel
H	High
IAV	Immediately after the verb
I	Intensive
Imperf	Imperfective
Infin	Infinitive
Intens	Intensive

L	Low
Lit.	Literally
MOD	Mood
Neg	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
OM	Object Marker
P	Passive
Pass/Stat	Passive/Stative
Perf	Perfect tense
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Pres	Present tense
Prox.Dem	Proximity demonstrative
Pst	Past tense
Q	question marker
R	Reciprocal
Rec.Pst	Recent past
Rel	Relative marker
SM	Subject Marker
S	Subject
Stat	Stative
TA	Traditional Authority
V	Verb

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Sociolinguistic background information

1.1.1. The Tumbuka people

Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980) provide a detailed historical background of the Tumbuka people. They both state that the historical origins of the Tumbuka are so complex that they are better viewed as an aggregate history of individual clans. The first groups of the Tumbuka clans settled along the northern trade routes and are believed to have been the second group to enter Malawi after the Chewa of the Maravi Kingdom (Phiri 1980). Some newer groups that crossed through the northern corridor chose to settle among the Tumbuka while other groups continued to other areas. By the 19th century, the "Tumbuka-speaking people spread over an area stretching from the Dwangwa River in the south to the source of the North Rukuru in the north, and from Lwangwa River in neighbouring Zambia to the Lake Malawi in the east" (Phiri 1980:3). One of the ivory traders, Mlowoka arrived from across Lake Malawi in Nkhamanga, the Tumbukaland, as an ivory trader. He married in the Luhanga clan. The Balowoka established a loose confederation over the elephant-rich country running from the modern border of Zambia to the lake. These new settlers established themselves among the Tumbuka. "Some of these clans came from matrilineal zones of northern Zambia and the southern Congo, while others came from the patrilineal areas of north-east Zambia and southern Zambia, others from across Lake Malawi in Tanzania and Mozambique" (Vail 1972: xiv). By mid 19th century, the Tumbuka had a very mixed culture. The Balowoka adopted the language and culture of the earlier Tumbuka settlers and all later migrants adopted the language and to some extent cultural traditions of the Tumbuka land. Citumbuka is, therefore, a complex language due to the influx of migrants from streams of Bantu migrants that passed through the area. The Ngoni were the last influential group to settle among the Tumbuka before the arrival of the missionaries, and the European and colonial rule. Unlike the Balowoka traders, who established the Chikulamayembe dynasty, and later were requested to be leaders of the Tumbukas by the Tumbuka themselves, the Ngoni were militant warriors who survived by raiding and looting. According to the current chief Chikulamayembe, the Tumbuka asked the Balowoka to rule over the Tumbuka because of the generosity of the Balowokas and according to the incumbent Chikulamayembe, the Chikulamayembe authorities got the chieftancy on a silver platter and not through an invasion (personal communication during data collection fieldwork in 2008).

The Ngoni left Natal under the leadership of Zwangendaba in the 1820s during the wars of Shaka Zulu because Zwangendaba feared to confront

Shaka in an open battle (Read 1956). They moved northwards through Mashonaland raiding and looting as they went and incorporating captives into their state (McCracken 1977:7). They crossed the Zambesi in 1835 near Zumbo, through the Nsenga country to the Malawi-Luangwa watershed as far as Ufipa on the eastside of Lake Tanganyika in present day Tanzania where Zwangendaba died in 1845 (McCracken 1977). After the death of Mgayi the regent, who had accompanied Zwangendaba from Natal, South Africa, the sons of Zwangendaba went to different directions, Mpezeni went southwards to Bemba country before settling in Chipata in the present day Zambia. Mpherembe spent some time in the west of Luangwa River before being defeated by a coalition of Bemba in the 1870s after which he joined the Ngoni of Mbelwa (McCracken 1977). The Mbelwa group advanced up to the Henga valley destroying the vestiges of the Chikulamayembe state, reducing most of the Tumbukas to the Ngoni subjection. One group settled in Unyamwezi in Tanzania whilst some, for instance the group of Chiwere Ndhlovu settled in the present day Central Malawi. The Ngoni continued to frequently raid upon their neighbours for cattle and captives to enlarge their group (McCracken 1977). Captives were culturally assimilated into the Ngoni society such that successful warriors, whatever their backgrounds, could compete for positions. The arrival of the Ngoni was not without impact on the Tumbuka settlers and established trade patterns. It disrupted the established long distance trading patterns in the area. At the height of their influence, the Ngoni dominated an area said to be 30,000 square miles in dimension populated by the Tumbuka, Tonga, Henga, Ngonde, Chewa, Bisa and others (Read 1956, McCracken 1977). Henga and Nkhamanga were fully subsumed under the Ngoni domination around 1855 (Davies 2014). However, the arrival of missionaries and Europeans who brought guns weakened the Ngoni dominion. The Tongas, for example, who lived along the lake shore had access to guns and could easily defeat the Ngonis.

By the 1930s Cingoni had almost disappeared as a home language, except in Chief Mpherembe's area in the northern Ngoni kingdom (Read 1956). Read (1957) observes that many older men could still speak and understand the language including the men that had been away to Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) or the Transvaal to seek employment. The language continued to be used for traditional offices and objects, words of traditional songs, some ritual formulae, tittles, some forms of address although the Ngoni of the Central region were already using Nyanja terms (Read 1956:22). Read (1956) reports that soon the missionaries realized that the majority of the people in northern Ngoni land did not understand the Ngoni language. They then switched from using Cingoni to Citumbuka, which became the language of evangelization and a medium of instruction in their mission schools which were opened at different places in Ngoni land. Many books and readers were produced in Citumbuka to aid the learn-

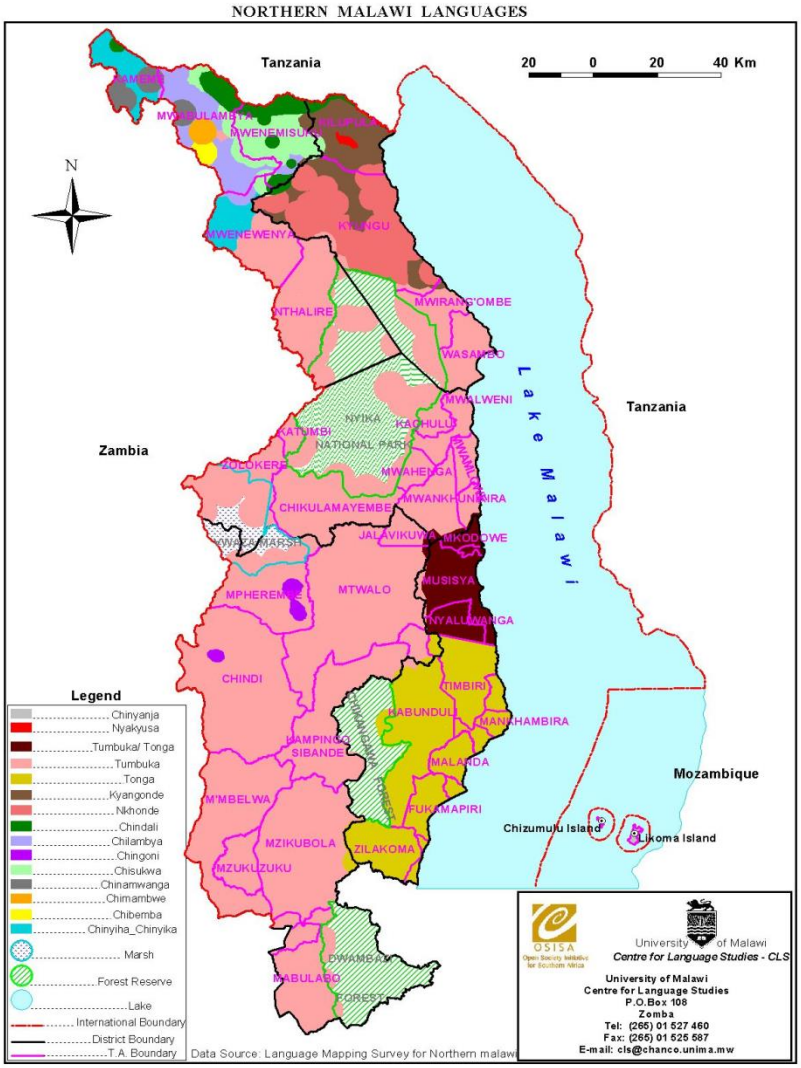
ing process. This in a way helped to promote the language and possibly explains the spread of the language throughout the northern Malawi. According to the current Chikulamayembe, the Ngoni left Nkhamanga and the Henga valley due to tsetse flies that were killing their cattle and went to settle in Mzimba (personal communication during data collection fieldwork in 2008).

The history of the Tumbuka people and the pattern of Ngoni migrations have implications on the history of Citumbuka. The language came into contact with so many languages and cultures and in the process it may have had influences from these languages. While the Tumbuka chose to be led by foreigners and succumbed to the Ngoni cultures and traditions, they have held on to their language. Tumbuka culture has greatly been influenced by the Ngoni cultural traditions, for example the patrilineal succession, virilocal residence and paying of dowry, locally known as lobola, and domestication of cattle. Citumbuka has survived the contact with the languages of the Ngonde, Balowoka, Swahili, Bemba, Tonga and Ngoni people and many other groups that passed through the northern corridor on their way or invaded them. However, Cingoni has contributed a lot to the vocabulary of Citumbuka. To this day, varieties of Citumbuka and Chichewa in areas where the Ngoni groups settled are called Cingoni and are entered as Cingoni in national census reports.

1.1.2. Language Classification and Geographical distribution

Malawi is divided into three administrative regions, Northern, Central and Southern regions. The three regions are divided into a total of 28 districts. The Northern Region has six districts. Citumbuka is a Bantu language from the Southern Narrow Bantu group classified as N21 by Guthrie (1971). It is one of the major Malawian languages, spoken mainly in the Northern Region of Malawi. It is also spoken in the north eastern Province of Zambia, mainly Isoka district. Other names used to refer to the language include Chitumbuka, Tamboka, Tambuka, Timbuka, Tombucas, Tumboka (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015). According to Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2015), Citumbuka has a total population of speakers amounting to 2,566,000, consisting of 2,200,000 speakers in Malawi and 366,000 in Zambia. Its neighbouring languages include Lambya and Nyiha in the central part of Chitipa district particularly in Chisenga area bordering Traditional Authorities Wenya and Mwenemisuku; Kyangonde and Nyakyusa in Karonga district; Citonga in Rumphi east along the shores of Lake Malawi; and Nkhata Bay north and west as well as Nkhotakota north west; and Chichewa in Kasungu North (CLS 2006). A map of the distribution of Citumbuka based on the

National Language Mapping Surveys (CLS 2006) is included in figure 1.1 below.



Map 1.1 Map of northern Malawi showing languages spoken there

Citumbuka is the language of the Tumbuka people; hence it is sometimes referred to as Tumbuka language. However, being a regional *lingua franca*, not all speakers of this language are ethnically Tumbukas.. Citumbuka is the most dominant language of Rumphi district, the cradle of the Tumbuka people, and also Mzimba district, with a large number of native speakers being monolinguals. From Rumphi west and Mzimba west, it spreads to the bordering districts of eastern Zambia. In Chitipa, Citumbuka is the most dominant language in Traditional Authorities (TAs) Nthalire, which borders with Rumphi, and Wenya where the language shares boundaries with Cinyika, Cilambya, Cisukwa and Ciwandya. In Karonga district, Citumbuka is spoken in all areas of TAs Wasambo and Mwirang'ombe and parts of TAs Kilupula and Kyungu. In Nkhata Bay, which is a Citonga speaking district, Citumbuka is spoken mainly in areas bordering with Rumphi in the northern part especially in TAs Mwausisya, Boghoyo, Mbwana and areas bordering Mzimba in the western part of Nkhata Bay. For more details on the geographical distribution of Citumbuka, see *Map 1.1* above. As already pointed out, where Citumbuka is not dominant, speakers of other languages use it as a language of wider communication.

1.1.3. The Post-colonial linguistic environment

Malawi is a multilingual country with about 15 Bantu languages spoken within its borders (Kishindo 1998: 253, CLS 2006). It shares borders with Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia. During Banda's dictatorship it was clearly directed at the 1968 party Convention that English should be the official language of Malawi while Chichewa should be the sole national language as well semi-official language. Chichewa was also to be the only the language to be used in the education system as a subject of study throughout the education system and as a medium of instruction in all primary schools from standards 1-4. It was also the only local language to be used in both print and electronic media, while Citumbuka, Kyangonde, Citonga and Ciyawo, which had been in use in some official domains including in education domain, prior to the 1968 directive, were banned from any official domain (Kishindo 1998, CLS 2006). Deliberate efforts were put in place by Dr. Banda to develop Chichewa such as creating the Chichewa Board, radio programmes on the state radio meant to prescribe how the language should be used, and the establishment of a department of Chichewa and Linguistics at the University of Malawi. This has enabled Chichewa to be exposed to scholarly research to the disadvantage of Citumbuka and other local languages in the country as Kishindo (1994 and 1998) also observes. However, no monolingual dictionary and comprehensive description of Chichewa was achieved during his era. With the emergence of the multiparty democracy in 1994, other local languages have been recognised and are finding their way into some official domains especially the state radio. The Chichewa and Linguistics department is now called African Languages

and Linguistics department while the Chichewa Board has been replaced with the Centre for Languages (CLS) to give equal opportunities to the development and research of the other Malawian languages. However, there remains a lot of work to be done for the other languages to reach the level of Chichewa. Almost all Malawian languages are yet to be described to the level of linguistic scholarship.

1.1.4. Dialects/Varieties

The Language Mapping Survey conducted by CLS identified the following Citumbuka varieties: Ciphoka, Cihenga, Cisisya/Cinyaluŵanga, Cingoni, Cikamanga, Cinyanja, Citumbunyika, Cimphangweni, as some of the Malawian varieties of Citumbuka. Cisenga was mentioned as a dialect spoken on the Zambian side, Cisenga is distinct from Cinsenga (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015). Other dialects of Citumbuka on the Zambian side are Yombe, Fungwe, Nenya, Fililwa, and Magodi (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2015). Most of these dialects are named after the names of places where they are spoken. Ciphoka is spoken in the areas around Phoka hills in Rumphi while Cihenga is spoken in the Henga valley of the same district. Cisisya which is a mixture of Citonga and Citumbuka, is spoken in Usisya and Nyaluwanga in the northern part of Nkhata Bay. Cinyanja is the dialect spoken along the shores of Lake Malawi in Rumphi district. *Nyanja* in Citumbuka means 'lake' and thus the name Cinyanja means the variety spoken by the lake shore side (this should be distinguished from the Chichewa-Chinyanja of Guthrie's N31). Cikamanga is the variety spoken in the Nkhamanga plain in Rumphi district while Cimphangweni is spoken in areas bordering Nkhata Bay and Nkhotakota districts which stretches to Embangweni south of Mzimba ditrict. It has been influenced by both Citonga and Cingoni. The variety of Citumbuka spoken in Mzimba district is referred to as Cingoni because it is highly influenced by Cingoni (S42) in terms of vocabulary. Mzimba is dominated by the Ngoni. Although Cingoni has almost disappeared among the Ngoni people of Mzimba, there are still some residues in terms of vocabulary found in the Citumbuka spoken in the district (Kishindo 2007; Soko 2007). The data in the current study was recorded in Rumphi districts in the Nkhamanga and Henga areas under TAs Chikulamayembe, Mwahenga and Mwankhunikira. My data from Citumbuka books and the bible may have been written by authors from different areas. All the Tumbuka dialects are mutually intelligible.

1.1.5. Language Use

Citumbuka is first and foremost used as a regional *lingua franca* in northern Malawi. It is also used as a mark of identity and solidarity among different

ethnic groups of northern Malawi. It is unofficially used as a medium of instruction in primary schools within the region, especially in the first four grades. It is also the main language used in churches. At the official level, the language is used for news broadcasting and very few developmental programs on the state radio. Age and speech domains also contribute to speakers' choice to use the language or not. CLS (2006) observed the following trends: (a) while everyone is comfortable using the language at home with family and friends, the younger generation may opt to use Chichewa, the national language, when they are away from the northern region; (b) the youth argue that they use Chichewa for fear of being known as coming from the northern region despite the fact that the influence of Citumbuka in their Chichewa still gives them away; (c) the older generation does not mind whether they are at home or not as they struggle to speak Chichewa and their loyalty to Citumbuka is quite high; (d) speakers of other languages may opt for Citumbuka away from their home areas within the region and stick to their own native languages at home.

Language loyalty among the speakers of Citumbuka is very high. This is evidenced by their ability to establish the Citumbuka Language and Culture Association (CLACA) with the objective of conserving both the language and culture of the Tumbuka. Through this association, they are able to comment on issues regarding their language. Kamwendo (2004) reports that the association had the temerity of trying to monitor how the language is used on the state radio and other media, mostly recommending use of the variety spoken in the villages. This tendency should not be surprising since CLACA is only doing what the Chichewa Board was doing for Chichewa and what the Academie Francaise does for French. A conversation with the core members of this association also reveals that it also has a task of campaigning for the inclusion of Citumbuka in the education system both as a medium of instruction and subject of study. Most of these core members went to school before the 1968 convention when Citumbuka was both medium of instruction and subject of study in the region. They argue that the Ministry of Education should not worry about the teaching materials because they are ready to improve on the ones that were used when they were in school before the first regime ordered Citumbuka off the education system. To prove their point, they are now editing "A grammar of the Tumbuka" written by the early White Fathers missionaries (unpublished manuscript) aimed at equipping foreign priests with basic skills of the language. However, the glaring irony of the situation here is that the grammar is in English and not Citumbuka, the language that they are advocating.

Interviews conducted by the Centre for Language Studies during their Sociolinguistic Surveys (1999) as well as the (2006) Language Mapping Survey also reveal a high degree of language loyalty among the Citumbuka speakers. Most of the people interviewed said they would love to see Ci-

tumbuka back in schools both as a subject of study and medium of instruction as a way of promoting and safeguarding the language. Recent debates on whether to constitutionalize Chichewa as Malawi's national language clearly show that Citumbuka speakers including the youth are against the proposal. Citumbuka speakers, led by the Livingstonia synod as well as CLACA, have been arguing that if Chichewa is included in the constitution as the sole national language, it could lead to the demise of other local languages especially Citumbuka. This also shows how strongly the native speakers feel about Citumbuka.

Citumbuka being a regional *lingua franca* has been in contact with several languages within the northern region. At national level, the introduction of Chichewa as the sole local language of study and also as medium of instruction in lower primary school has also enabled it to be in contact with other local languages including Citumbuka. Contact between Chichewa and Citumbuka has had a huge impact on Citumbuka in various ways. Speakers of Citumbuka struggle to read and write sounds that are unique to Citumbuka. In Karonga, Chitipa and Nkhata Bay, Citumbuka is also in contact with other local languages spoken in these districts. Historically, the invasion of the Tumbuka by the Ngoni also brought Citumbuka into contact with Cingoni and the languages of their captives.

1.1.6. Available Literature

Results of the 2006 Language mapping survey conducted by the CLS reveal that Citumbuka has quite a considerable amount written materials which date back to the time when it was used as a medium of instruction by the Livingstonia mission. Some of the literature was used for teaching the language as a subject of study, others are readers meant to supplement the teaching/learning materials mostly written by graduates of the Livingstonia Mission schools. Most of the written materials are Christian literature published by the Livingstonia Synod as well as Catholic Mission stations. There is also a Citumbuka translation of the bible, *Mazgu ya Ciuta*, published by the Bible Society of Malawi (1995). Since most of the church business is conducted in Citumbuka in the north, there are a variety of small publications written in the language including hymn books, prayer books, tracts as well as catechisms.

In their struggle to learn and comprehend the language, missionaries tried to compile bilingual/ trilingual dictionaries. Some of the dictionaries were published while others were kept in their institutions. Some of them include Turner's (1952) *Tumbuka-Tonga-English and English-Tumbuka Tonga Dictionary*, Catholic Mission's *Chitumbuka-English dictionary*. The CLS is currently working on the first monolingual dictionary under the Malawi Lexicon Project which will be web based and will also have a simplified

print version to be used in schools in readiness of the approval of Mother-tongue Instruction Policy. Recently, *The Nation Publications* has introduced a fortnightly supplementary publication called *Fuko*, published in Chichewa and Citumbuka targeting the rural community.

1.1.7. Literacy

The National Statistical Office of Malawi in its Population and Housing census reports only document language literacy rates figures for English and Chichewa and then group the rest of the Malawian languages together without specifying them (NSO, 2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report, Table 16). The 2008 census figures show that the northern region has the highest literacy rate at 77% followed by central region at 63% and the southern region at 62% among people aged five years and above. The 2010 Malawi Demographic and Health Survey (MDHS) Report shows that the north has the highest literacy rate at 80% compared to the central region and southern region at 64% and 67%, respectively. Their targeted age group was 15-49. The MDHS indicate that their literacy assessment is based on a person's ability to read all or part of a simple sentence in any of the following languages: English, Chichewa, Ciyawo or Citumbuka. Thus, no language specific literacy details are available for Citumbuka and other local languages. However, it is common among native speakers of these local languages to transfer their literacy skills from Chichewa to their native languages. Many people in the northern region of Malawi, where Citumbuka is the lingua franca, are literate in Citumbuka. For example, they can read the bible, catechisms, hymns, notices posted in their churches and other religious gatherings. People are able to read notices in the language posted in places such as markets, government offices and hospitals.

1.2. Orthography

There have been diverse Citumbuka orthographies in use prompting the need to have a standard orthography. CLS put together a committee comprising of linguists and native speakers to produce a standard orthography for the language. The idea to have a standard orthography was also necessitated by discussions to bring back Citumbuka into the education system. CLS embarked on the standardization process in 2000 and the first edition of the orthography was published in 2006. The standard orthography draws inspiration from the harmonised orthographies for cross-border languages in Southern Africa being promoted by the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS). In this orthography the voiced bilabial fricative [β] is represented by [*ŵ*]. The presence of /h/ in consonantal cluster marks aspiration for example, *kala* 'scratch' *khala*'sit'. The digraph *ch* represents the sound [ʧʰ]. The velar fricative /ɣ/ is represented by the digraph *gh.*

Citumbuka is not a tonal language. It has five vowels and all of them are short in quality and these are a, e, i, o u (CLS 2005). Citumbuka consonant phonemes are presented in the table below.

Table 1.1: Citumbuka consonant phonemes

Citumbuka consonant	**Example**	**English translation**
b /b/	*bala*	'porridge'
c / ʧ/	Citumbuka	Citumbuka
ch /ʧ^{h}/	*chalichi*	'church'
d /d/	*dula*	'be expensive'
f /f/	*fula*	'dig up'
g /g/	*gaga*	'maize husks'
gh /ɣ/	*ghanaghana*	'think'
h /h/	*hala*	'inherit'
j /ʤ/	*jembe*	'hoe'
k /k/	*kula*	'grow'
kh /k^{h}/	*khuni*	'tree'
l /l/	*luta*	'go'
m /m/	*amama*	'my mother'
n /n/	*nena*	'say/insult'
ny /ɲ/	*nyumba*	'house'
ng' /ŋ/	*ng'ombe*	'cattle'
p /p/	*pepala*	'paper'
ph /p^{h}/	*phika*	'cook'
s /s/	*suka*	'wash something'
r /r/	*lira*	'cry'
t /t/	*tola*	'pick'
th /t^{h}/	*otha*	'warm yourself to some heat source'
v /v/	*vula*	'rain/undress'
w /w/	*iwa*	'fall down'
ŵ /β/	*ŵana*	'children'
y /j/	*kuyenda*	'to walk'
z /z/	*zula*	'be full

Below is a table showing Citumbuka consonantal clusters.

Table 1.2: Citumbuka permitted consonant clusters

consonant	**consonant clusters**	**Example**	**English translation**
b	bw	kubwata	‘to boil’
c	cw	kucweta	‘to cry hard’
d	dw	kucedwa	‘to be late’
	dy	kudyelewuka	‘to be slippery’
f	fw	*kufwa*	‘to die’
	fy	*kufyula*	‘to wipe’
g	gw	kugwada	‘to kneel down’
j	jw	ku*jwanthila*	‘to limp’
k	khw	*khwanya*	‘bean leaves’
	kw	kukwela	‘to climb’
l	lw	kulwa	‘to fight some battle’
	ly	kulya	‘to eat’
m	mb	mbale	‘plate’
	mbw	*mbwambwantha*	‘shiver’
	mby	*mbyululu*	‘stripe’
	mc	*mcila*	‘tail’
	ml	mlimi	‘farmer’
	mph	mphasa	‘mat’
	mphw	mphwaŵi	‘lack of initiative’
	mphy	*pyumphyu*	‘overzealousness’
	ms	msepuka	‘little boy’
	msw	msweni	‘husband’
	mt	mteŵeti	‘deacon’
	mthy	mthyemu	‘sneeze’
	mw	mwana	‘child’
	my	kumyanga	‘to lick’
n	nch	nchito	‘work’
	nd	mtunda	‘distance on land’
	ndw	ndwadwa	‘semi-fresh maize cob’,
	ng	ng’anga	‘witch doctor’
	ngw	*zingwa*	‘be surround by problems’
	ng’w	*ng’wina*	‘crocodile’
	nj	*njala*	‘hunger’
	nkh	*nkhalo*	‘behaviour’
	nkhw	*nkhwapa*	‘arm pit’
	nth	*vinthu*	‘things’
	nthw	*nthwake*	‘they belong to

			him/her’
	ny	*enya*	‘yes’
	nw	*nweka*	‘be anxious’
p	ph	kuphala	‘to win’
	phw	*phwafula*	‘deflate’
	pw	as *pwelelela*	‘care for’
	phy	*kuphya*	‘to be cooked/to be burnt’
	py	*vipyo*	‘ sufferings’
s	sk	*suska*	‘oppose’
	sw	*viswaswa*	‘garbage’
t	thw	*kuthwa*	‘to be sharp’
	thy	*kuthya*	‘to trap’
v	vw	*kuvwala*	‘to wear or put on’
	vy	*vyakulya*	‘foods’
z	zg	*zgolo*	‘an answer’
	zw	*zizwa*	‘be surprised’

The list of consonant phonemes and consonant clusters are taken from CLS’s (2005) The *Standardized Orthography of Citumbuka* except for the IPA symbols in the phoneme table.

1.3. Earlier studies of Citumbuka

“Tumbuka is a language that has not enjoyed much linguistic analysis and description in spite of the large number of people who speak it and the wide expanse of territory over which it is spoken” (Vail 1972: xix). Nearly forty five years down the line, Vail’s (1972) observation still holds true. Citumbuka remains one of the understudied languages to this day. Most of the earliest works on Citumbuka were done by the early Christian missionaries for the purpose of aiding them to understand the language and to impart literacy among their followers and for evangelization. These works include Emslie (1891), Young (1932) and Mackenzie (1913). In more recent times language scholars have become interested in systematically describing Citumbuka. For example, Vail (1971) focuses on the description of the noun class system in the language and Vail (1972) concentrates on the description of aspects of the verb. Phiri (1980) describes nominal derivation in Citumbuka with special reference to deverbatives. The current study builds on Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980). Mphande (1989) gives a detailed phonetic, phonological and morphological characterisation of the ideophone in Citumbuka. Kiso (2012) compares tense and aspect systems of Citumbuka, Cisena and Chichewa. The Malawi Lexicon NUFU project (2007-2013) aimed at generating a corpus of Citumbuka, Ciyawo and Chichewa from which online monolingual dictionaries are being compiled. So

a simplified version of the Ciyawo dictionary has already been published while the Citumbuka manuscript is almost ready for publication.

1.4. Noun Class system

Nouns across Bantu languages are grouped into noun classes, also known as grammatical gender. Citumbuka has 18 noun classes. Each noun class is numbered conventionally. The noun classes generally exist in pairs. For instance, nouns in class 1 have their plural counterparts in class 2, those in class 3 have their plurals in class 4 and so forth. However this does not work for all the noun classes. As we will see in the table below, nouns in classes 15-18 have no plural due to their semantics. Nouns in class 11 have their plurals in class 6. Nouns in class 14 are mostly collectives and abstract entities which are not countable. Where a plural counterpart of class 14 exists, it goes into class 6. Some nouns in class 9 also have their plurals in class 6 e.g. *nthenda* 'disease' vs *matenda* 'diseases'. It is common to find borrowed nouns in class 9 having their plurals in class 6. E.g. *shati* 'shirt' and *mashati* 'shirts', nyuzipepala 'newspaper' and *manyuzipepala* 'newspapers'.

Noun class prefixes and concordial agreement markers are used to identify the noun classes. The semantic content of certain particular nouns also guides one to the appropriate noun class. For instance, nouns in classes 12 and 13 are characterised by their diminutive nature. Clases 1/2 are associated with human beings. Proper names in Citumbuka, regardless of the things they name for examples places, rivers, domestic animals, objects, humans, are found in class 1/2. Classes 15 and 17 both use the prefix *ku-* and both use the same prefix *ku-* for concordial agreement. The major difference between the two classes is that class 15 *ku-* is attached to verbs only while class 17 is attached to nouns. Class 15 *ku-* is an infinitival marker, hence the class is also known as the infinitival noun class. In certain environments, the infinitival *ku-* functions purely as a verb. Below is a table of Citumbuka noun classes based on Vail (1971) with some modification.

Table 1.3*: List of Citumbuka noun classes and their examples*

Noun class	**Nominal prefix**	**Subject marker**	**Object marker**	**Associative marker**	**Examples**
1	mu-	wa-	mu-	w-	mu-nthu w-ane ‘my person’
1.a	ø-	wa-	mu-	w-	kalulu w-ane ‘my rabbit’
2	ŵa-	ŵa-	ŵa-	ŵ-	ŵa-nthu ŵ-ane ‘my people’
3	mu-	wa-	u-	w-	mu-nwe w-ane ‘my finger’
4	mi-	ya-	yi-	y-	mi-nwe y-ane ‘my fingers’
5	li-	li-	li-	l-	jembe l-ane ‘my hoe’
6	ma-	gha-	gha-	gh-	ma-yembe gh-ane ‘my hoes’
7	ci-	ci-	ci-	c-	ci-soti c-ane ‘my hat’
8	vi-	vi-	vi-	v-	vi-pewa vy-ane ‘my hats’
9	ø-	yi-	yi-	y-	njinga y-ane ‘my bicycle’
10	ø-	zi-	zi-	z-	njinga z-ane ‘my bicycles’
11	lu-	lw-/l-	lu-/li-	l-	lu-lombo lw-ane ‘my prayer’
12	ka-	ka-	ka-	k-	ka-mu-nthu k-ane ‘my little person’
13	tu-	tu-	tu-	tw-	tu-ŵa-nthu tw-ane ‘my little people’
14	u-	wa-	u-	w-	uheni w-ane ‘my evil nature
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-imba kw-ane’ ‘my singing’
16	pa-	pa-	pa-	p-	pa-nyumba p-ane ‘at my house’
17	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-nyumba kw-ane ‘at my house’
18	mu-	mu-	mu-	mu-	mu-nyumba mw-ane ‘in my house’

1.5. An overview of Bantu verb extensions

Verb extensions are verbal derivational morphemes that may be suffixed to the verb stem (Bearth 2003). They form an integral part of verbal morphology in most Bantu languages. The canonical extension has the structure -VC-, with some extensions having -V-/VCV (Schadeberg 2003:72). The extension is inserted after the root and before the final vowel. Bantu verb extensions do not form a neat semantic or syntactic system (Schadeberg 2003:73). Extension suffixes can either increase, decrease or maintain the verb valency. Adding one or more extensions to the verb stem modifies the syntactic frame associated with the verb (Bearth 2003:126; Good 2005; Fleish 2005). Extensions differ in terms of productivity, some are less productive while others are more productive and yet others are not productive at all. The most productive extensions are passive, causative, applicative and reciprocal. Several extensions can combine in the same verb stem (Schadeberg 2003:73). The extensions combine in such a way that the less productive ones will appear closer to the verb stem. The attachment of verb extensions, though a morphological process, affects the grammatical relations in a sentence.

Passive

'The extension indicates that the subject is acted upon by the agent' (Lodhi 2002; 5). Passivization decreases the verb valency by one. The most widespread passive extension is *-(ib)-w-/-(ig)w-* (Fleisch 2005: 94). The *-ik-* neuter-passive has been attested in typical passive contexts in Ndonga (Fleisch 2005:95 citing Fivaz 1986). The passive extension is very productive in many Bantu languages. Some Bantu languages like Ngala, Ngombe are known to have lost the passive extension and instead use the stative extension *-am-* to mark the passive (Lodhi 2002:5). In Citumbuka, the stative extension *-ik-* has replaced the passive extension -i*w-* such that *-ik-* has almost replaced functions both as stative and passive extension suffix.

Reciprocal

The reciprocal extension most widely used in Bantu languages is *-an-*. It is also known as the associative extension. The most productive function of the extension is deriving reciprocals. Reciprocals require more than one agent that are at the same time patients and involved in symmetrical activity. The extension also has non-reciprocal functions in many Bantu languages, for instance repetitive, intensive, joint actions by several agents, and actions directed towards several other people. The extension is also used to denote association (Lodhi 2002:7). In Citumbuka the non-reciprocal use of *-an-* includes the derivation of depatientives and anticausatives.

Applicative
The applicative extension in most Bantu languages is *-il-/el-* subject to vowel harmony. The applicative is also known as the dative, prepositional and the directive extension. The applicative can be derived from about any verb (Schadeberg 2003). In an applicative, a new argument is introduced which takes over objet properties of the base object except for the motive and manner applicative. The new object may have the following semantic roles: beneficiary, place, time, instrument, ingredients, reason/motive/purpose. In Citumbuka the introduced NP may also be a judger as is the case in judicantis applicative.

Causative
The causative in most languages is *-i-* after consonant or *-ici-* after a vowel (Schadeberg 2003). There are other complicated causative forms with the original -ya forms such as -i*ma*/i*mya* ('get up/raise') in Lamba and *ona/onya* ('see/warn') and *ogopa/ogofya* ('fear/frighten') in Kiswahili (Lodhi 2002: 6). The same scenario is observed in Citumbuka with the *-y-* causative. In addition to the*-y-* causative form, Citumbuka has *-isk-*, which is the most productive form in the language. The extensions can be added to both transitive and intransitive bases. Suffixation of a causative extension introduces a new argument that becomes the new subject and plays the role of the causer. The semantics of causatives includes coercion, assistive, and intensity.

Positional/stative
The positional extension *-am-* is one of the less productive extensions. The common meaning associated with the extension is assuming a position or being in a certain position. It is used to form passive verbs in a group of contiguous languages in Zone C e.g. Lingala, Ngombe and Mono (Schadeberg 2003:76).

Extensive
The extensive extension, *-al-* is productive in some Southern Bantu languages. It expresses the meaning "to be in a spread out position" (Schadeberg 2003:76). The extension is also called the durative (Lodhi 2002).

Impositive
The impositive extension *-ik-* is homophonous with the *-ik-* neuter/stative. It is a kind of causative associated with expressing direct causation. Its more precise meaning is to put something into some position.

Neuter/stative *ik*
The extension *-ik-* is homophonous with the impositive. It is associated with verbs of destruction and verbs of experience. It is very productive in

some languages such that it can be combined with a wide range of transitive basic verbs (Schadeberg 2003). In neuter/stative derivations no agent is implied and it is impossible to express the agent.

Tentative/contactive
It is not known to be productive in any language. The tentative extension -*at*- expresses the meaning of actively making firm contact.

The Reversive/Conversive/Separative
There are two extensions, -*ul*- and -*uk*-. Separative verbs are frequent but cannot be freely formed from other verbs. The extension expresses reversal of an action (Lodhi 2002). However, as argued by Schadeberg (2003), the definition only fits a small portion of data and does not say which member in a given pair will have the separative extension. There are verbs with the separative extension that do not have their non-reversive counterparts.

1.6. Data

The data used in this thesis was collected under the Malawi Lexicon (MaLex) NUFU project with the main goal of developing Chichewa, Ciyawo and Citumbuka monolingual dictionaries. This thesis is part of the NUFU MaLex project. Data collection for the Citumbuka dictionary involved going to Citumbuka speaking areas like Nkhamanga and Henga areas in Rumphi district to record stories, folktales, group discussions on diverse topics using audio recorders with the aim of producing a corpus from which a list of words for dictionary entries would be generated. The recorded data was transcribed into word texts amounting to data size of 1.47MB. The corpus also included texts from translated documents available at the Centre for Language Studies. The corpus plus the tools for compiling online dictionaries were archived on the CLS local server with an off-shore back up. Currently, the corpus can be accessed online using the following link; *http://www.unima-cls.org/corpus/*. The corpus was only accessible at the CLS since the work on dictionaries was still in progress. The author of the thesis kept a copy of the word documents copies of the corpus for easy access while away from CLS. Citumbuka books were sought from the National Archives Library in Zomba and from speakers who had kept copies of Citumbuka books in their homes during the fieldwork.

The author of the current thesis is a native speaker. She also made wide consultations with other speakers in the course of writing this thesis. Relevant data from Citumbuka story books, *Fuko* newspaper, and natural conversations were also used. While visiting or staying in Citumbuka speaking communities, the author used that chance to record interesting data in a notebook. For example the use of causative suffixes as verbalizers, recipro-

cal suffix in non-reciprocal situations, as well "autobenefactive" causatives were observed to be very common in daily conversations, inspiring the author to include them in her study of verbal derivation.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured into ten chapters. Chapter one is an introduction. Chapter two discusses grammatical relations in Citumbuka. The chapter is crucial for the present investigation as it sets the criteria for identifying the object, core and non-core arguments and adjuncts in Citumbuka. The chapter also discusses prepositional phrases in Citumbuka and concludes that some are non-core arguments while others are mere adjuncts. Chapter two also investigates the function of the comitative *na* and concludes that Citumbuka is a "With-language". Chapter three investigates object marking in Citumbuka and concludes that object marking in Citumbuka is largely optional. Only one object marker is allowed per verb. Object marking has a tendency of indicating definiteness and specificity.

Chapter four discusses passive derivational suffixes *-ik-* and *-i/w-* in Citumbuka. The suffix *-ik-* is more widely used and it also marks neuter-passive, and potential passive. While in the passive the agent is implied, in the neuter-passive it is deleted and therefore cannot be implied at all. The suffix *-ik* is also homophonous to the *-ik* causative which is discussed in chapter 6. Suffixation of the passive suffix in Citumbuka demotes the agent and introduces a new subject. The grammatical subject of the passive can be a logical object or the default agreement prefix marker *ku-* for impersonal passives. Impersonal passives can be derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs including unergative verbs. The chapter concludes that the passive in Citumbuka suppresses the agent but does not always promote the logical object to the subject position.

Chapter five discusses the reciprocal derivational suffix, *-an*, in Citumbuka. The reciprocal suffix has pluractional aspect and only attaches to transitive verbs. The suffix has a wide range of usages including deriving reciprocal, anticausative, associative (or collective), distributive and de-objective (or-depatientive/antipassive) expressions. In constructions with the reciprocal suffix there are several participants (or comparable parts) that are engaged in symmetrical activity or state of affairs. The depatientive parallels the impersonal passive discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter six discusses the applicative in Citumbuka. The applicative suffix, *-il* introduces an applied object (AO) with a range of functions: beneficiary, maleficiary, possessor, goal, locative (and source, path), instrument (and ingredients), judicantis. It also introduces non-object NPs: motive, sociative and manner. The AOs are always required and therefore core arguments.

They take over object properties of base objects which become non-core arguments. Double applicatives have been analyzed as instances of applicative reduplication.

Chapter seven discusses the causative derivational suffixes in Citumbuka. There are three causative derivational suffixes in Citumbuka, these are *-ik-*, *-y-* and *-isk-*. The suffix *-ik-* is the least productive while *-isk-* is the most productive form. The first two tend to be associated with direct causation, while *-isk-* tends to be associated with indirect causation. Double suffixation of the causative suffixes signifies multiple and/or distant causation. Chapter eight discusses the excessive (also known as the intensive) derivational suffix in Citumbuka, *-ísk-*. Doubling or tripling of the excessive marker signals degree of excessiveness.

Chapter nine investigates the ordering of the derivational suffixes in Citumbuka. It concludes that suffix order in Citumbuka is compositional and templatic. Chapter ten summarises and concludes the thesis and makes recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2

2. Grammatical Relations

2.1. Introduction

Grammatical relations are generally described as relations between arguments and predicates at a level of linguistic structure that is independent of semantic and pragmatic influences (Payne, 1997; Hyman and Duranti 1982; Comrie, Haspelmath, & Malchukov, 2010; Comrie, 1989). Subject, (direct) object and oblique are the grammatical relations identified in Bantu languages (Hyman and Duranti, 1982). In Citumbuka the subject triggers agreement on the verb. The subject agreement can be with / controlled by any referential noun phrase (NP), locative noun classes 16, 17, 18, or the default agreement class 17. The second relevant grammatical relation is (direct) object. There are three widely used tests to determine objecthood in Bantu: passivization, word order and object marking (Hyman and Duranti 1982; Schadeberg 1995). It is demonstrated in this chapter that word order (specifically, the post-verbal position of noun phrases) is not a reliable test for determining objecthood in Citumbuka, since adjuncts can also occur immediately after the verb (IAV). Object marking and passivization have been used to identify objects. The subject and object are the core arguments in Citumbuka. Demoted base objects of applicative and causatives form non-core arguments; the same is true for the theme argument in non-derived ditransitives. Arguments are always required, and where they are not expressed they are implied.

Locatives are definitely arguments and objects in derived applicative constructions. In non-derived constructions however, locative NPs show both object-like and adjunct properties. Properties of locative NPs are somewhat fuzzy and require further syntactic investigation. Similarly, in derived instrument applicatives, instruments are definitely arguments and both the instrument and the theme display object properties in Citumbuka. This also calls for a comprehensive syntactic analysis of Citumbuka.

The chapter also discusses prepositional phrases in Citumbuka and concludes that some are arguments while others are mere adjuncts. The chapter concludes that in Citumbuka cognate objects are syntactic objects since they can passivize as well as take OM.

2.2. Basic word order in Citumbuka

The basic word order for a simple transitive sentence in Citumbuka is Subject+Verb+Object (SVO). Bearth (2003) notes that the SVO order in Bantu languages may be expanded by adding adjuncts which are represented by an X, giving the order SVOX. The extended basic word order for Citumbu-

ka is SVOX. Other word orders are also possible as illustrated in the examples below.

1. a Pokani w-a-gul-a galimoto.
   1.Pokani 1.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.car
   'Pokani has bought a car.´
   b W-a-gul-a galimoto Pokani.
   1.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.car 1.Pokani
   ´Pokani has bought a car.´
   c Galimoto w-a-gul-a Pokani.
   9.car 1.SM-Perf-buy-FV 1.Pokani
   ´Pokani has bought a car.´
   d Pokani galimoto w-a-gul-a.
   1.Pokani 9.car 1.SM-Perf-buy-FV.
   ´Pokani has bought a car.´

Example (1a) illustrates the basic word order in Citumbuka. Examples (1b-1d) show that Citumbuka allows other possibilities in addition to the basic word order. For instance, in (1b) unlike (1a), the object precedes the subject while the verb occurs at the beginning of the sentence. In (1c) both object and subject precede the verb while in example (1d) the object precedes the verb. While SVO(X) is the canonical order, the other possible orders are generally influenced by pragmatic factors. For instance, example (1c) is used to express the fact that it is the car that Pokani has bought and not something else. Example (1d) is used to express the fact that it is Pokani who has bought the car.

2.3. The Subject in Citumbuka

2.3.1. Basic properties

The verb in Citumbuka comprises a verb root/radical to which prefixes such as subject marker (SM), tense/aspect/mood, object marker (OM), and suffix extensions such as applicative, causative, passive are attached. The subject in a canonical clause occurs sentence-initially, precedes the verb and determines subject agreement on the verb. Citumbuka, being a pro-drop language, can optionally drop the subject. The subject marker (SM) carries pronominal features of the subject such that when the subject is dropped the sentence remains grammatical. The SM is obligatory. The following examples illustrate this:

2. a Yoswa wa-ka-b-a nkhuni.
   1.Yoswa 1.SM-Pst-steal-FV 10.Firewood
   'Yoswa stole firewood.'

b *Yoswa ka-b-a nkhuni.
1.Yoswa Pst-steal-FV 10.firewood
'Yoswa stole firewood.'
c Wa-ka-b-a nkhuni.
1.SM-Pst-steal-FV 10.Firewood
'S/he stole firewood.'

3. a Iyo wa-ku-jul-a nyumba.
3SG 3SG.SM-Pres-open-FV 9.house
'S/he is opening a house.'
b *Iyo ku-jul-a nyumba.
3SG Pres-open-FV 9.house
'S/he is opening a house.'
c Wa-ku-jul-a nyumba.
3SG.SM-Pres-open-FV 9.house
'S/he is opening a house.'

In (2b) and (3b) above, the sentences are ungrammatical with the absence of SM on the verb. The examples in (c) show that dropping the subject is permitted as long there is a SM on the verb. Every clause has a subject which is obligatorily marked on the verb by agreement or pronominal reference. The subject is a core argument; hence it is required for a sentence to be grammatical.

2.3.2. Locative subjects

Locative subjects are introduced by the locative noun class prefixes from classes 16, 17 and 18, *ku-*, *pa-*, and *mu-*, respectively. The SM must agree with the locative subject. For instance, if the subject is class 17, then the SM must also be class 17, or if the subject is class 16 then the SM should also be marked 16. The following examples illustrate this:

4. a Ku-munda ku-li nkhalamu.
17-3.crop.field 17.SM-be 10.lion
'There are lions at the crop-field.'
b Pa-mphasa pa-ka-khal-a mwana.
16-9.mat 16.SM-Pst-sit-FV 1.child
'A child sat on the mat.'
c Mu-nyumba mu-ka-njir-a nkhuku.
18-9.house 18.SM-Pst-enter-FV 10.chicken
'Chickens entered into the house.'

2.3.3. Noun class 17 prefix *ku-* as default agreement

Buell's (2012) argues that class 17 serves as both a locative class and as a sort of default agreement class in Zulu. He outlines nine different types of cases in which a predicate bears class 17 subject agreement in form of a subject marker (Buell 2012: 3). The subject in default agreement is used without referring to a particular place (Buell 2012; Marten and van der Wal 2014). In Citumbuka the most likely candidates for default agreement constructions are weather constructions, impersonal passives, and expletives. Weather verbs basically lack subjects (Bleotu 2012: 68). However, as shown above, the SM is always required in Citumbuka. Thus, the default class 17 SM is used to meet that need in weather and impersonal constructions. Below are some examples:

5. Ku-ku-zizim-a madazi ghano.
   17.SM-Pres-be.cold-FV 6.day 6.this
   'It is cold these days
6. Ku-ka-put-a mayilo.
   17-Pres-blow-FV yesterday.
   'It was windy yesterday.'
7. Ku-angu-w-a vula muhanya
   17.SM-Rec.Pst-fall-FV 9.rainfall 3.sun
   wuno.
   3.this
   'It rained today.'
8. Ku-a-woch-a usiku wuno.
   17.SM-Perf-burn-FV 14.night 14.this.
   'It is hot tonight.'
9. Ku-a-c-a.
   17.SM-Perf-become_day-FV
   'It is day time.'
10. Ku-ka-fip-a.
    17-Pst-be_dark-FV
    'It became dark.

In the preceding examples all weather constructions have the class 17 prefix *ku-* for subject agreement.

2.4. The Object in Citumbuka

In Bantu literature there are three criteria widely used for identifying the direct object (Riedel, 2009; Mabugu, 2001; Hyman and Duranti, 1982; Ngonyani, 1995, Ngonyani and Githinji 2006, Garry and Keenan 1977). These are (a) postverbal word order, (b) passivization, and (c) object marking. It is generally assumed by Bantuists that an object has access to the

position immediately after the verb, is capable of becoming the subject in passivisation and can be represented by an object marker on the verb complex. In some Bantu languages, animacy plays a significant role in determining the arguments that acquire object properties (Hyman and Duranti 1982, Mabugu 2001) but this is not the case in Citumbuka. In Citumbuka postverbal locatives exhibit properties of an object. In derived applicative constructions however, locative objects are core arguments. It is demonstrated in this chapter that word order is not a criterion for objecthood in Citumbuka.

2.4.1. Arguments and Adjuncts

An argument is an expression that serves to complete the meaning of the predicate. Core arguments are the subject and the object while obliques are non-core arguments in ditransitive constructions. Unlike adjuncts, arguments are necessary in order to complete the meaning of the predicate. A predicate requires certain arguments to complete its meaning. The following examples from Citumbuka illustrate this:

11. a Mtisunge w-a-p-a mwana buku.
1.Mtisunge 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 1.child 5.book
'Mtisunge has given a child a book.'
b *Mtisunge w-a-p-a buku.
1.Mtisunge 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 5.book
'Mtisunge has given book.'
c *Mtisunge w-a-p-a mwana.
1.Mtisunge 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 1.child
'Mtisunge has given a child.'

12. a.Tawonga wa-ka-perek-a buku kwa mwana.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-give-FV 5.book at 1.child
'Tawonga gave a book to a child.'
b *Tawonga wa-ka-perek-a.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-give-Pass-FV
'Tawonga gave.'

13. a Mtinkhe wa-ku-temw-an-a na Suzgika.
1.Mtinkhe 1.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 1.Suzgika
'Mtinkhe and Suzgika love each other.'
b *Mtinkhe wa-ku-temw-an-a.
1.Mtinkhe 1.SM-Pres-buy-Recip-FV
'Mtinkhe loves each other.'

Arguments are divided into two categories, core arguments and non-core arguments. Subject and (direct) object constituents are the core arguments of a verbal predicate while oblique constituents are non-core (Radford, 2004). In examples (11b and c) as well as (12b) and (13b) the sentences are

ungrammatical because they require the presence of the omitted phrases, *kwa mwana* 'to child' and *na Suzgika* 'with Suzgika', respectively. Since these prepositional phrases are required to complete the sentences, they are arguments in these sentences and being obliques, they are non-core arguments.

An adjunct is an expression which serves to provide additional information about place, manner, purpose, duration, of an activity or event (Grimshaw and Vikner 1993; Radford 2004). Adjuncts are often syntactically optional because they can usually be omitted without causing ungrammaticality to the sentence (Thwala 2006). Adjuncts may be words like adverbs of time, manner; or phrases such as PPs or may be an entire clause. Below are examples adjuncts:

14. a **Mulenji** ti-ku-lut-a ku sukulu.
morning 1PL.SM-Pres-go-FV to school
'In the morning we go to school.'
b Ti-ku-lut-a ku sukulu **mulenji**.
1PL.SM-Pres-go-FV to school morning
'We go to school in the morning.'
c Ti-ku-lut-a ku sukulu.
1PL.SM-Pres-go-FV to school
'We go to school.'

15. a Mwana wa-ka-lir-a **nyengo** **yitali**.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV 9.time 9.long
'A child cried for a long time.'
b **Nyengo** **yitali** mwana wa-ka-lir-a.
9.time 9.long 1.child 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV
'A child cried for a long time.'
c Mwana wa-ka-lir-a.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV
'A child cried.'

16. a Mulwali wa-ku-end-a **pacokopacoko**.
1.patient 1.SM-Pres-walk-FV slowly
'A patient is walking slowly.
b **Pacokopacoko** mulwali wa-ku-end-a.
slowly 1.patient 1.SM-Pres-walk-FV
'Slowly, a patient is walking.'
c Mulwali wa-ku-end-a.
1.patient 1.SM-Pres-walk-FV
'A patient is walking.

17. a Ngoza wa-ku-ly-a **sono**.
1.Ngoza 1.SM-Pres-eat-FV now
'Ngoza is eating now.'

b **Sono** Ngoza wa-ku-ly-a.
now 1.Ngoza 1.SM-Pres-eat-FV
'Ngoza is eating now.'
c Ngoza wa-ku-ly-a.
1.Ngoza 1.SM-Pres-eat-FV
'Ngoza is eating.'

The adjunct phrases (in bold) in the examples are adverbial phrases. The examples also show that adverbial adjuncts do not have a fixed position. They may appear at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. Furthermore, the (c) examples show that adjuncts may be optional. Omitting them mayes not lead to ungrammaticality of the sentences that they modify.

Although arguments are obligatory in a clause to complete the meaning of the predicate, some arguments can be omitted without leading to ungrammaticality of the sentence. The reading of the sentence still implies that there is an object even if the object is not overt. Thus, some arguments can be optional. This is illustrated in the following examples:

18. a Yunesi wa-ku-cap-a vyakuvwala.
1.Yunesi 1.SM-Pres-wash-FV 8.cloth
'Yunesi is washing clothes.'
b Yunesi wa-ku-cap-a.
1.Yunesi 1.SM-Pres-wash-FV
'Yunesi is washing.'
19. a Sungani wa-ku-ŵazg-a nyuzi.
1.Sungani 1.SM-Pres-read-FV 9.newspaper
'Sungani is reading a newspaper.'
b Sungani wa-ku-ŵazg-a.
1.Sungani 1.SM-Pres-read-FV
'Sungani is reading.'
20. a Msungwana wa-ku-mw-a phele.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV 5.beer
'The girl drinks beer.'
b Msungwana wa-ku-mw-a.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV
'The girl drinks.'

The verb *capa* 'wash' in example (18) subcategories for two arguments, the washer and something being washed. In Citumbuka the verb is mostly associated with washing clothes and cloth materials in general, but not utensils, tools or people which have specific verbs for such an acitivity. So when the object is omitted in example (18b), we know that the person who is washing is washing some clothes or related items and the object argument is therefore understood as such even when omitted. And in a particu-

lar context, the object of washing is clearly understood. In example (19a) the object of reading is overt, a newspaper. In (19b) the object is omitted but we know that a person has got to be reading something written. So the object of reading is also understood. In (20b) the speakers know that people drink something. It is understood among speakers that if someone utters sentences like (20b) they usually refer to drinking beer. Thus, the object of drinking in (20b) is usually beer or some alcoholic drink.

Arguments of a predicate are determined by the sub-categorization frame of the predicate. A predicate can subcategorize for single, double, triple or more arguments depending on the requirements of a particular predicate. Verbal predicates that subcategorize for one argument only are called intransitive predicates. Verbal predicates that subcategorize for a subject and an object are called monotransitive predicates while those that subcategorize for a subject, an object plus another argument are called ditransitive predicates. Below are examples illustrating intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive predicates from Citumbuka.

21. Tione wa-ka-w-a.
    1.Tione 1.SM-Pst-fall-FV
    'Tione fell.'
22. Tomasi wa-ku-tol-a mbale.
    1.Tomasi 1.SM-Pres-pick-FV 9.plate
    'Tomasi is picking a plate.'
23. Deusi wa-ka-p-a mwana makopala.
    1.Deusi 1.SM-Pst-give-FV 1.child 6.money
    'Deusi gave a child money.'

Example (21) is an intransitive verb subcategorizing for only one argument, a patientive subject. Example (22) illustrates a monotransitive verb subcategorizing for two arguments, an agent and a theme. Example (23) is a ditransitive verb subcategorizing for three arguments, agent, recipient and theme.

2.4.2. Word order is not a criterion for objecthood

As already stated elsewhere, postverbal word order is one of the tests used to determine objecthood in Bantu languages. Adjacency to the verb is considered as one of the properties of an object (Bresnan and Moshi 1993; Hyman and Duranti 1982). In Citumbuka either of the non-subject NPs in ditransitive constructions can occur IAV. In addition to that, adjuncts can also occur IAV. In the following examples, we exemplify cases where either of the non-subject NPs can appear IAV.

24. a Manesi w-a-p-a Melina buku.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 1.Melina 5.book
'Manesi has given Melina a book
b Manesi w-a-p-a buku Melina.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 5.book 1.Melina
'Manesi has given Melina a book.

As we can see in examples (24a) and (24b) above, either of the non-subject NPs can occur IAV. In some Bantu languages animacy is very important in determining which of the two post-verbal arguments in a double object construction is appearing IAV (Hyman and Duranti, 1982). In Sesotho, for instance, while two post-verbal nouns can occur in either order, a non-human noun cannot precede a human noun (Hyman and Duranti, 1982). In examples (24a, 24b) above and (25a, and b) below we can see that this is not the case in Citumbuka.

25. a Manesi w-a-p-a mwana dende.
1.Manesi 1SM-Perf-give-FV 1.child 5.relish
'Manesi has given a child some relish'
b Manesi w-a-p-a dende mwana.
1.Manesi 1SM-Perf-give-FV 5.relish 1child
'Manesi has given a child some relish.'

In examples (25a and 25b), we can see that either of the post-verbal nouns can occur immediately after the verb. The examples also show that animacy does not have an effect on the order of the post-verbal NPs, both animate and inanimate NPs can occupy the position immediately after the verb. In example (25a), it is an animate, *mwana* that occurs immediately after the verb while in (25b) it is an inanimate NP that occurs IAV, preceding the animate NP. In fact in Citumbuka appearing IAV is not restricted to arguments since even adjuncts can occur IAV as we can see in the examples below.

26. a.Msambizgi wa-ka-tum-a buku mayilo.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-send-FV 5.book yesterday
'A teacher sent a book yesterday.'
b. Msambizgi wa-ka-tum-a mayilo buku.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-send-FV yesterday 5.book
'A teacher sent a book yesterday.'

In (26b) the adjunct phrase occurs IAV while in (26a) it is the object that is IAV. Similarly, in locative constructions either the locative object or the other object can be ordered IAV. Examples below illustrate this.

27. a Changa wa-ka-khil-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa got off the bus at Lilongwe.'
b Changa wa-ka-khil-a basi pa
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-FV 9.bus 16.at
Lilongwe
1.Lilongwe
'Changa got off the bus at Lilongwe.'

28. a Chiukepo wa-ka-gul-a pa chalichi somba.
1.Chiukepo 1.Sm-Pst-buy-FV 16.at 5.church 10.fish
'Chiukepo bought fish at the church.'
b Chiukepo wa-ka-gul-a somba pa chalichi.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-buy-FV 10.fish 16.at 5.church
'Chiukepo bought fish at the church.'

This shows that in Citumbuka appearing in IAV is not only restricted to objects. We conclude therefore, that in Citumbuka, post-verbal word order is not a reliable criterion for identifying an object. In the next section, I examine passivization as a criterion for identifying an object in Citumbuka.

2.4.3. Subject of a passive as criterion for objecthood

One of the properties of an object in Bantu languages is its ability to become the subject of a passive construction. In Citumbuka ditransitive constructions, only the non-theme non-subject NPs can become the subject of a passive construction. Thus in a non-derived ditransitive construction, only the recipient can become the subject of the passive as we can see in the examples below.

29. a Maria w-a-tum-a mabuku Yizani.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-send-FV 6.book 1.Yizani
'Maria has sent Yizani books
b Yizani w-a-tum-ik-a mabuku na Maria.
1.Yizani 1.SM-Perf-send-Pass-FV 6.book with 1.Maria
'Yizani has been sent books by Maria'
c.*Mabuku gh-a-tum-ik-a Yizani na Maria.
6.book 6.SM-Perf-send-Pass-FV 1.Yizani with 1.Maria
'Books have been sent to Yizani by Maria.'
d Mabuku gh-a-tum-ik-a kwa Yizani na
6. book 6.SM-Perf-give-Pass-FV at 1.Yizani with
Maria.
1.Maria
'Books have been sent to Yizani by Maria'

e Maria w-a-tum-a mabuku kwa Yizani.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-send-FV 6.book at 1.Yizani
'Maria has sent books to Yizani.'

30. a Manesi w-a-p-a mwana dende.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 1.child 5.relish
'Manesi has given a child relish.'

b Mwana w-a-p-ik-a dende na
1.child 1.SM-Perf-give-Pass-FV 5.relish with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
'The child was given some relish by Manesi'

c.*Dende l-a-p-ik-a mwana na Manesi.
5.relish 5.SM-Perf-give-Pass-FV 1.child with 1.Manesi
'Relish has been given to a child by Manesi.'

d Dende l-a-p-ik-a kwa mwana na
5.relish 5.SM-Perf-give-Pass-FV at 1.child with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
'Some relish has been given to a child by Manesi.'

e Manesi w-a-perek-a dende kwa mwana.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 5.relish at 1.child
'Manesi has given some relish to a child.'

f. *Manesi w-a-p-a dende kwa mwana.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-give-FV 5.relish at 1.child
'Manesi has given some relish to the child.'

Transitive verbs such as *tuma* 'send', *pa* 'give' allow for two different valence schemes (see 29e in relation to 29a and 30d in relation to 30a). Thus, for example in (29 the verb 'send' has two valence schemes: one with two non-subject NP and the recipient is the only object and the 'books' is an oblique argument; the other one has only one non-subject argument and that is, the books, and it is an object. The recipient can be expressed in a PP as example (30e) show. In this case the recipient is a non-core argument. Thus, passivization of the theme argument in a ditransitive is not allowed. Apparent passivization of the theme in examples (29d) and (30d) are as a result of the alternative predicate schemes (29e and 30e). In Citumbuka, it appears that the presence of the form (30e) with a lexicalized a lexicalized dative form, *pereka* 'give' renders (30f) redundant which makes language users do away with the dative form in (30f).

In derived applicatives goal, beneficiary and recipient ditransitive, (for a detailed discussion of applicatives see chapter 5) only the applied object can passivize.

2.4.4. OM as a criterion for objecthood

Object marking is another criterion used to identify an object in Bantu languages. Only a primary object can take an OM. In Citumbuka ditransitive constructions, only one object can take an OM. In non-derived ditransitive constructions only the recipient can take an OM. This is illustrated in the following examples.

31. a Manesi w-a-**yi**-p-a nkhalamu cigwere.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-give-FV 9.lion 7.hippo
'Manesi has given the lion a hippopotamus.'
b *Manesi w-a-**ci**-p-a nkhalamu cigwere.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-give-FV 9.lion 7.hippo
'Manesi has given the lion a hippopotamus.'

The theme in the preceding examples cannot take OM (see 31b). It is also the theme that fails to passivize. The recipient is therefore, a primary object in Citumbuka non-derived ditransitive constructions while the theme is a secondary object.

2.4.5. Locative objects

Locative objects are introduced by locative noun class prefixes, 17 (*ku)-*, 16 (*pa-*) and 18 (*mu-*). "Locative Object marking differs from object marking of other classes" (Riedel and Marten 2012:290). This is also the case in Citumbuka. In Citumbuka locative object marking differs from object marking of nouns from other classes. Locative sentences, including derived causative and applicative ditransitive ones, allow either the locative object or the theme object to become the subject of a passive construction and take OM. It is demonstrated in this section that in non-derived locatives and derived locatives either the locative object or the theme can become the subject of a passive and either of them can take OM.

32. a Changa wa-ka-khil-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-FV 16.at Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa got off the bus at Lilongwe.'
b Pa Lilongwe pa-ka-khil-ik-a
At.16 1.Lilongwe 16.SM-Pst-descend-Pass-FV
basi na Changa.
9.bus with 1.Changa
'The bus was got off by Changa at Lilongwe.'

c Basi yi-ka-khil-ik-a pa Lilongwe
9.bus 9.SM-Pst-descend-Pass-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
na Changa.
with 1.Changa
'A bus was got off at Lilongwe by Changa.'

33. a Chiukepo wa-ka-timb-a Suzgo pa chalichi.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 1.Suzgo 16.at 5.church
'Chiukepo hit Suzgo at the church.'

b Suzgo wa-ka-timb-ik-a na Chiukepo
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-hit-Pass-FV with 1.Chiukepo
pa chalichi.
16.at 5.church
'Suzgo was hit by Chiukepo at the church.'

c Pa chalichi pa-ka-timb-ik-a Suzgo na
16.at 5.church 16.SM-Pst-hit-Pass-FV 1.Suzgo with
Chiukepo.
1.Chiukepo
'At the church Suzgo was hit by Chiukepo.'

34. a Changa wa-ka-pa-khil-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-16.OM-descend-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa boarded off the bus at Lilongwe.'

b Changa wa-ka-yi-khil-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-descend-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa boarded off the bus at Lilongwe.'

The locative shows two patterns when used with intransitive bases. On the one hand, the locative displays characteristics of an object in that the locative can passivize and take OM (see 35b and 36b below). On the other hand the locative displays characteristics of an adjunct by not allowing OM and passivization as we can see in examples (37), (38) and (39) below.

35. a Melayi wa-ka-w-a pasi.
1.Melayi 1.SM-Pst-fall-FV 16.down
'Melayi fell down.'

b Pasi pa-ka-w-ik-a na Melayi.
16.down 16.SM-Pst-fall-Pass-FV with 1.Melayi
'It was fallen down by Melayi.'

36. a Walinase wa-ku-gon-a pa mphasa.
1.Walinase 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV 16.at 9.mat
'Walinase sleeps on the mat.'

b Pamphasa pa-ku-gon-ek-a na Walinase.
16.mat 16.SM-Pres-sleep-Pass-FV with 1.Walinase
'The mat is slept on by Walinase.'

37. a Mwana wa-ka-phy-a pa-moto.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-burn-FV 16-3.fire
'A child got burned on fire.'

b *Mwana wa-ka-**pa**-phy-a pa-moto.
1child 1.SM-Pst-16.OM-burn-FV 16-3.fire
'A child has got burnt on fire.'

c *Pa-moto pa-ka-phy-ik-a na mwana.
16-3.fire 16.SM-Pst-burn-Pass-FV with 1.child
'On the fire was burnt by a child.'

38. a Mbuzi y-a-fu-a mu-nyumba.
9.goat 9.SM-die-FV 18-9.house
'A goat has died inside the house.'

b *Mbuzi ya-**mu**-fu-a mu-nyumba.
9.goat 9.SM-18.OM-die-FV 18-9.house
'A goat has died in the house.'

c *Mu-nyumba mu-a-fu-ik-a na mbuzi.
18-9.house 9.SM-Perf-die-Pass-FV with 9.mbuzi
'In the house was died by a goat.'

39. a Ciphongo ci-ku-nunkh-a pa-khonde.
7.buck 7.SM-Pres-stink-FV 16-veranda
A buck is stinking at the veranda.'

b *Ciphongo ci-ku-**pa**-nunkh-a pakhonde.
7.buck 7.SM-Pres-16.OM-stink-FV 16-5.veranda
A buck is stinking at the veranda.'

c *Pa-nkhonde pa-ku-nunkh-ik-a na
16-5.veranda 16.SM-Pres-stinking-Pass-FV with
ciphongo.
7.buck
'At the veranda is stinking by the buck.'

Some intransitive verbs in Citumbuka license locative complements: verbs like *iwa* 'fall', and *gona* 'sleep' or 'lie' They entail falling, arriving, sleeping or lying at some place. Location is crucial in the realisation of the events of 'falling', 'and 'sleeping'. Locative object marking and passivization for such intransitive verbs are possible (see examples 35 and 36 above). This is not the case with intransitive verbs like 'burn', 'stink' and 'die' where the location is not so crucial.

In derived causative constructions that include a locative object, either the locative object or the causee can take OM and become the subject of a passive construction. This is shown in the following examples.

40. a Nya-Phiri wa-ka-lut-a ku-munda.
1.nee-Phiri 1.SM-Pst-go-FV 17-3.farm
'Ms Phiri went to the farm.
b Gondwe wa-ka-lut-isk-a nya-Phiri ku-munda.
1.Gondwe 1.SM-Pst-go-Caus$_3$-FV 1.nee-Phiri 17-3.farm
'Gondwe made Ms. Phiri to go to the farm.'
c Nya-phiri wa-ka-lut-isk-ik-a ku-munda
1.nee-Phiri 1.SM-Pst-go-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 17-3.farm
na Gondwe.
with 1.Gondwe
'Ms Phiri was made to go to the farm by Gondwe.'
d Ku-munda ku-ka-lut-isk-ik-a nya-Phiri
17-3.farm 17.SM-Pst-go-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV nee-Phiri
na Gondwe.
with 1.Gondwe
'Ms Phiri was made to go to the garden by Gondwe.'
41. a Msungwana w-a-khal-a pa-mphasa.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-sit-FV 16-9.mat
'A girl has sat on the mat.'
b Nchembele z-a-khal-isk-a msungwana
10.woman 10.SM-Perf-sit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.girl
pa-mphasa.
16-9.mat
'Some women have made a girl sit on a mat.'
c Msungwana w-a-khal-isk-ik-a pa-mphasa
1.girl 1.SM-Perf-sit-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 16-9.mat
na nchembele.
with 9.woman
'A girl has been made to sit on a mat by some women.'
d Pa-mphasa p-a-khal-isk-ik-a msungwana
16-9.mat 16.SM-Perf-sit-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 1.girl
na nchembele.
with 10.women
'The mat has been made to be sat on by the girl by some women.'
42. a Gondwe wa-ka-**mu**-lut-isk-a nyaPhiri
1.Gondwe 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-go-Caus$_3$-FV 1.nee-Phiri
Ku-munda.
17-3.farm
'Gondwe made Ms. Phiri go to the farm.'
b Gondwe wa-ka-**ku**-lut-isk-a nya-Phiri
1.Gondwe 1.SM-Pst-17.OM-go-Caus$_3$-FV 1.nee-Phiri
kumunda.
17-3.farm.
'Gondwe made Ms Phiri to go the farm.'

43. a Nchembele z-a-**mu**-khal-isk-a msungwana
10.woman 10.SM-Perf-1.OM-sit-Caus$_3$-Fv 1.girl
pamphasa.
16.mat
'Some women have made a girl sit on the mat.'
b Nchembele z-a-**pa**-khal-isk-a msungwana
10.woman 10.SM-Perf-16.OM-sit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.girl
pamphasa.
16.mat
'Some women have made the girl sit on the mat.'

Object marking and passivization in non-derived locative ditransitives and derived causative ditransitives suggest that the locative noun has object-like properties. This is also the case with derived locative applicative ditransitive constructions (for details see chapter 5)

2.4.6. Cognate objects

Cognate objects are noun phrases containing a noun that is morphologically related to the verb (Pereltsvaig 2002). Cognate objects appear postverbally just like non-cognate objects. Below are some English examples.

44. Sara lived a good **life**.
45. John died a peaceful **death.**
46. Mary sang a **song**.
47. Jane danced a **dance**.

It is assumed that cognate objects are only possible with intransitive (unergative) and labile verbs (Pham 1998). However, Isawaki (2007), Hong (1998) and Pham (1998) show that in some languages both transitive and intransitive verbs, and both unergative and unaccusative verbs take cognate objects. In Citumbuka, intransitive unergative verbs and labile verbs have been observed to take cognate objects. As for unaccusative verbs, the verb -*fu-a* 'die' is one exception that has been observed to allow a cognate object. Below are some examples of cognate object constructions in Citumbuka.

48. Maria wa-ka-tengw-a nthengwa yiwemi.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-be.married-FV 9.marriage 9.good
'Maria had a good marriage.'
49. Ŵakhristu ŵa-ku-lomb-a malombo.
2.christian 2.SM-Pres-pray-FV 6.prayers
'Christians pray prayers.'
50. Jemusi wa-ka-lot-a maloto ghaheni.
1.Jemusi 1.SM-Pst-dream-FV 6.dream 6.bad
'Jemusi dreamed bad dreams.'

51. Abuya ŵa-ka-fw-a nyifwa yiheni.
2.grandmother 2.SM-Pst-die-FV 9.death 9.bad
'My grandmother did not die a peaceful death.' (Lit. My grandmother died a bad death.)
52. Ŵasungwana ŵa-ka-cezg-a nchezgo yiwemi.
2.girl 2.SM-Pst-chat-FV 9.chat 9.good
'The girls chatted a good chat.'
53. Tose ti-ka-ly-a cakulya.
1PL-all 1PL-Pst-eat-FV 7.food
'We all ate food.'
54. Mlendo wati w-a-mw-a cakumwa
1.visitor after 1.SM-Perf-drink-FV 7.drink
wa-ka-jal-a cijalo.
1.SM-Pst-close-FV 7.door
'After the visitor had drunk the drink he closed the door.'

All the preceding examples except for example (51) have unergative (48, 49, 50, 52) and labile (53, 54) verbs. In the following examples we see that cognate objects can easily passivise except for the ones involving the unac-causative verb 'die'. Below are some examples to show this.

55. Nthengwa yiwemi yi-ka-tengw-ek-a na
9.marriage 9.good 9.SM-Pst-be.married-Pass-FV with
Maria.
1.Maria
'A good marriage was had by Maria.'
56. Malombo gha-ku-lomb-ek-a na ŵakhristu.
6.prayer 6.SM-Pres-pray-Pass-FV with 2.christian.
'Prayers are prayed by Christians.'
57. Maloto ghaheni gha-ka-lot-ek-a na Jemusi.
6.dream 6.bad 6.SM-Pst-dream-Pass-FV with 1.Jemusi
'Bad dreams were dreamt by Jemusi.'
58. *Nyifwa yiheni yi-ka-fw-ik-a na
9.death 9.bad 9SM-Pst-die-Pass-FV with
abuya.
2.grandmother
'*A bad death was died by grandmother.'
59. Nchezgo yiwemi yi-ka-cezg-eka na
9.chat 9.good 9.SM-Pst-chat-Pass-FV with
ŵasungwana.
2.girl
'A good chat was chatted by the girls.'
60. Cakulya ci-ka-ly-ek-a na tose.
7.food 7.SM-Pst-eat-Pass-FV with 1PL-all
'The food was eaten by us all.'

Cognate objects can also take OM except for the cognate object of the unaccusative verb ‘die’. This is demonstrated in the examples below.

61. Maria wa-ka-**yi**-tengw-a nthengwa
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-be_married-FV 9.marriage
yiwemi.
9.good
‘Maria had a good marriage.’

62. Ŵakhristu ŵa-ku-**gha**-lomb-a malombo.
2.christian 2.SM-Pres-6.OM-pray-FV 6.prayer.
‘Christians pray the prayers.’

63. Jemusi wa-ka-**gha**-lot-a maloto
1.Jemusi 1.SM-Pst-6.OM-dream-FV 6.dream
ghaheni.
6.bad
‘Jemusi dreamed the bad dreams.’

64. *Abuya ŵa-ka-**yi**-fw-a nyifwa yiheni.
2.grandmother 2.SM-Pst-9.OM-die-FV 9.death 9.bad.
‘Grandmother died the bad death.’

65. Ŵasungwana ŵa-ka-**yi**-cezg-a nchezgo yiwemi.
2.girl 2.SM-Pst-9.OM-chat-FV 9.chat 9.good.
‘The girls had a good chat.’

66. T-ose ti-ka-**ci**-ly-a cakulya ciwemi.
1PL-all 1PL-Pst-7.OM-eat-FV 7.food 7.good
‘We all ate the food.’

67. Mlendo wati w-a-**ci**-mw-a cakumwa
1.visitor after 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-drink-FV 7.drink
wa-ka-**ci**-jal-a cijalo.
1.SM-Pst-7.OM-close-FV 7.door.
‘After the visitor had drunk the drink s/he closed the door.’

In Citumbuka, the cognate object behaves like a true object. The cognate object can passivize as well as take OM. It is only the object of the unaccussative verb ‘die’ that fails to passivize and take OM. Thus, we conclude that cognate objects of Citumbuka unergative and labile verbs behave like true objects. Cognate objects in Citumbuka are syntactic objects.

2.5. Depictive Secondary predication

There are two types of secondary predication: (i) depictive secondary predication and (ii) resultative secondary predication (Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004). Depictive secondary predicates describe a state in which one of the arguments of the verb is during the event described by the verb (Pylkkänen 2002; Asada 2012; Sadlier-Brown 2013). According to Verkerk (2009) the state expressed by the depictive secondary predicate is

necessarily simultaneous with the action expressed by the main predicate. A resultative predicate on the other hand, describes the state of an argument resulting from the action determined by the main verb (Asada 2012). In other words, the resultative is a consequence or result of the event expressed by the main predicate. Below are some English examples of depictive and resultative secondary predicates.

68. Mary ate the meat *raw*.
69. John left the room *angry*.
70. The tinsmith hammered the metal *flat*.
71. The painter painted the house *green*.

Example (68) is an example of an object depictive secondary predicate while example (69) shows a subject depictive secondary predication. In object depictive predication, the depictive describes the state of the object argument, *meat*, at the time *Mary* ate the meat. In the subject depictive secondary predication, the depictive describes the state of the subject argument, *John*, at the time he left the room. Thus, a depictive is semantically just like an adjective and in addition to attributing a property to an individual, it asserts that the state described by the adjective holds during the event described by the verb (Pylkkänen 2002). Examples (70 and 71) are resultative secondary predicates. As the examples show, the resultatives describe the result of hammering event in (71) where the metal became flat and the result of the painting event in (71) where the house become green.

According to Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) and De Groot (2008), depictive predications should meet seven criteria. The first criterion is that there are two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicative. Secondly, the depictive must be obligatorily controlled and the controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive. Thirdly, the depictive is not an argument of the main verb, that is to say, the depictive is optional such that it can always be omitted without rendering the remaining string ungrammatical or changing the structural relationships among the remaining constituents (Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004). Fourthly, a depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate. Fifthly, the depictive does not function as a modifier of the controller. The second to the last one is that the depictive is non-finite. And lastly, a depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

72. a Chiukepo wa-ka-lek-a nyumba mwazi.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-leave-FV 9.house open
'Chiukepo left the house open.'

b Chiukepo wa-ka-lek-a mwazi nyumba.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-leave-FV open 9.house
'Chiukepo left the house open.'

c Chiukepo wa-ka-lek-a nyumba.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-leave-FV 9.house
'Chiukepo left the house.'

73. Muthakati wa-ka-end-a beng'ende.
1.witch 1.SM-Pst-move-FV naked
'A witch walked naked.'

Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004:63) observe that depictive secondary predicates frequently encode a physical or psychological state or condition including bodily posture, or a role, function or a life stage. In example (72) the object depictive describes the physical state of the house when *Chiukepo* was leaving it, that it was open. Example (73) is subject depictive describing the state in which the subject was at the time of the eventuality. From the examples above, we can see that depictives are optional and can be omitted without causing ungrammaticality which is one of the characteristics of depictives. A depictive bears a syntactic relation with one of the constituents; the object or the subject.

2.6. Prepositional Phrases

A prepositional phrase (PP) is headed by a preposition. "A preposition expresses a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement" (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:143). The relational meanings expressed by prepositions include time, place, direction, means and instrument. There are very few elements that are used as prepositions in Bantu languages (Riedel 2009). The elements that are basically used as prepositions in Citumbuka are the comitative *na* and prepositions *ku* 'to/from', *pa* 'on/at', and *mu* 'in'. The prepositions *kwa* and/or *ku* express location and directional prepositions see (74, 75 and 76) below. The preposition *pa* based on the locative class 16 prefix *pa-* can express manner or location, see (77) below.

74. Maria wa-ka-perek-a kwa Cidongo
1.Maria 1SM-Pst-give-FV at 1.Cidongo
buku.
5.book
'Maria gave a book to Cidongo.'

75. Cidongo wa-ka-pok-a kwa Maria buku.
1.Cidongo 1.SM-Pst-receive-FV at 1.Maria 5.book
'Cidongo received a book from Maria.'

76. Mulendo wa-ku-phik-isk-a cakulya ku
1.visitor 1.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food to
ŵanthu ŵa-lusungu.
2.person 2-kindness
'The visitor is having his food cooked by people.'

77. Pa-ku-lut-a ku Lusaka ti-ka-end-a
16-Pres-go-FV to 1.Lusaka 1PL-Pst-walk-FV
pa ndege yikulu.
16 9.plane 9.big
'When going to Lusaka we travelled by a big plane.'

Most of the PPs are adjuncts. That is, they simply add extra information in a clause and are therefore optional. The PP in example (74) is not an adjunct since its omission renders the sentence ungrammatical. Thus, the PP in (74) is required and it is therefore an argument. In example (77) the *pa ndege* PP is actually a phrase that cannot be omitted. When the PP is omitted the sentence has a different reading, it means that the people actually walked on foot. Thus, PPs can either be adjuncts or oblique arguments. There is a thin line between a locative PP and a locative NP in Citumbuka. In example (77) above, *pa* is actually a preposition since it does not trigger class 16 agreement on the adjective 'big'.

2.6.1. Instrumental constructions

In Citumbuka non-derived instrumental constructions, the instrument is an adjunct while in derived applicative constructions the instrument is an object and an argument. In non-derived instrumental constructions, the instrument is introduced by the preposition *na.* The instrument can be left out without causing ungrammaticality to the sentence in non-derived instrumental constructions. In the examples below we can see that omitting an instrument in non-derived instrumental constructions does not make the sentence ungrammatical.

78. a Suzgo w-a-tem-a zinde na
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-cut-FV 10.sugarcane with
cimayi.
7.knife
'Suzgo has cut some sugarcane with a knife.'

b Suzgo w-a-tem-a zinde.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-cut-FV 9.sugarcane
'Suzgo has cut some sugarcane.'

79. a Ciŵinda ci-ka-kom-a nkhalamu na futi.
7.hunter 7.SM-Pst-kill-FV 9.lion with 9.gun
'The hunter killed a lion with a gun.'

b Ciŵinda ci-ka-kom-a nkhalamu.
7.hunter 7.SM-Pst-kill-FV 9.lion
'The hunter killed a lion.'

80. a Changa wa-ku-lemb-a pa-bolodi na
1.Changa 1.SM-Pres-write-FV 16-5.board with
choko.
7.chalk
'Changa is writing on the chalk board with a piece of chalk.'

b Changa wa-ku-lemb-a pa-bolodi.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pres-write-FV 16-5.board
'Changa is writing on the chalk board.'

From the examples above we can see that removal of the instrument does not affect the grammaticality of the sentences. This means that the instrument is not an argument, but an adjunct. Object marking and passivization also confirm this. It is not possible for the instrument to take OM and to passivize as we can see in examples below.

81. a. Suzgo wa-ka-**yi**-kom-a na mkondo ng'ombe.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-kill-FV with 3.spear 9.cattle
'Suzgo killed the cattle with a spear.'

b *Suzgo wa-ka-**u**-kom-a na mkondo
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-3.OM-kill-FV with 3.spear
ng'ombe.
9.cattle
'Suzgo killed a cattle with the spear.'

82. a. Suzgo w-a-**li**-tem-a na mbavi khuni.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-5.OM-cut-FV with 9.axe 5.tree
'Suzgo has cut the tree with an axe.'

b *Suzgo w-a-**yi**-tem-a na mbavi khuni.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-FV with 9.axe 5.tree
'Suzgo has cut a tree with the axe.'

83. a Manesi w-a-**yi**-cek-a na cimayi nyama.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-FV with 7.knife 9.meat
'Manesi has cut the meat with a knife.'

b *Manesi w-a-**ci**-cek-a na cimayi.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-cut-FV with 7.knife
'Manesi has cut meat with the knife.'

In (81a), (82a) and (83a) it is the object that takes OM and the sentence is grammatical. In (81b), (82b) and (83b) it is the instrument that takes OM and the result is ungrammatical. Below are some examples to show that the instrument cannot passivize.

84. a *Mkondo u-ka-kom-ek-a ng'ombe
3.spear 9.SM-Pst-kill-Pass-FV 9.cattle
na Manesi.
with 1.Manesi
'Spear was killed a cattle by Manesi.' (Lit.)

b Ng'ombe yi-ka-kom-ek-a na mkondo na
9.cattle 9.SM-Pst-kill-Pass-FV with 3.spear with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
'A cattle was killed with a spear by Manesi.'

85. a *Mbavi y-a-tem-ek-a khuni na Suzgo.
9.axe 9.SM-Perf-cut-Pass-FV 5.tree with 1.Suzgo
'An axe has been cut a tree by Suzgo.'

b Khuni l-a-tem-ek-a na mbavi na
5.tree 5.SM-Perf-cut-Pass-FV with 9.axe with
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'A tree has been cut by Suzgo with an axe.'

In examples (84a) and (85a), the instrument is the subject of a passive construction and the result is ungrammatical. In (84b) and (85b) it is the object that passivizes and the result is grammatical. What this shows is that in non-derived instrumental constructions, the instrument is not an argument but an adjunct. This differs from the instrumental applicative where the instrument is required and can passivize as well as take OM (see chapter 6 for a detailed discussion).

2.6.2. Comitative *na*

The preposition *na* in Citumbuka has several functions. They include comitative, instrumental, manner, preposition, conjunction, possessive, comparison, agent and cause. The following examples display the multifunctional use of the preposition *na* in Citumbuka.

86. Khumbo wa-ka-lut-a na Tiwonge ku-msika.
1.Khumbo 1.SM-Pst-go-FV with 1.Tiwonge 17-3.market
'Khumbo went with Tiwonge to the market.' (comitative)

87. Msambizi wa-li na mwana.
1.teacher 1.SM-be with 1.child
(i) A teacher is with a child.' (comitative)
(ii) A teacher has a child.' (possession)

88. Tisa wa-ku-end-a lumoza na Maria.
1.Tisa 1.SM-Pres-walk-FV together with 1.Maria
'Tisa walks together with Maria.' (comitative)

89. Temwa wa-ka-kom-a njoka na ndodo.
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pst-kill-FV 9.snake with 9.stick
'Temwa killed a snake with a stick.' (instrument and manner)

90. Abuya ŵa-ku-end-a na ndodo.
2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-walk-FV with 9.stick
'Grandmother is walking with a supporting stick.' (instrument and manner)

91. Sunga wa-ku-phik-a na mkaka somba.
1.Sunga 1.SM-Pres-cook-FV with 3.milk 9.fish
'Sunga cooks fish with milk.' (ingredient and manner)

92. Doda li-li na mahala.
5.man 5.SM-be with 6.wisdom
'The man has wisdom.' (possession)

93. Tomasi w-a-gul-a somba na
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.fish with
tomato.
1.tomato
'Tomasi has bought fish and tomato.' (conjunction)

94. Tinkhani wa-ku-temw-an-a na msambizgi
1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 1.teacher
wake.
his
'Tinkhani and his teacher love each other.' (reciprocal)

95. Mkaka w-a-mw-ek-a na cona.
3.milk 3.SM-Perf-drink-Pass-FV with 1.cat
'Milk has been drank by a cat. (agent)

96. Malezi gha-ka-mal-a na tuyuni.
6.millet 6.SM-Pres-finish-FV with 13.bird
'The millet was finished due to small birds.' (cause)

97. Nkhuku z-ose zi-ka-fu-a na cidelu.
10.chicken 10-all 10-Pst-die-FV with 7.newcastle
'All the chickens died due to Newcastle disease.' (cause)

98. Fwasani w-a-zuzg-a cimphani na
1.Fwasani 1.SM-Perf-fill.Caus$_2$-FV 7.clay.pot with
phele.
5.beer
'Fwasani filled a clay pot with beer.' (content)

99. Estele na Yolani mtali ni Yolani.
1.Estele with 1.Yolani 1.long is 1.Yolani
'Between Estele and Yolani Yolani is taller.' (comparison)

100. Delele na somba li-ku-now-a ni
5.okra with 9.fish 5.SM-Pres-be.tasty-FV is
delele.
5.okra
'Between okra and fish, okra tastes better.' (comparison)

101. Na mathemba na-gho
with 6.chief with-6.Rel
gha-ku-vin-a-po.
6.SM-Pres-dance-FV-loc.16
'Even chiefs also dance sometimes.' (focus)

The examples show that *na* has comitative use which expresses accompaniment of participants (86, 87(i), 88). Other functions of *na* in the examples are instrument (89 and 90), ingredient (91) manner (90 and 91), possessive (87(ii) and 92), agent (of 'by-phrase') (95), comparison (99 and 100), cause (96 and 97), conjunction (93), content (98) and focus (101). "The combination of these functions in one element is common, particularly among the Niger-Congo languages as was already pointed out by Welmers (1973)" (Mous and Mreta 2004: 220). Some of the languages in which a single prepositional element equivalent to 'with' has several meanings are Swahili, Shona, Zulu, Ciluba, Luganda, and Masai (Stassen 2013), Hausa, Nelemwa, Iraqw (Haspelmath 2004, Mous 2004). Examples above show that the element *na* in Citumbuka is clearly a preposition with multiple functions. Thus, the preposition *na* is polysemous in Citumbuka. The question that needs to be addressed is therefore, whether *na* in reciprocals (94), where it coordinates co-participants is still a preposition 'with' not a conjunction 'and'. I discuss this in the following paragraphs.

According to Stassen (2000, 2013) and Haspelmath (2004) there are two types of coordination strategies that languages use, coordination strategy ('A and B') and comitative strategy ('A with B'). One of the major characteristics of comitative strategy is that "the Comitative Strategy manifests itself by way of an oblique marker 'with' on one of the participant NPs" (Stassen 2000:18). According to Stassen (2000) and Haspelmath (2004) the two coordinands do not form the same constituent in comitative strategy and as a result, plural agreement is not mandatory unlike in coordination strategy where singular agreement on the verb is not allowed. Another characteristic of comitative strategy is that the comitative marker is invariably used for coordination and there is no separate marker for coordination. And indeed in Citumbuka, there is no separate marker for coordination, the preposition is also used for coordination. One of the terminologies used for coordinated/split co-participants reciprocal is discontinuous reciprocal where one co-participant is in the comitative phrase and the other co-participant is the subject. The discontinuous reciprocal allows singular verbal agreement and that agreement is controlled by the subject NP as shown in the example below (102). In the following example, the subject NP is marked for agreement on the verb despite the fact there are two co-participants.

102. Cimbwe wa-ku-temw-an-a na nchewe.
1.hyena 1.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 9.dog
'The hyena and the dog love each other.'

The two NPs in the example above (102) clearly show that the subject NP and its co-participant in the oblique do not form a constituent. According to Haspelmath (2004:16), "('A with B') entails that A and B are at the same place and their involvement is simultaneous". In a reciprocal situation, co-participants are simultaneously involved (see chapter 4 for detailed discussion). In Citumbuka it is also possible to have both reciprocal co-participants precede the verb and these participants are linked by *na* as shown in the examples below.

103.a Fingani na Berita wa-zamu-tol-an-a.
1.Fingani with Berita 2.SM-Fut-pick-Recip-FV
'Fingani and Berita will marry each other.'

b Fingani wa-zamu-tol-an-a na Berita.
1.Fingani 1.SM-Fut-pick-Recip-FV with 1.Berita
'Finani and Berita will marry each other.'

c Fingani wa-zamu-tol-an-a na Berita.
1.Fingani 2.SM-Fut-take-Recip-FV with 1.Berita
'Finani and Berita will marry each other.'

104. a Temwa na Mzomera
1.Temwa with 1.Mzomera
wa-ku-tu-man-a.
2.SM-Pres-send-Recip-FV
'Temwa and Mzomera send one another.'

b Temwa wa-ku-tum-an-a na Mzomera.
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-send-Recip-FV with 1.Mzomera
'Temwa and Mzomera send one another.'

c Temwa wa-ku-tum-an-a na Mzomera.
1.Temwa 2.SM-Pres-send-Recip-FV with 1.Mzomera
'Temwa and Mzomera send one another.'

There are no differences in meaning between (103a) and (103b) and between (104a) and (104b) above. The structural difference between the (a) and (b) examples is that in the (a) examples, agreement is plural and both participants are preceding the verb. The (c) examples show that plural agreement is also possible when the second coordinand is following the verb. "Many languages that use the comitative strategy allow extraposition of coordinands to the end of the clause, so that the construction is no longer continuous" (Haspelmath 2004:7). Since coordinands in a comitative do not form a constituent, and extraposition of the coordinands to the end of the clause is allowed, the (b) examples are actually a case of the extraposition of second coordinands to the end of the clause, after the verb.

When there are three or more coordinands coordinator, omission is common in comitative-derived coordinators where the coordinator has the same shape as the comitative marker (Haspelmath 2004). Citumbuka, as already stated elsewhere, uses the same marker for 'with' and 'and'. It also allows coordinator omission, which suggests that plural agreement of singular entities in Citumbuka is semantic and not necessarily due to the presence of a coordinator. Below are examples illustrating coordinator omission.

105. a ,Temwa Mzomera, Kabici ŵose
1.Temwa, 1.Mzomera 1.Kabici 2.all
ŵa-ku-tum-an-a.
2.SM-Pres-send-Recip-FV
'Temwa, Mzomera and Kabici send one another.'
b Temwa, Kabici, Tomasi, na
1.Temwa 1.Kabici 1.Tomasi with
Mzomera ŵose ŵa-ku-tum-an-a.
1.Mzomera 2.all 2.SM-Pres-send-Recip-FV
'Temwa, Kabici, Tomasi and Mzomera send one another.'

In (105a) there is no coordinator at all, the coordinands are linked by juxtaposition and the quantifier 'all'. 'All' is also possible where the final coordinand is preceded by the comitative *na*, thus 'all' does not stand in place of a coordinator. This means that Citumbuka uses the comitative strategy. Another characteristic of languages that use comitative strategy is that the coordinator is also used to join non-NP categories as is the case in languages like Iraqw, Sgaw Karen (Haspelmath 2004) and Chathu (Mous and Mreta 2004) which use the comitative strategy, also called With-languages. Another quality ascribed to With-languages is their ability to extract clausal comitative modifiers and focus them which is not possible with And-languages (Mous and Mreta 2004; Haspelmath 2004). These two qualities also hold for Citumbuka as the following examples illustrate.

106. Ŵanthu ŵamtundu wose ŵa-ka-fik-a,
2. person 2.kind 2.all 2.SM-Pst-arrive-FV
ŵatali na ŵafupi, ŵaswesi na ŵafipa ŵakughanda
2.tall with 2.short 2.red with 2.black 2.slim
na ŵakututuŵa.
with 2.fat
'People of all kinds arrived, short and tall, brown and dark skinned, slim and fat.'
107. Marion wa-ku-phik-a na ku-phyel-a.
1.Marion 1.SM-Pres-cook-V with Infin-sweep-FV
'Marion is cooking and sweeping.'

108. Zitole wa-ka-iz-a wa-ka-tol-a
1.Zitole 1.SM-Pst-cook-FV 1.SM-Pst-pick-FV
buku na ku-wel-a.
5.book with Infin-return-FV
'Zitole came, picked a book and went home.'

109. a Ku-ka-fik-a na mathemba na-gho.
17.SM-Pst-arrive-FV with 6.chief with-6.they
'There also arrived chiefs.'

b Na mathemba na-gho gha-ka-fik-a.
with 6.chief with-6.Rel 6.SM-Pst-arrive-FV
'Even the chiefs also arrived.'

110. a Wa-ku-lim-a na mpunga na-wo.
1.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV with 3.rice with-3.Rel
'He/she also cultivates rice.'

b Na mpunga na-wo wa-ku-lim-a.
with 3.rice with-3.Rel 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV
'Even rice he/she also cultivates.'

The coordinands in (107) and (108) they are verbal clauses, not NPs. Thus, *na* coordination is not restricted to NPs, something that is lacking in the "And-languages" but it is common among the comitative languages. In examples (109b) and (110b) the PP headed by *na* is appearing sentence initially. Thus, the PP has been extracted and is focused. "Clausal comitative modifiers can be extracted and focused, but conjuncts cannot in general be extracted and focused" (Haspelmath 2004: 19). Since Citumbuka allows extraction and focusing of the PP *na*-NP, it cannot be a language that uses the coordination strategy. Stassen (2000:21) argues that in comitative languages the only way to encode the situation in which a single event is ascribed simultaneously to two different participants is to use a non-balanced, non-constituent, construal of the two NPs involved. Languages that employ the comitative strategy are called With-languages.

From the discussion above we can see that Citumbuka allows extraction and focusing of PP *na*-NP, moving the *na*-NP to the end of the reciprocal verb, coordination of non-NP constituent and allowing singular agreement, all these point us to the conclusion that Citumbuka like Chathu, Hausa, Iraqw among other African languages, is a With-language, and therefore uses the preposition 'with' as its coordinator. Therefore, *na* 'with' in Citumbuka is always a preposition even in coordinated reciprocals.

2.7. Summary and Overview of non-subject NPs

In non-derived ditransitive constructions, only the recipient displays the properties of an object. The theme can neither take OM nor become the subject of a passive construction. Thus, in a non-derived ditransitive con-

struction, the recipient is the object while the theme is oblique. In non-derived instrumental constructions, the instrument is an adjunct. Locative non-subject arguments display object-like properties. Passivization of non-locative noun clasess differs from locative classes. Thus, locatives differ from other ditransitive constructions. We have also observed that in Citumbuka cognate objects syntactically behave as true objects. The table below summarizes properties of non-subject NPs in Citumbuka.

Table 2.1: Properties of non-subject constituents.

	OM	**Passivization**
Recipient in ditransitive	Yes	Yes
Locative object	Yes	Yes
Theme in ditransitive	No	No
Instruments (non-derived construction)	No	No

Chapter 3

3. Object marking in Citumbuka

3.1. Introduction

The syntax of object marking varies across Bantu languages, with some Bantu languages having restrictions on co-occurrence of object markers and their lexical objects while others have obligatory object marking in restricted contexts (Marten et al, 2007). For instance, "in Bemba, the use of both an object marker and an overt NP is grammatical, while in Herero, either the object marker can be used or the object NP, but not both together" (Marten et al 2007:261). Languages such as Haya (Riedel 2009), Bemba, Herero, Lozi, siSwati, and Tswana (Marten et al 2007), do not have restrictions on co-occurrence of OM and the object NP. In Sambaa objects that are proper names, kinship terms, first or second pronouns must appear with OM while in Swahili, object marking is more generally obligatory with animate objects (Riedel 2009: 46). In Makhuwa, object marking is compulsory for all class 1/2 nouns regardless of their meaning or animacy (Van der Wal 2009: 84, 244; Riedel 2009:52). Other languages that require obligatory object marking in certain contexts include Chaga (Marten et al 2007), Ruwund (Nash 1992 based on Woolford 2001), and Matengo (Yoneda 2010).

Other areas that show variation among Bantu languages as far as object marking is concerned include availability of locative OM; number of object markers a language can take; whether either of the non-subject NPs of a double object construction can be expressed by an OM (Marten et al 2007) and object marking of instrumentals (Marlo 2015). In this chapter I discuss object marking in Citumbuka. It is argued that object marking in Citumbuka is largely optional in the presence of a full NP and only one OM per verb stem is allowed.

There are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of OMs and their full NPs. In double object constructions, only one non-subject NP can take an OM. The chapter also examines object marking in locative nouns and coordinated objects. It is concluded that locative object marking differs from non-locative object marking. It is concluded that Citumbuka uses three strategies: (i) the first conjunct adjacent to the verb takes OM, (ii) if the conjuncts are of the same noun class or share semantic properties, then their plural form is marked as OM on the verb and lastly (iii) the default agreement strategy is used where class 1/2 for human and 7/8 for non-human is used. Section 3 investigates object marking and how it relates to definiteness and specificity. The chapter concludes that object marking has a tendency to mark definiteness and specificity.

3.2. Object marking in non-derived monotransitive constructions

As already stated in the introduction section, in some Bantu languages like Swahili, object marking is more generally obligatory with animate objects (Morimoto 2002 citing Bokamba 1981 and Wald 1979; Riedel 2009: 46). In Makhuwa OM is obligatory only with class 1/2 noun classes which includes inanimate objects (van der Wal 2009). In Kichaga OM is obligatory when the object NP is an independent pronoun (Bresnan and Moshi 1993:52, Morimoto 2002). In Zulu and all the Nguni varieties as well as in Sotho-Tswana group of languages, an OM is obligatory in object relatives (Zeller 2014:359). Locative object marking may differ from non-locative such that locative OM may be found in contexts where non-locative OM is not possible (Riedel and Marten 2012; Marlo 2015). All the preceding varying cases show that there are variations in how object marking operates in Bantu languages. In this section I investigate object marking in monotransitive constructions. It is concluded that object marking in Citumbuka is largely optional. In the next section, it is demonstrated that OM is not obligatory with animate object NPs. The section also demonstrates that locative object marking in Citumbuka differs from non-locative object marking.

3.2.1. Object marking and Animacy

In Citumbuka animacy does not determine the type of object that must co-occur with OM. In fact, both animate and inanimate objects do not have obligatory object marking in mono-transitive constructions in the presence of a full object NP. Examples below show that both animates and inanimates can freely occur with or without OM.

1. Pokani w-a-(**yi)**-gul-a galimoto.
   1.Pokani 1.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.car
   'Pokani has bought the car'
2. Mabuchi wa-ka-(**li)**-tem-a khuni.
   1.Mabuchi 1SM-Pst-5.OM-cut-FV 5.tree
   'Mabuchi cut the tree.'
3. T-ose ti-ka-(**ci)**-pulik-a ciwawa.
   1PL-all 1PL.SM-Pst-7.OM-hear-FV 7.noise
   'We all heard the noise.'
4. Changa wa-ka-(**mu)**-nyamul-a katundu.
   1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-lift-FV 1.luggage
   'Changa lifted the luggage.'

5. Jere wa-ka-(**yi**)-kol-a nchewe iyo
   1.Jere 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-catch-FV 9.dog 9.Rel
   yi-ka-b-ang-a nkhuku.
   9.SM-Pst-steal-Imperf-FV 10.chicken
   'Jere caught the dog that used to steal chickens.'
6. Wapolisi wa-ka-(**mu**)-kom-a munkhungu.
   2.police 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-kill-FV 1.thief
   'The policemen killed the thief.'
7. Viwinda vi-ka-(**ci)**-kom-a cigwere.
   8.hunters 8.SM-Pst-7.OM-kill-FV 7.hippopotamus
   'The hunters killed the hippopotamus.'

Citumbuka, therefore, behaves differently from languages like Kiswahili and Nyakusya where animacy plays a role in object marking and also Makhuwa where all class 1/2 object NPs must take OM. In the next section, we see that object marking in monotransitives with objects that are independent pronouns is also optional in Citimbuka.

3.2.2. Independent Pronouns

In Citumbuka, OM is also optional with independent pronouns, kinship terms as well as titles. When the lexical object is an independent pronoun, OM is only obligatory in the absence of the independent pronoun. Examples below illustrate this.

8. a Mwana wa-ka-on-a iwe.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-see-FV 2SG
   'A child saw you.'
   b Mwana wa-ka-**ku**-on-a iwe.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-2SG-see-FV 2SG
   'A child saw you.'
   c Mwana wa-ka-**ku**-on-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-2SG-see-FV
   'A child saw you.'
9. a Msungwana wa-ka-on-a ine.
   1.girl 1.SM-Pst-see-FV 1SG
   'A girl saw me.'
   b Msungwana wa-ka-**ni**-on-a ine.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-1SG-see-FV 1SG
   'A girl saw me.'
   c.Msungwana wa-ka-**ni**-on-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-1SG-see-FV
   'A girl saw me.'

10. a Msungwana wa-ka-on-a iyo.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-see-FV 3SG
'A girl saw him/her.'
b Msungwana wa-ka-**mu**-on-a iyo.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-3SG-see-FV 3SG
'A girl saw him.'
c Msungwana wa-ka-**mu**-on-a.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-3SG-see-FV
'A girl saw him.'

Independent pronouns mostly serve as emphatic markers in Citumbuka. This has also been observed in other Bantu languages like Swahili and Luguru (Marten and Ramadhani 2001). For instance, in example (9b) above, the speaker uses the OM to emphasize the fact that the child really saw the hearer. In (10b) the speaker is emphasizing the fact that the child really saw the person.

3.2.3. Kinship terms and titles

Object marking in Citumbuka is also optional with kinship terms as well as titles of people. Below are some examples illustrating that object marking kinship terms is optional.

11. a Melayi w-a-timb-a adada.
1.Melayi 1.SM-Perf-hit-FV 2:my.father
'Melayi has hit my father.'
b Melayi w-a-**ŵa**-timb-a adada.
1.Melayi 1.SM-Perf-2.OM-hit-FV 2:my.father
'Melayi has hit my father.'
12. a Martha wa-ku-ovwir-a nyina.
1.Martha 1.SM-Pres-help-FV 3SG.mother
'Martha is helping her mother.'
b Martha wa-ku-**mu**-ovwir-a nyina.
1.Martha 1.SM-Pres-1.OM-help-FV 3SG.mother
'Martha is helping her mother.'
13. a Masozi wa-ku-lind-ir-a apongozi.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-wait-Appl-FV 2.in-law
'Masozi is waiting for the in-law.'
b Masozi wa-ku-**ŵa**-lind-ir-a apongozi.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-2.OM-wait-Appl-FV 2.in-law
'Masozi is waiting for the in-law.'
14. a Amulamu ŵ-a-nyamul-a mwana.
2.sister/brother-in-law 2.SM-Perf-lift-FV1.child
'My brother/sister-in-law has lifted up his/her child.'

b Amulamu ŵ-a-**mu**-nyamul-a mwana.
2.sister/brother-in-law 2.SM-Perf-1.OM-lift-FV 1.child
'My brother/sister-in-law has lifted up his/her child.'

Some kinship terms refer to unique referents as is the case in examples (11-12) above. In example (11) *adada* 'my father' can only refer to a male parent who is the speaker's father. In example (12) *amama* 'my mother' refers to a female parent. Kinship term *-pongozi* has various referents: mother-in-law, father-in-law, wife to maternal uncle, all of them are called *-pongozi*. The same with *-lamu* which can refer to siblings of your spouse, his/her cousins, and sometimes his his/her close friends. The examples show that it does not matter whether the kinship term refers to unique referents or not, OM remains optional in Citumbuka. The optionality of OM also applies to titles of people in society as examples below show.

15. a Ŵaukilano ŵ-a-cem-a bishopu.
2.youth 2.SM-Perf-call-FV 1.bishop
'The youth have invited the bishop.'
b Ŵaukilano ŵ-a-**mu**-cem-a bishopu.
2.youth 2.SM-Perf-1.OM-call-FV 1.bishop
'The youth have invited the bishop.'
16. a Mathemba gh-a-cem-a pulezidenti.
6.chief 6.SM-Perf-call-FV 1.president
'Chiefs have called for the president.'
b Mathemba gh-a-**mu**-cem-a pulezidenti.
6.chief 6.SM-Perf-1.OM-call-FV 1.president
'Chiefs have called for the president.'

The examples (see 15-16) above also show that even when the NP is a title, object marking is optional in Citumbuka. The discussion so far concludes that object marking is not obligatory with independent pronouns, kinship terms and titles, and with both animate and inanimate object NPs in Citumbuka Object marking is only required in the absence of the full NP. In the next section it is shown that this is also the case when the object NP is a locative noun.

3.2.4. Locative object marking

Some of the ways in which Bantu languages differ as far as object marking is concerned are whether a language has locative OMs or not, whether it has both locative OMs and locative enclitics or not, and whether it allows locative object marking or not (Marlo 2015). Citumbuka has OMs for all the locative noun classes, 16 (*pa*), 17 (*ku*) and 18 (*mu*). It allows locative object marking and like in non-locative monotransitive object, locative ob-

ject marking is optional in Citumbuka. This is illustrated in the following examples:

17. a Berita w-a-lut-a ku msika.
1.Berita 1.SM-Perf-go-FV to.17 3.market
'Berita has gone to the market.'
b Berita w-a-**ku**-lut-a ku msika.
1.Berita 1.SM-Perf-17.OM-go-FV to.17 3.market
'Berita has gone to the market.'

18. a Kondwani w-a-kwer-a pa nyumba.
1.Kondwani 1.SM-Perf-climb-FV on.16 9.house
'Kondwani has climbed on top of a house'
b Kondwani w-a-**pa**-kwer-a pa nyumba.
1.Kondwani 1.SM-Perf-16.OM-climb-FV on.16 9.house
'Kondwani has climbed on the house.'

19. a Munkhungu w-a-njil-a mu sitolo.
1.thief 1.SM-Perf-enter-FV in.18 store
'A thief has entered a store.'
b Munkhungu w-a-**mu**-njir-a mu
1.thief 1.SM-Perf-18.OM-enter-FV in.18
sitolo.
store
'A thief has entered into the store.'

The preceding examples show that locative object marking is possible in Citumbuka and that object marking is optional. As we can see from the examples above, we have OMs for the all the three locative noun classes, noun class 16 (see example 18), noun class 17 (see example 17) and noun class (see example 19).

3.2.5. Cognate object

Cognate objects are syntactic objects and arguments as also observed in the previous chapter (see section 2.4.6). In the following examples we see that OM is also optional for cognate objects, as also shown in the previous chapter (section 2.4.7).

20. a Nchimi yi-ka-lot-a maloto.
9.diviner 9.SM-Pst-dream-FV 6.dream
'The diviner dreamed dreams.'
b Nchimi yi-ka-**gha**-lot-a maloto.
9.diviner 9.SM-Pst-6.OM-dream-FV 6.dream
'The diviner dreamed the dreams.'

21. a Suzgo wa-ka-tenger-a citengero.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV 7.cry

‘Suzgo made a loud cry.’
b Suzgo wa-ka-**ci**-tenger-a citengero.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-7.OM-cry 7.cry
‘Suzgo made the loud cry.’

In the preceding examples, with or without OM, the examples are grammatical and acceptable). The examples from locative objects and cognate objects show that object marking is optional. This, therefore, confirms that object marking in Citumbuka is optional. To summarise the discussion on object marking in non-derived mono-transitive constructions, this section has shown and indeed concludes that OM is optional in Citumbuka mono-transitive constructions. In the next section, it is shown that OM is also optional in ditransitive constructions.

3.3. Object marking in ditransitives

Bantu languages differ in how their double object constructions interact with object marking (Marten et al 2007). Some languages allow more than one OM per verb while others allow only one OM per verb. Some languages allow only one of the two object NPs to take OM (e.g Chichewa, Bemba, Swahili) while others (e.g. Chaga, Tswana, siSwati and Lozi) allow either of the two (Marten et al 2007; Riedel 2010; Bresnan and Moshi 1993; Riedel and Marten 2012; Marlo 2015). Languages that allow only one non-subject NP to be object marked are said to be asymmetrical as opposed to those that allow either of the non-subject NPs (Bresnan and Moshi 1993). Thus languages like Chichewa, Bemba and Swahili are said to be asymmetrical while languages like Chaga are symmetrical. Citumbuka permits only one OM per verb. In non-derived ditransitive constructions only one object can take OM. Thus Citumbuka is an asymmetrical language. In non-derived ditransitive constructions only the recipient can be object-marked regardless of whether it is animate or not (refer to section 2.4.4). This is illustrated in the following examples.

22. a Manesi w-a-(**yi)**-p-a nkhalamu cigwere.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-give-FV 9.lion 7.hippo
‘Manesi has given the lion a hippopotamus.’
b *Manesi w-a-**ci**-p-a nkhalamu cigwere.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-give-FV 9.lion 7.hippo
‘Manesi has given the lion a hippopotamus.’
c *Manesi w-a-**mu**-p-a nkhalamu mwana.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-give-FV 9.lion 1.child
‘Manesi has given the lion a child.’
23. a Maria w-a-**mu**-tum-a mwana buku.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-give-FV 1.child 5.book
‘Maria has sent the child a book’

b *Maria w-a-(**li)**-tum-a mwana buku.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-5.OM-send-FV 1.child 5.book.
'Maria has sent a child the book.'

24. a Tembo wa-ku-(**mu)**-longol-a Yesaya
1.Tembo 1.SM-Pres-1.OM-show-FV 1.Yesaya
nyumba.
9.house
'Tembo is showing Yesaya a house.'

b *Tembo wa-ku-(**yi)**-longol-a Yesaya
1.Tembo 1.SM-Pres-9.OM-show-FV 1.Yesay
nyumba.
9.house
'Tembo is showing Yesaya the house.

The preceding examples show that only one non-subject NPs can take object marking. Bentley (1994) argues that there is a strong correlation between object marking and animacy in ditransitive constructions such that animate objects are more likely to be object-marked than their inanimate counterparts. However, examples (24a, b, c) above show that even when both objects are animates, only the recipient and not the theme can take OM.

3.4. Definiteness and Specificity

Riedel (2009:48) rightly observes that there are no general definiteness or specificity markers; such that whether a noun is definite or specific is a question of interpretation and context in most cases. She concludes that for Kiunguja Swahili and Sambaa there is no direct correlation between the presence or absence of OM and definiteness and specificity since objects can be definite, specific or non-specific with or without being object-marked in these languages. For Citumbuka there is no specific class of nouns that require object marking, not even those that rank high on the definiteness hierarchy.[1] However, there is a great tendency for object-marked objects to be interpreted as being definite or specific in Citumbuka. It should also be born in mind that context plays a major role in definite and specificity interpretation in Citumbuka. Consider the following examples:

25. a Dumase wa-ka-lip-a mbuzi.
1.Dumase 1.SM-Pst-pay-FV 9.goat
'Dumase paid the goat fine.'

[1] (a) Animacy hierarchy: Human>Animate>Inanimate
(b) Definiteness hierarchy: proper name>Pronoun>Definite NP>Indefinite specific NP>Non-specific NP

b Dumase wa-ka-**yi**-lip-a mbuzi nangauli
1.Dumase 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-pay-FV 9.goat despite
wa-ka-kan-ang-a.
1.SM-Pst-refuse-Imperf-FV
'Dumase did pay the goat fine despite the fact that he had been refusing to pay.'

c Dumase wa-ka-**yi**-lip-a mbuzi yila.
1.Dumase 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-pay-FV 9.goat 9.that
'Dumase paid that goat fine.'

26. a Nyina wa-ka-gul-a nchunga cifukwa
3SG.mother 3SG.SM-Pst-buy-FV 10.beans because
mwana wa-ka-lil-a comene.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV much
'His/her mother bought the beans because the child had cried a lot.'

b Nyina wa-ka-**zi**-gul-a nchunga
3SG.mother 3SG.SM-Pst-10.OM-buy-FV 10.beans
ziswesi kwambula ku-khumb-a cifukwa mwana
10.red without Infin-want-FV because 1.child
wa-ka-lil-a comene.
1.SM-Pst-cry-FV much
'His/her mother had to buy the red beans because the child cried a lot.'

c Nyina wa-ka-**zi**-gul-a nchunga
3SG.mother 3SG.SM.Pst-10.OM-buy-FV 10.beans
kwambula ku-khumb-a cifukwa mwana wa-ka-lil-a
without Infin-want-FV because 1.child 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV
comene.
much
'His/her mother had to buy beans because the child cried a lot.'

In the examples above, the English glosses of the object-marked objects have definite reading while their counterparts do not have a definite reading. Further investigation reveals that non-object-marked objects can also have definite reading and that some object-marked objects do not necessarily have a definite or specific reading at all. This is in line with Riedel (2009) who demonstrates that in Sambaa and Swahili definite readings are also available without object marking.

In example (25c) the object-marked object, *mbuzi* could mean that there was a specific goat which Dumase paid after being fined. Thus, he paid the specific goat required by the fine. In the case that Dumase was just told to pay a fine of any goat (25b), and both speaker and hearer were aware of this, it does not necessarily mean that there was a specific goat to be paid. What the speaker implies is the fact that Dumase did pay a goat as fined despite his persistent refusal to do so previously. Similarly, in example (26b) above, it could mean that there were specific beans to be bought (eg

26b) or there was need to buy (any) beans (26c). In the situation that a child was crying forna specific type of beans, say red beans, and his mother bought the specified beans, then we would be in a position to say that the object-marked object is specific. But if the child wanted beans (any), the speaker implies that beans were bought for the child as both the speaker and hearer already know that the child wanted beans (any type). Non-object-marked objects can also have a definite reading depending on context. For instance, in example (26a) in a context where a child wanted a certain type of beans and then the mother bought them, a definite reading would also be available. Since non-object-marked constructions can also be definite, we can only ascertain a tendency of OM to co-occur with definiteness but not necessarily that there is a clear and direct link between the two.

Despite the fact that proper names are necessarily definite and inherently unique referents, object marking them is not obligatory in Citumbuka as we can see in the examples below.

27. a Yosefe wa-ka-timb-a Yohane.
1.Yosefe 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 1.Yohane
'Yosefe hit Yohane.'
b Yosefe wa-ka-**mu**-timb-a Yohane.
1.Yosefe 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-FV 1.Yohane
'Yosefe hit Yohane.'

28. a Joni w-a-tol-a Maria.
1.Joni 1.SM-Perf-pick-FV 1.Maria
'Joni has married/picked Maria.
b Joni w-a-**mu**-tol-a Maria.
1.Joni 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-pick-FV 1.Maria
'Joni has married/picked Maria.'

The examples clearly show that OM is optional with proper names despite their character of being definite and specific. This strengthens the argument that there is no direct link between definiteness and object marking in Citumbuka. It also resonates with the conclusion that object marking in Citumbuka is optional.

3.5. Object marking and coordinated objects

There are five subject and object marking patterns for coordinated NPs in Bantu languages (Riedel 2010; Marten and Ramadhani 2001). These are: plural agreement for nouns belonging to the same class; first conjunct agreement; second conjunct agreement; agreement with default class; and no agreement. Second conjunct subject agreement is reportedly rare while second conjunct object agreement may not be possible. Citumbuka employs the following strategies for object marking coordinated NPs: no agreement,

first conjunct agreement, plural agreement and default agreement. With the no agreement strategy, no OM is marked on the verb complemented by the coordinated NPs. This is shown in the following examples:

29.	Msungwana	wa-ka-gul-a	nyama	na	delele.
	1.girl	1.SM-Pst-buy-FV	9.meat	with	5.okra
	'A girl bought meat and okra.'				
30.	Medalina	wa-ka-tol-a	cimayi	na	mkondo.
	1.Medalina	1.SM-Pst-pick-FV	7.knife	with	3.arrow
	'Medalina picked a knife and an arrow.'				

With first conjunct agreement, only the first conjunct of the coordinated object can be expressed through OM. If the order of the conjuncts is reversed, the OM will only agree with the current first conjunct. This is irrespective of the animacy hierarchy. Below are some examples to illustrate this:

31. a	Medalina	wa-ka-**ci**-tol-a	cimayi	na	mkondo.
	1.Medalina	1.SM-Pst-7.OM-pick-FV	7.knife	with	3.arrow
	'Medalina picked the knife and an arrow.				
b	*Medalina	wa-ka-**u**-tol-a	cimayi	na	mkondo.
	1.Medalina	1.SM-Pst-3.OM-pick-FV	7.knife	with	3.mkondo
	'Medalina picked a knife and the arrow.				
c	Medalina	wa-ka-**u**-tol-a	mkondo	na	cimayi.
	1.Medalina	1.SM-Pst-3.OM-pick-FV	3.arrow	with	7.knife
	'Medalina picked the arrow and a knife.'				
32. a	Suzgo	wa-ka-**yi**-gul-a	mbuzi	na	jembe.
	1.Suzgo	1.SM-Pst-9.OM-buy-FV	9.goat	with	5.hoe
	Suzgo bought the goat and a hoe.'				
b	*Suzgo	wa-ka-**li**-gul-a	mbuzi	na	jembe.
	1.Suzgo	1.SM-Pst-5.OM-buy-FV	9.goat	with	5.hoe
	'Suzgo bought a goat and the hoe.'				
c	Suzgo	wa-ka-**li**-gul-a	jembe	na	mbuzi.
	1.Suzgo	1.SM-Pst-5.OM-buy-FV	5.hoe	with	9.goat.'
	Suzgo bought the hoe and a goat.'				

As we can see from examples above, the second conjunct cannot be expressed through OM. When the conjuncts belong to the same noun class, their plural agreement form is used. For instance, if both conjuncts belong to class 1/2, then the class 2 OM will be used, and if they belong to class 7/8, then the class 8 OM will be used. If the first conjunct is plural, then plural of first conjunct agreement form is used. In example (33b) below both conjuncts are class 9/10 and class 10 agreement is used. In example (33c) the first conjunct is plural while the second conjunct is singular. And class 10 is used for agreement. The agreement is as a result of a common plural form for the two conjuncts in these examples.

33. a Msuzgikenge wa-ka-kom-a mbuzi na mbelele.
1.Msuzgikenge 1.SM-Pst-kill-FV 9.goat with 9.sheep.
'Msuzgikenge killed the goat and sheep.'
b Msuzgikenge wa-ka-**zi**-kom-a mbuzi na
1.Msuzgikenge 1.SM-Pst-10.OM-kill-FV 9.goat with
mbelele.
9.sheep
'Msuzgikenge killed the goat and the sheep.'
c Msuzgikenge wa-ka-**zi**-kom-a mbuzi na
1.Msuzgikenge 1.SM-Pst-10.OM-kill-FV 10.goat with
mbelele.
9.sheep
'Msuzgikenge killed the goats and sheep.'

34. a Thenga li-ka-yegh-a mutu na
5.messenger 5.SM-Pst-carry-FV 3.head with
Mcira.
3.tail
'The messenger carried a head and a tail.'
b Thenga li-ka-**yi**-yegh-a mutu na
5.messenger 5.SM-Pst-4.OM-carry-FV 3.head with
Mcira
3.tail
'The messenger carried the head and tail.'
c Thenga li-ka-**yi**-yegh-a mitu na
5.messenger 5.SM-Pst-4.OM-carry-FV 4.head with
mcira.
3.tail
'The messenger carried the heads and a tail.'

35. a Themba li-ka-vin-isk-a mwanakazi
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-dance-Caus$_3$-FV 1.woman
na mwanalume.
with 1.man
'The chief made a woman and a man to dance.'
b Themba li-ka-**ŵa**-vin-isk-a mwanakazi
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-2.OM-dance-Caus$_3$-FV 1.womanm
na mwanalume.
with 1.man
'The chief made the woman and the man to dance.'

In example (34c) where the first conjunct is plural and the second one is singular, class 10 is the common plural form and it is used for agreement. The two conjuncts both fall in the 3/4 agreement class. In examples (34b) and (35b), the conjuncts share a common class, 3/4 and 1/2, respectively.

The default class agreement strategy is used when the conjuncts belong to different noun classes but share a common semantic property. For instance, if the conjuncts are human, class 2 is used as the default agreement and if the conjuncts are non-human class 8 is used. Examples below illustrate this.

36. a Mhaŵi wa-ka-**ŵa**-cem-esk-a themba na
1.witch 1.SM-Pst-2.OM-call-Caus$_3$-FV 5.chief with
ng'anga.
9.herbalist
'A witch called for the chief and the herbalist.'

37. a Yeremiya wa-ka-**vi**-tol-a bulangeti na
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-8.OM-pick-FV 5.blanket with
cakulya.
7.food
'Yeremiya took the blanket and the food.'

b Mtumwi wa-ka-**vi**-yegh-a bulangeti na
1.Mtumwi 1.SM-Pst-8.OM-carry-FV 5.blanket with
mbuzi.
9.goat
'Mtumwi carried the blanket and the goat.'

38. Ciŵinda ci-ka-**vi**-dikizg-a nkhalamu
7.hunter 7.SM-Pst-8.OM-chase-FV 9.lion
na cimbwe.
with 1.hyena
'The hunter chased the lion and the hyena.'

In example (36a) the two conjuncts share a property of being human despite having classes 5 and 9, respectively, and hence class 2 agreement is used. In example (37a) the conjuncts share a semantic property of being in the category of 'things' and class 8 agreement is used. In example (37b) the conjuncts also share the semantic property of being things despite the fact that one of the conjuncts is inanimate and the second animate, class 8 agreement is used which suggests that anything that is not human is regarded as a 'thing'.

3.6. Summary of Chapter

The chapter discusses object marking in Citumbuka. It has been shown that object marking in Citumbuka is optional except in the absence of the full NP and only one OM is allowed per verb. In double object constructions, only one post-verbal NP, the recipient, can take OM as also discussed in the previous chapter (2.4). The chapter also discusses object marking in coordinated objects. It has been shown that there are four possibilities in Citumbuka. The first being no agreement strategy, the second is first conjunct agreement where only the first conjunct can take OM. The third option is

where the conjuncts are from the same class or share semantic property and their plural form is used as OM on the verb. The last option is default class agreement, that is, class 2 for human and class 8 for non-humans.

Chapter 4

4. Passive

4.1. Introduction

There are two passive derivational suffixes in Citumbuka, *-iw-* and *-ik*. The suffix *-ik-* is widely used and is homophonous to the causative suffix *-ik-* discussed in chapter 6. The *-ik-* form is polysemous as it is also used to derive stative/neuter, middle (facilitative meaning) and potential passive. The subject of the passive can be the logical object, locative NP or the default agreement prefix *ku-* in impersonal passives. Impersonal passives can be derived from both transitive and unergative intransitive verbs whether in perfective or imperfective aspect. Since intransitive verbs do not have logical objects, it is concluded that the passive in Citumbuka does not necessarily promote the logical object to the subject position, but rather suppresses the agent.

A prototypical passive is described as a construction that contrasts with an active one, with its subject corresponding to the direct object of the active while the initial subject is suppressed or demoted to the oblique position (Siewierska 2011). Below is an example of a typical passive construction from Citumbuka.

1. a Chikulamayembe wa-ka-cem-a nduna.
   1.Chikulamayembe 1.SM-Pst-call-FV 10.minister
   'Chikulamayembe called for his ministers.'
   b Nduna zi-ka-cem-ek-a na
   10.minister 10.SM-Pst-call-Pass-FV with
   Chikulamayembe.
   1.Chikulamayembe
   'The ministers were called for by Chikulamayembe.'
   c Nduna zi-ka-cem-ek-a.
   10.minister 10.SM-Pst-call-Pass-FV
   'The ministers were called for.'

Example (1b) is a passive construction derived from example (1a). What was the object in (1a) becomes the subject while the initial subject appears in the *na*-phrase as illustrated by example (1b) above. In some languages passives completely suppress the initial subject. Passives that completely suppress the initial subject while promoting the direct object to subject position are the most widespread across languages of the world (Keenan 1985, Keenan and Dryer 2006; Siewierska 1984, 2011; Comrie 1989; Khrakovsky 1973). There are two broad types of passives, periphrastic passives and morphological passives (Keenan 1985:251). Periphrastic passives use auxil-

iaries as is the case with English passives. Morphological passives are derived by a morphological process such as internal vowel change, reduplication, infixing or suffixing a passive morpheme to the verb stem (Keenan 1985, Payne 1997, Comrie 1989). Citumbuka passives are a typical example of morphological passives. Passives are further categorized into personal and impersonal. Personal passives have a lexical subject unlike impersonal passives which involve agent demotion only. In this chapter, I discuss both personal and impersonal passives in Citumbuka

4.2. The form of the passive suffixes

There are two passive derivational suffixes in Citumbuka: *-iw-* also realized as *-ew-*, and *-ik-* also realized as *-ek-*. Both *-iw-* and *-ik-* are subject to vowel harmony depending on the environments in which they occur. The suffix *-iw-* is realized as *-ew-* while *-ik-* is realized as *-ek-* if they occur after syllables with vowels *e* and *o*. They are realized as *-ik-* and *-iw-* elsewhere. The following examples demonstrate this:

2. a Kanyiska wa-ka-temb-ek-a na themba.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-curse-Pass-FV with 5.chief
   'Kanyiska was cursed by the chief.'
   b Kanyiska wa-ka-temb-ew-a na themba.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-curse-Pass-FV with 5.chief
   'Kanyiska was cursed by the chief.'
3. a Kanyiska wa-ka-timb-ik-a na nduna.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-beat-Pass-FV with 9.minister
   'Kanyiska was beaten by the minister'
   b Kanyiska wa-ka-timb-iw-a na nduna.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-beat-Pass-FV with 9.minister
   Kanyiska was beaten by the minister.'
4. a Kanyiska wa-ka-longol-ek-a nthowa na
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-show-Pass-FV 9.way with
   themba.
   5.chief
   'Kanyiska was shown the way by the chief.'
   b Kanyiska wa-ka-longol-ew-a nthowa na themba.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-show-Pass-FV 9.way with 5.chief
   'Kanyiska was shown the way by the chief.'
5. Kanyiska wa-ka-lil-ik-a na ŵanthu.
   1.Kanyiska 1.SM-Pst-cry-Pass-FV with 2.people
   'Kanyiska was mourned by people.'

The passive suffixes *-ik-* and *-iw-* are realized as *-ek* and *-ew-*, respectively, when they occur after vowels *e* and *o* as in examples (2a, b) above. They

are realized as *-ik-* and *-iw-*, elsewhere as in shown in examples (3a, b) and (5) above. Vail (1972) argues that the passive form *-iw-* is not productive at all and lists a few verbs that go with this form. However, contrary to Vail (1972), Phiri (1980:71) rightly observes that the suffix *-iw-* is equally productive such that any passive construction with *-ik-* morpheme can equally be derived by the form *-iw-*. "The passive extension /*Ek*/ is the most common and very likely the most recent" (Phiri 1980:69). Phiri (1980) makes such a conclusion based on the fact that, according to him, many examples of passives are phasing out *-iw-* and adapting the *-ik-* form. Young (1932:44) observes that "it is hard to distinguish any real difference of usage" between the two passive morphemes. In fact, Young (1932) states that *-ik-* is the passive morpheme, and discusses *-iw-* as an additional passive. Mackenzie (1913) simply states that the passive form for Citumbuka is *-ek-*. The change from passive *-iw-* to *-ik-* may have occurred long before Citumbuka was reduced to writing by the missionaries. The presence of the *-iw-* form may be due to the influence of Cingoni when it came into contact with Citumbuka as well as due to lexicalization. Most of the lexicalized passives have an *-iw-* form. Most of the literature published by graduates of the Livingstonia mission schools show that *-ik-* and *-iw-* were used interchangeably. It should be born in mind that some of these graduates were of Ngoni background and there was no standardized version of Citumbuka. The following (6 and 7 below) texts extracted from Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP), Synod of Livingstonia 1961:7) *Sumu Zaukhristu*: *Hymns in Tumbuka*, (*sumu* 26) shows interchangeable use of the *-ik-* and *-iw-* forms. CCAP (1961:22-25) also reveal the same pattern as shown in examples (10a, b, c) below.

6. a L-a-bab-**iw**-a-ko themba la ŵangelo
   5.SM-Perf-bear-Pass-FV-17.Loc 5.chief 5.of 2.angel
   'There has been born a king of angels.'
   b Wa-ka-bab-**ik-**a kamwana ku mwali.
   1.SM-Pst-bear-Pass-FV 12.child to.17 1.virgin
   'He was born a small child to a virgin.'
7. Vinthu vyose vi-ka-pang-**w-**a na imwe.
   8.thing 8.all 8.SM-Pst-make-Pass-FV with you
   'All things were made by you.'
8. Ŵalwani ŵa-ku-lengesk-**ek-**a na
   2.enemy 2.SM-Pres-embarrass-Pass-FV with
   kutonda kw-ane.
   15.overcome 15-mine
   'My enemies are embarrassed by my victory.'

9. Kw-a-bab-**iw**-a mutaski. Mutaski
   17-Perf-bear-Pass-FV 1.saviour 1.saviour
   wa-ti-bab-**iw**-il-a.
   1.SM-1PL-bear-Pass-Appl-FV
   'There has been born a saviour. The saviour has been born for us'
10. a Mbelwa wa-ka-bab-**iw**-a pa Maŵiri.
      1.Mbelwa 1.SM-Pst-bear-Pass-FV 16.at 1.Maŵiri
      'Mbelwa was born at Maŵiri.'
    b Ŵasekulu ŵa-ka-bab-**ik**-a ŵangoni
      2.grandfather 2.SM-Pst-bear-Pass-FV 2.Ngoni
      ŵa-nda-iz-e.
      2.SM-Perf.Neg-come-Sbjv
      'Our grandfather was born before the Ngoni came.'
    c Mphangera wa-ka-bab-**iw**-a silya la
      1.Mphangera 1.SM-Pst-bear-Pass-FV side 5.of
      Zambezi.
      1.Zambezi
      'Mphangera was born on the other side of the Zambezi River.'
11. Munthu yula wa-ku-khumb-ik-w-a.
    1.person 1.that 1.SM-Pres-want-Pass-Pass-FV
    'That person is wanted.'
12. Ku-muzi uko ŵana ŵa-ka-fum-a
    17-village 17.Rel 2.child 2.SM-Pst-exit-FV
    ku-ka-many-ik-w-a.
    17.SM-Pst-know-Pass-Pass-FV
    'The village from where the children came was known.
13. Pala n-a-p-iw-a maji
    when 1SG-Perf-give-Pass-FV 6.water
    n-khu-mw-el-a nyota pela.
    1SG-Pres-drink-Appl-FV 9.thirst ony
    When I have been given water, I only drink to quench the thirst.'
14. Mwanakazi wa-ka-f-el-w-a.
    1.woman 1.SM-Pst-die-Appl-Pass-FV
    'A woman was bereaved.'
15. Sono pala kw-a-pok-ew-a kalata….
    now when 17-Perf-receive-Pass-FV 9.letter
    'Now when a letter has been received….'

In example (7a, 8a, and 8.c) suffix *-iw-* is used while in examples (7b, and 8b) the suffix *-ik-* is used. Examples (7a) and (b) are actually from the same hymn, number 26. This further contradicts Vail (1972) who states that *-w-* is not productive. These observations show that the two passive forms have co-existed for some time and the form *-ik-* is used quite more often than the *-iw-* except for lexicalized passive forms which usually appear with the *-iw-* form. As we will see later in this chapter, *-ik-* also derives stative and po-

tential derivations, and it is homophonous with the *-ik-* causative derivation in Citumbuka. Examples (10) and (15) are impersonal passives, which are discussed in section 4.5. The example also shows that the applicative can follow the passive in Citumbuka; this is discussed in detail in chapter 9. Examples (11) to (15) are from data collected during fieldwork. The data show that passive *-iw-* is still in use although it is not as common as the *-ik-* one.

4.3. Personal Passives in Citumbuka

Personal passives have a specific implied agent, which is either suppressed or demoted to oblique. Personal passives are considered the canonical passives (Siewierska 1984). Below are examples of personal passives in Citumbuka.

16. a Nyimbo z-a-lum-a mwana.
10.mosquitoes 10.Perf-bite-FV 1.child
'Mosquitoes have bitten the child.'
b Mwana w-a-lum-ik-a na nyimbo.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-bite-Pass-FV with 10.mosquitoe
'The child has been bitten by mosquitoes.'

Thus, a transitive construction (16a) becomes intransitive in (16b) with the suffixation of a passive suffix *-ik-*. What was originally the subject appears in the oblique (see 16b). With suffixation of the passive suffix *-ik-*, the transitive verb *luma* 'bite' is now syntactically intransitive. In Citumbuka, both the agent and the instrument can be introduced by *na* as examples below illustrate:

17. a Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-sw-a gilasi na cilibwe.
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-break-FV 5.glass with 8.stone
'Thieves broke the glass with a big stone.'
b Gilasi li-ka-sw-ek-a na cilibwe na
5.glass 5.SM-Pst-break-Pass-FV with 8.stone with
ŵankhungu.
2.thief
'The glass was broken with a big stone by thieves.'

In the preceding examples, the instrument is an adjunct in the active sentence (17a). In the passive sentence, the patient becomes the subject while the agent is demoted to the oblique alongside the instrument.

Instrument passive

In Citumbuka, it is also possible to have an instrument appearing as a subject when the agent is not expressed. The instrument is demoted to the oblique in a passive sentence while the patient becomes the subject in the passive. This is illustrated in the examples below.

18. a Cilibwe ci-ka-sw-a gilasi.
8.stone 8SM-Pst-break-FV 5glass
'A big stone broke the glass.'
b Gilasi li-ka-sw-ek-a na cilibwe.
5.glass 5.SM-Pst-break-Pass-FV with 8.stone
'The glass was broken by a big stone.'

In examples above, the instrument functions as the subject in the active sentence and it is demoted to the oblique in the passive counterpart in (18b).

Locative passive

In Citumbuka, locative nouns can also become the subject of a passive construction. The following examples illustrate this:

19. a Ŵanakazi ŵ-a-khal-a pa-mphasa.
2.woman 2SM-Perf-sit-FV 16-9.mat
'Women are sitting on the mat'
b Pa-mphasa p-a-khal-iw-a na ŵanakazi.
16-9.mat 16.SM-sit-Pass-FV with 2.women
'The mat has been sat on'
20. a Ŵana ŵ-a-lut-a ku-9.sukulu.
2.child 2.SM-Perf-go-FV 17-9.school
'Children have gone to school.'
b Ku-sukulu kw-a-lut-ik-a.
17-9.school 17.SM-Perf-go-Pass-FV
Lit. 'The school has been gone to.'

In example (20) it could be that the children did not want to go to school but somehow they eventually went.

Class 15 passivization

In Citumbuka, nouns belonging to the infinitival noun class, 15, can also become subject of passive constructions. In this passivization, the infinitival noun along with its complement is promoted to the subject position as we can see the examples below.

21. a Mwimbi wa-ku-pulik-a kuyimba.
1.singer 1.SM-Pres-hear-FV 15.sing
'The singer is hearing some singing'

b Kuyimba ku-ku-pulik-ik-w-a na mwimbi.
15.sing 15.SM-Pres-hear-Stat-Pass-FV with 1.singer
'Singing is being heard by the singer'

22. a NyaGondwe wa-ku-temw-a kuvina.
Ms_Gondwe 1.SM-Pres-love-FV 15.dancing
'Ms Gondwe likes dancing.'

b Kuvina ku-ku-temw-ek-a na
15.dancing 15.SM-Pres-love-Pass-FV with
nyaGondwe.
1.Ms.Gondwe
'Dancing is liked by Ms_Gondwe'

23. a. Ŵasambiri ŵa-ku-sambil-a kulemba kalata.
2.learners 2.SM-Pres-learn-FV 15.writing 9.letter
'Learners are learning writing a letter

b Kulemba kalata ku-ku-sambil-ik-a
15.writing 9.letter 15.SM-Pres-learn-Pass-FV
na ŵasambiri.
with 2.learner
'Writing a letter is being learnt by the learners.'

The examples above show that the passive in Citumbuka can promote any object including instrument, infinitival nouns along with their noun complements, into the subject position in monotransitives. The initial subject may appear in oblique or may be deleted in passive constructions. This also applies to all derived applicative and causative monotransitive constructions, as illustrated in the examples below:

24. a Mwana w-a-gon-a.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-FV
'A child has slept.'

b Mwana w-a-gon-el-a bulangeti.
1.Child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Appl-FV 5.blanket
'The child has slept on a blanket.'

c Bulangeti l-a-gon-el-ek-a na mwana.
5.blanket 5.SM-Perf-sleep-Appl-Pass-FV with 1.child
'The blanket has been slept on by the child.'

Suffixation of the applicative derivational suffix to an intransitive verb derives a monotransitive verb stem. In example (24a), *gona* 'sleep' is an intransitive verb. Suffixation of an applicative derivational suffix, *-il-*, introduces a new argument, *bulangeti*, deriving a monotransitive verb stem *gonela*. Suffixation of the passive suffix derives *goneleka* in (24c) which is intransitive. Similarly, suffixation of a passive morpheme to a derived causative monotransitive base derives a syntactically intransitive verb. This is illustrated in the examples below:

25. a Mwana w-a-w-a.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-fall-FV
'The child has fallen down.'
b Eliam w-a-w-isk-a mwana.
1.Eliam 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'Eliam has made the child to fall.'
c Mwana w-a-w-isk-ik-a na Eliam.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV with 1.Eliam
'The child has been made to fall by Eliam.'

Suffixation of the causative suffix to an intransitive base derives a monotransitive verb stem. Suffixation of the causative suffix introduces a new argument with a causer role. Example (25a) is an intransitive sentence. Suffixation of the causative derivational suffix to the intransitive base verb derives (25b) which is a monotransitive. Suffixation of the causative suffix introduces a new argument the causer, which becomes the new subject of the sentence. Suffixation of the passive suffix to the causative transitive base derives (25c) in which the causer is no longer the subject of the sentence. The causee becomes the new subject. Thus, in both non-derived monotransitives and derived monotranstives the initial subject appears in the oblique and the verb valency is decreased by one. In ditransitive constructions, only one post-verbal object can become the subject of the passive construction except for derived instrumental and locative applicative ditransitive constructions where either of the two non-subject NPs can become the subject of a passive construction as shown in the next section. Passivization of ditransitive constructions is also discussed in chapter 2 in relation to objecthood.

Ditransitive base

According to Woolford (1993) there are two passive patterns manifested by double object constructions; asymmetric passive and symmetric passive. Symmetric passive allow either of the objects to passivise for instance Kinyarwanda, Fula and Swedish while asymmetric passive allows only one object to passivize as is the case with languages like English, Swahili, Chichewa (Woolford 1993, Siewierska 1980), and Lunda (Givón and Kawasha (2006). Keenan (1985) observes that it is the patient of active ditransitive bases that becomes the subject of the passive construction in most languages with some languages not allowing the recipient to passivize. In Citumbuka non-derived ditransitive constructions, it is the recipient and not the patient/theme that is allowed to passivize. This has already been discussed in chapter 2, section 2. Going by Woolford's categorization of passives, we can conclude that the passive of Citumbuka non-derived ditransitive constructions is asymmetrical. It should be noted that the

(a)symmetrical categorization of languages is not restricted to passives only and is comprehensively discussed by Bresnan and Moshi (1993)

In derived causative ditransitive constructions, only the causee can become the subject of the passive construction. This is shown in the examples below.

26. a Mwana w-a-lemb-a kalata.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-write-FV 9.letter
'A child has written a letter.'
b Matiyasi w-a-lemb-esk-a kalata mwana.
1.Matiyasi. 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus$_3$-FV 5.letter 1.child
'Matiyasi has made the child to write a letter.'
c *Kalata y-a-lemb-esk-ek-a mwana na
5.letter 5.SM-Perf-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 1.child with
Matiyasi.
1.Matiyasi
'The letter has been made to be written by the child by Matiyasi.'
d Mwana w-a-lemb-esk-ek-a kalata na
1.child 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.letter with
Matiyasi.
1.Matiyasi
'The child has been made to write a letter by Matiyasi.'
27. a Mkhuzo w-a-nyamul-a mwana.
1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Perf-lift-FV 1.child
'Mkhuzo has lifted a child.'
b Maria w-a-nyamul-isk-a Mkhuzo mwana.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-lift-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Mkhuzo 1.child
'Maria has made Mkhuzo lift a child.'
c Mkhuzo w-a-nyamul-isk-ik-a mwana na
1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Perf-lift-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 1.child with
Maria.
1.Maria
'Mkhuzo was made to lift a child by Maria.'
d Mwana w-a-nyamul-isk-ik-a Mkhuzo
1.child 1.SM-Perf-lift-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 1.Mkhuzo
na Maria.
with 1.Maria
(i) *'A child was made to be lifted by Mkhuzo by Maria.'
(ii) 'A child was made to lift Mkhuzo by Maria.'

In the preceding examples, only the causee can become the subject of the passive construction (see example 2d above). When the theme/base object passivizes the result is ungrammatical as illustrated by example (26c) above. Example (26d) shows that failure of the theme to passivize is not

due to animacy effects as both the causee and the theme are animates and humans. Example (26d) interpretation (ii) is grammatical, but there is a there is a causative in (d), so it cannot be the passive of (26a), but a passive of (26b). This means that it is the causative that is being passivized. Thus, derived causative ditransitive constructions and non-derived ditransitive constructions behave in the same way. Things change when it comes to passivization of derived applicative constructions where whether only one non-subject NP passivizes or either of them depends on the type of applicative construction. Benefactive and goal/direction applicative allow only the AO to passivize while instrumental and locative allow either of the objects to passivize. Passivization of applicative ditransitive is discussed in details in chapter 6. The preceding discussion has shown that subjects of passives can be agents, instruments, locatives or infinitival nouns. In non-derived and derived causative ditransitive constructions, we have seen that only one of the non-subject NPs can passivize in Citumbuka. In derived applicative ditransitive constructions, only one non-subject NP can passivize except for locative and instrumental applicatives. The next section discusses the semantics of personal passives.

4.3.1. Semantics of the personal passive

From the discussion above, we can see that syntactically, the basic passive is a detransitivising operation. With passivization, a transitive verb becomes syntactically intransitive while a ditransitive verb becomes monotransitive. Shibatani (1985) argues that the basic and primary function of the passive is to defocus the agent. According to him, an agent may be defocused because it is not known, obvious, irrelevant or unimportant. Shibatani's (1985) argument holds for Citumbuka especially because the passive mainly suppresses the logical subject. This becomes more evident when we discuss impersonal passives. In the following examples, we see that the logical subject is suppressed in personal passives.

28. a Madoda gha-ka-vwal-ik-a themba
6.men 6.SM-Pst-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 5.chief
mphumphu.
9.crown
'Men crowned the chief.'

b Themba li-ka-vwal-ik-ik-a mphumphu
5.chief 1.SM-Pst-wear-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV 9.crown
na madoda.
with 6.man
'The chief was crowned by men.'

c Themba li-ka-vwal-ik-ik-a mphumphu.
5.chief 1.SM-Pst-wear-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV 9.crown.
'The chief was crowned.'

29. a. Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-mu-lumb-a Ciuta.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-OM-appreciate-FV 1.God
'People appreciate God.'
b Ciuta wa-ku-lumb-ik-a na ŵanthu.
1.God 1.SM-Pres-appreciate-Pass-FV with 2.person
'God is appreciated by people.'
c Ciuta wa-ku-lumb-ik-a.
1.God 1.SM-Pres-appreciate-Pass-FV
'God is appreciated.'

The causer in examples (28b, c) and (29b, c) is suppressed so that it is not visible. Although the agent is sometimes deleted as (28c) and (29c) above, it is always implied. The reasons for backgrounding may be various. In the case of example (28b), it might be obvious among the speakers as to who is entrusted with the role of crowning a chief. Or it may not be relevant for the agent to be specified simply because the hearer wanted only to know if the chief had already been crowned. In examples (29b, c) it is most likely that the demoted agent is human beings since they are the ones who are capable of expressing God's appreciation. It is also apparent here that while backgrounding the agent, the passive also foregrounds the logical object, which is promoted to become the subject as example (28b) where the patient, 'chief' becomes the new subject. Personal passives, therefore, are capable of not only backgrounding the agent, but also foregrounding the patient. This is what sets apart the personal passives from impersonal passives which can only demote the agent. The next section describes and investigates impersonal passives in Citumbuka.

4.4. Impersonal Passives

Impersonal passives are subjectless passives mostly derived from intransitive verbs (Blevin 2006; Sierwierska 1984:101-102). Impersonal passives of transitive verbs also exist in many languages (Perlmutter 1978:157). Impersonal passives are widespread across languages, for instance they have been reported to be found in Celtic languages, Dutch, Turkish, Tarahumara, Latin, and Shona (Tallerman 2015: 239). Bantu languages reported to have impersonal passives include Zulu (Buell 2012), Kirundi, Sesotho (Demuth 1990) and Shona (Tallerman 2015). Abraham and Leiss (2006) agree with Sierwierska (1984) that impersonal passives may have an indefinite human subject. According to Blevin (2003 and 2006), intransitive passivization is restricted to volitional or agentive intransitive verbs (unergatives) as opposed to non-agentive intransitives (unaccusatives). Perlmutter (1978) observes that all Dutch impersonal passives formed from unaccusatives are not well-formed. Following Perlmutter and Postal 1984 (as cited by Blevin 2006), Blevin (2006:237) argues that "since lack of a logical subject is exactly what defines unaccusatives as a class, it follows that they should never

passivize." This in a way confirms Comrie (1977) who argues that passivization demotes the logical subject and does not necessarily promote the logical object to subject position of a passive. This is also echoed by Tallerman (2015) who states that an important function of the impersonal constructions is to defocus the agent by demoting or deleting it.

4.4.1. Impersonal Passives in Citumbuka

The impersonal passive verb is introduced by the default subject agreement prefix *ku-*. Impersonal passives in Citumbuka can be derived from both unergative and transitive verbs. Fufa (2009:108) observes that in Oromo, like in Old Egyptian impersonal passives are derived from unergative verbs that include motion verbs like run, arrive, jump, etc, sound emission verbs like *cry*, *shout*, etc, and bodily function verbs like *laugh*, *weep*, etc. Perlmutter's (1978) list of unergative verbs is in two categories, verbs that describe willed or volitional acts such as *work*, *play*, *laugh*, *smile* including verbs that describe manner of speaking such as *whisper, shout, mumble* and verbs that describe sounds made by animals such as *bark, quack, meow*; and verbs that describe involuntary bodily processes such as *sneeze, belch, burp, cough, sleep*. Thus, Fufa's (2009) unergatives verbs fall under Perlmutter's (1978) list. This is also the category of intransitive verbs that allow derivation of Citumbuka impersonal passives. Below are examples from Citumbuka illustrating impersonal passives.

30. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-lil-a.
    2.person 2.SM-Perf-cry-FV
    'People have cried.'
  b Ku-a-lil-ik-a.
    17.SM-Perf-cry-Pass-FV
    'It/There has been cried.'
31. a Ŵana ŵa-ka-seŵel-a.
    2.child 2.SM-Pst-play-FV
    'Children played.'
  b Ku-ka-seŵel-ek-a..
    17.SM-Pst-play-Pass-FV
    'It/There was played.'
32. a Nchimi yi-ku-vin-a.
    9.diviner 9.SM-Pst-dance-FV
    'The diviner is dancing.'
  b Ku-ku-vin-ik-a.
    17.SM-Pst-dance-Pass-FV
    'It/There is being danced.'
33. a Ŵasepuka ŵ-a-w-a.
    2.boy 2.SM-Perf-fall-FV
    'Boys have fallen down.'

b *Ku-a-w-ik-a.
17.SM-Perf-fall-Pass-FV
'There has been fallen down.'

34. a Nkhumba zi-ka-mil-a.
10.pig 10.SM-Pst-drown-FV
'Pigs drowned.'
b *Ku-ka-mil-ik-a.
17.SM-Pst-drown-Pass-FV
'It/There was drowned.'

Frajzyngier (1982) and Abraham and Leiss (2006) note that impersonal passives are associated with imperfective aspect. However, in the preceding examples (30b) we have an impersonal passive with perfective aspect. In (30b), (31b) and (32b), the verb has the default subject agreement prefix *ku-* . When the base verb is unaccusative, impersonal passives are ungrammatical as exemplified by examples (33b) and (34b). The examples also show that the logical subject is actually deleted in impersonal passives as we can see in (30b) and (31b).The default agreement prefix *ku-* behaves more like a dummy subject that is there to meet the requirement that a sentence must have a subject. This concurs with Siewierska's (1984) description of impersonal passives that they possess a dummy subject. In Citumbuka impersonal passives can also be derived from bodily processes verbs as shown in the examples below:

35. a Mathemba gha-ka-sek-a.
6.chief 6.SM-Pst-laugh-FV
'Chiefs laughed.'
b Ku-ka-sek-ek-a.
17.SM-Pst-laugh-Pass-FV
'It was laughed.'

36. a Doda li-ka-ethyemul-a comene.
5.man 5.SM-Pst-sneeze-FV very
'A man sneezed a lot.'
b Ku-ka-ethyemul-ik-a.
17.SM-Pst-sneeze-Pass-FV
'It was sneezed.'

37. a Ku-zamu-gon-ek-a macero.
17.SM-Fut-sleep-Pass-FV tomorrow
'It/There will be slept tomorrow.'

Like in the previous examples, the impersonal passive construction is introduced by a default subject agreement prefix *ku-*. Below are examples of impersonal verbs derived from volitional and motion unergartive verbs.

38. Ku-ku-gez-ek-a mulenji pela.
    17.SM-Pres-bathe-Pass-FV morning only
    'It/There is bathed in the morning only.'
39. Ku-ka-bwenth-ek-a usiku uwo.
    17.SM-Pst-bark-Pass-FV 14.night 14.that
    'It/There was barked that night.'
40. Ku-a-yowoy-ek-a kale kuti w-iz-e.
    17.SM-Perf-speak-Pass-FV before comp 1.SM-come-Subjnct
    'It/There has already been spoken that he/she sould come.'
41. Ku-zamu-end-ek-a.
    17.SM-Fut-walk-Pass-FV
    'It shall be walked.'

The examples above show that in Citumbuka, just like in Oromo and Dutch, impersonal passives can be derived from unergative verbs describing different situations. They can be verbs of motion, verbs of volition, bodily functions, sound emission verbs. The verbs always have the class 17 default agreement prefix *ku-* and the agent is deleted although it is always implied. The next section discusses impersonal passives derived from transitive verbs.

4.4.2. Impersonal passives derived from a transitive base

In Citumbuka impersonal passives can also be derived from transitive verbs. These impersonal passives delete the agent and unlike personal passives they never promote the logical subject to the subject position. Such impersonal passives may also be used to conceal the identity of the agent or to exaggerate something. Consider the following examples:

42. a Zandile w-a-wumb-a muphika.
      1.Zandile 1.SM-Perf-mold-FV 3.pot
      'Zandile has molded a clay pot.'
    b Muphika w-a-wumb-ik-a.
      3.pot 3.SM-Perf-mold-Pass-FV
      'A pot has been molded.'
    c Kw-a-wumb-ik-a muphika.
      17-Perf-mould-Pass-FV 3.pot
      'There has been molded a pot'
43. a Ŵanthu ŵa-zamu-phik-a vyakulya vinandi
      2.person 2.SM-Fut-cook-FV 8.food 8.many
      pa-muthimba.
      16-3.wedding
      'People will cook a lot of food at the wedding.'

b Ku-zamu-phik-ik-a vyakulya vinandi
17.SM-Fut-cook-Pass-FV 8.food 8.many
pa-muthimba.
16-3.wedding
'There will be cooked a lot of food at the wedding.'

44. a Fumu y-a-phep-isk-a ŵanthu
9.Chief 9.SM-Perf-sorry-Caus$_3$-FV 2.person
ŵake sono.
his now
'The chief has apologized to his people now'

b Kw-a-phep-isk-ik-a sono.
17-Perf-sorry-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV now
'It has been apologized now.'

Examples (42a) and (43a) are clear syntactic transitives. The impersonal passives conceal the identity of the implied agent, which is understood in context between the hearer and the speaker. For example in (44b), it is possible that the chief said he could not apologize to his subjects but has finally swallowed his pride, and both speaker and hearer know that the chief said he would never apologize. It is also possible that the speaker is exaggerating that the chief has apologized finally. Just like impersonal passives derived from unergative verbs, the examples show that even those derived from transitive bases are introduced by the default subject agreement prefix *ku-*. The prefix *ku-* does not agree with the logical object or the locative, for example in (b), the locative NP bears noun class 16 prefix while the subject prefix is class 17.

4.4.3. Semantics of Impersonal passives

Impersonal passives require an indefinite human agent to be implicated (Frajzyngier 1982; Abraham and Leiss 2006). However, Perlmutter's (1978) list of unergative verbs includes verbs describing sounds produced by animals. One of the impersonal passive examples above (39) does not implicate a human agent as human beings do not bark. Rather, it shows that the hidden agent can also be non-human in an impersonal passive. Citumbuka impersonal passives have a salient pragmatic function. They may be used to exaggerate or show the intensity of how something was done. For instance, the impersonal passive like (39) may be used to mean that a lot of dogs barked at the same time for some reason. In this case there is no specific dog implied, but dogs in general. In example (43b) the implied agent is unspecific, it could be people in general or a specific group of people. The speaker in (40) may also imply that some people have already spoken about the decision to have someone.

In some cases however, the implied agent is an individual that can be identified in context. We can see this in examples (40) and (44b) above. In (40) the implied agent may be individual, but the speaker may deliberately use an impersonal passive to avoid mentioning the identity of the agent. The reason for not stating the identity of the agent may be that may be the pot did not come out nicely. Similarly, with example (38) above, the implied agent may also be a specific person who takes a bath in the morning only. In the cases of these two examples, the impersonal passive is only used to avoid being confronted by the agent by not stating the identity. Example (44b) may also be said when the person who has apologized is of high authority or appeared too proud to apologize to any person. But when situations force them to apologise and they do, people will simply say, 'there has been apologized'. So the use of an impersonal passive helps to avoid stating the identity of a person so as not to appear unrespectful.

4.5. Polysemy of the derivational suffix *-ik-*

According to Shibatani (1985), there is overwhelming cross-linguistic evidence that passives are related to other constructions such as potential passive, honorific, reflexive, reciprocal, spontaneous, stative and resultative. In Citumbuka the derivational suffix *-ik-* is also used to derive stative (or anticausative), causative and potential constructions. I consider the causative *-ik-* as being a different morpheme that is homophonous to passive/stative *-ik-* (this is discussed in chapter 7). Although the stative construction in Bantu languages, including Citumbuka has anticausative semantics, I will refer to it as a stative construction in line with the Bantu tradition (for example, see Mchombo 1993, 2004; Dubinsky and Simango 1996; Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003) of referring to it as such. The stative and potential *-ik-* are considered as part of the polysemy of the passive. The correct gloss for *-ik-* should be Stat/Pass only that I have also used Pass meaning Stat/Pass. The suffix *-iw-* is always glossed as *Pass* since it does not have a stative function in the language. The suffix *-ik-* also derives constructions with facilitative meaning.

4.5.1. Stative/ anticausative

The stative in Bantu is also known as neuter-passive (Schadeberg 2003). For Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 6), "The stative expresses a state of a thing without any implication of origin". In Bantu literature, the stative is defined as "an intransitive state or condition without any reference to an agent determining that condition" (Khumalo 2009 citing Doke 1927:139). Thus, according to these two definitions, the stative is a construction that expresses the state or condition of something without reference to the agent or instrument causing that state or condition. Examples below illustrate this.

Chichewa

45. a Anyani a-na-pind-a dengu.
2.monkey 2SM-Pst-bend-FV 5.basket
'Monkeys bent the basket.'
b Dengu li-na-pind-idw-a ndi anyani.
5.basket 5.SM-Pst-bend-Pass-FV by 2.monkeys
'The basket was bent (by monkeys)'
c Dengu li-na-pind-ik-a (*ndi anyani).
5.basket 5.SM-Pst-bend-Stat-FV by 2.monkey
'The basket is getting damaged (*by monkeys).'

Ndebele (Khumalo 2009:167)

46. a Isi-valo sa-val-w-a.
7-door 7.SM-shut-Pass-FV
'The door was closed.'
b Isi-valo sa-val-ek-a.
7-door 7.SM-shut-Stat-FV
'The door closed.'

Citumbuka

47. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-mu-won-a Maliro.
2.people 2.SM-Perf-1.OM-see-FV 1.Maliro
'People have seen Maliro.'
b Maliro w-a-won-ek-a.
1.Maliro 1.SM-Perf-see-Stat/Pass-FV
'Maliro has been found.'

48. a John w-a-teŵet-a mulimo.
1.John 1.SM-Perf-work-FV 3.work
'John has accomplished the task.'
b Mulimo w-a-teŵet-ek-a.
9.work 9.SM-Perf-work-Stat/Pass-FV
'The task has been accomplished.'

From Chichewa and Ndebele examples above, we can see that the difference between the stative and passive is that the former uses *-ik-* while the latter uses *-idw-* and *-iw-*, respectively. For Chichewa, we can also see that *-ik-* suffixation does not permit a 'by-phrase' (45c). In Citumbuka, however, the two constructions cannot be differentiated based on the derivational suffixes, but only by a semantic criterion since both are derived through *-ik-* suffixation. One of the major distinctions between the passive and stative in Bantu literature is that a stative construction does not allow the agent or instrumental phrase to be expressed (Mchombo 2004; Dubisinky and Simango 1996; Khumalo 2009; Schadeberg 2003). Furthermore, the agent cannot be implied in a stative construction, unlike in the passive where the omitted agent can be implied. This is all valid for the stative interpretation

of the *-ik-* verbs in Citumbuka too. The *-ik-* derivation is polysemous between stative and passive. Another major distinction between passive and stative in Bantu is that the stative suffix only attaches to change of state verbs (see Mchombo 1993, 2004; Dubinsky and Simango 1996; Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003). This is not true for Citumbuka.

The two major properties of Bantu statives are also the two major characteristics of morphologically marked anticausatives cross-linguistically. According to Schäfer (2008:157), there are two strong semantic generalizations about anticausatives that hold crosslinguistically: (i) anticausatives are formed mostly from verbs that express a change of state or a change of degree, and (ii) "anticausatives in all languages are semantically unaccusatives and lack any reflex of an external argument. They differ in this respect from passives as well as from generic middles which have some implicit external argument." Put it differently, anticausatives have patientive subjects and lack any implicit agent, or instruments (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2005). These are also core properties of Bantu stative constructions (see Mchombo 1993; and Dubinsky and Simango 1996). Seidl and Dimitriadis (2003:6) argue that "although verbs suffixed with stative morphology often act in a way that conforms to classic definitions of stative verbs, they do not always do so." They argue that *-ik-* should be characterized as a middle operator, at least for Kiswahili. Since in Citumbuka *-ik-* derives not only middles, but also anticausatives, passives, potential and facilitative meaning it is a polysemous derivational suffix. Although Bantu stative constructions have core properties identical to cross-linguistic properties of anticausatives, I will refer to *-ik-* 'anticausatives' as statives in line with the Bantu tradition of referring to such constructions as statives. Below are examples of *-ik-* stative/anticausative constructions in Citumbuka.

49. a Masozi w-a-sw-a mbale.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Perf-break-FV 10.plate
'Masozi has broken plates.'
b Mbale z-a-sw-ek-a (z-ekha).
10.plate 10.SM-break-Stat/Pass-FV (10-self)
'The plates broke (by themselves).'
c *Mbale z-a-sw-ew-a zekha.
10.plate 10.SM-Perf-break-Pass-FV 10-self
'The plates broke by themselves.'

50. a Msungwana wa-ku-sw-a miphika.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-break-Fv 4.pot
'A girl breaks/is breaking pots.'
b Miphika yi-ku-sw-ek-a (y-ekha).
4.pot 4.SM-Pres-break-FV (4-self)
'Pots break by themselves.'

c *Miphika yi-ku-sw-ew-a y-ekha.
4.pot 4.SM-Pres-break-Pass-FV 4-self
'The pots are breaking by themselves.'

51. a Maria w-a-phik-a cakulya.
1.Maria. 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 7.food
'Maria has cooked food.'

b Cakulya c-a-phik-ik-a.
7.food 7.SM-Perf-cook-Stat/Pass-FV
'The food is cooked/or ready/done.'

52. a Lindani wa-ka-jul-a cijalo.
1.Lindani 1.SM-Pst-open-FV 7door
'Lindani opened the door.'

b Cijalo ci-ka-jul-ik-a (c-ekha).
7.door 7.SM-Pst-open-Stat/Pass-FV (7-self)
'The door opened (by itself).'

c *Cijalo ci-ka-jul-iw-a c-ekha.
7.door 7.SM-Pst-open-Pass-FV 7-self
'The door opened by itself.'

53. a Ise ti-ka-gumuz-a vingoma.
1PL 1PL-Pst-shell-FV 8.maize
'We shelled maize.'

b Vingoma vi-ka-gumuz-ik-a (vy-ekha).
8.maize 8.SM-Pst-shell-Stat/Pass-FV (8-self)
'The maize got shelled (by themselves).'

c *Vingoma vi-ka-gumuz-iw-a vy-ekha.
8.maize 8.SM-Pst-shell-Pass-FV 8-self
'The maize got shelled by themselves.'

Thus, unlike other Bantu languages where the passive and stative morphemes are different, Citumbuka uses the suffix *-ik-* to derive the passive and stative constructions. In a passive construction, the agent is expressed in the by-phrase while this is not possible in a stative construction. Where the agent is not expressed, it is implied in a passive construction unlike in the stative. Furthermore, the phrase equivalent to 'by itself' can be used to disambiguate a stative from a passive construction. Only the stative construction can appear with the equivalent of 'by itself'. The preceding examples also show that while *-ik-* derives both stative and passive, the passive suffix *-iw-* does not derive constructions with a stative meaning. In the examples above, constructions with the passive *-iw-* do not allow an extension of *-ekha* 'by itself' which is characteristic of stative constructions.

4.5.2. Facilitative meaning

The suffix *-ik-* also derives a middle construction in Citumbuka. This is in line with Schäfer (2008) who observes that if a language uses some morphological device to mark middles, it typically uses the same device to mark anti-causatives. The difference between the middle and anticausative is that middles involve an implicit agent with an arbitrary reading. Middles have affected subjects (Kemmer 1993; Schäfer 2008). Middles do not make reference to an actual event having taken place; rather they report a property of the grammatical subject (Schäfer 2008 citing Ackema and Schoorlemmer 2005). The following examples illustrate this:

54. a Mbaci wa-ku-ŵazg-a buku.
1.Mbaci 1.SM-Pres-read-FV 5.book
'Mbaci is reading a book.'

b Buku ili li-ku-ŵazg-ik-a makola.
5.book this 5.SM-Pres-read-Stat/Pass-FV well
'This book reads well/easily.'

c Buku ili li-ku-ŵazg-ik-a yayi.
5.book this 5.SM-Pres-read-Stat/Pass-FV Neg
'This book is difficult to read.'

d Buku ili li-ku-ŵazg-ik-a.
5.book this 5.SM-Pres-read-Stat/Pass-FV
'This book reads easily.'

55. a Maria wa-ku-mw-a tiyi.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV tea
'Maria is drinking tea.'

b Tiyi wa-ku-mw-ek-a makola na
1.tea 1.SM-Pres-drink-Pass/Stat-FV well with
mphepo.
9.wind
'The tea is easily drunk when it is cold.'

c Tiyi wa-ku-mw-ek-a yayi na
1.tea 1.SM-Pres-drink-Stat/Pass-FV Neg with
cifundizi.
7.heat
'Tea can hardly be drunk when it is hot.'

d Tiyi wa-ku-mw-ek-a.
1.tea 1.SM-Pres-drink-Stat/Pass-FV
'The tea is easily drunk.'

56. a Mavuto wa-ku-chov-a njinga.
1.Mavuto 1.SM-Pres-cycle-FV 9.bicycle
'Mavuto is riding a bicycle.'

b Njinga izi zi-ku-chov-ek-a makola.
10.bicyle 10.this 10.SM-Pres-cycle-Stat/Pass-FV well
'These bicycles are easy to cycle.'

c Njinga izi zi-ku-chov-ek-a yayi.
10.bicyle 10.this 10.SM-Pres-cycle-Stat/Pass-FV Neg
'These bicycles are difficult to cycle.'

d Njinga izi zi-ku-chov-ek-a.
10.bicyle 10.this 10.SM-Pres-cycle-Stat/Pass-FV
'These bicycles are easy to cycle.'

The preceding examples show that whether the sentence has an adverb or a negative modifier or not, they still carry the middle sense. Thus, the crucial property is that these middles imply evaluation whether explicitly expressed or not. For instance, examples (55b and 54b) with an adjective modifier, (55c and 54c) with negative modifier, and (55d and 54d) without either adjective or negative modifier above, all carry a middle sense. Thus, middles do not always need to appear with an adjective or negative modifier in Citumbuka contrary to Kemmer (1993) and Schäfer (2008) who state that middles need to be modified by some adverb (e.g easily) or need to appear with a modal auxiliary or negation.

4.5.3. Potential passive

Citumbuka derivational suffix *-ik-* also derives the potential passive. The potential expresses the property/ability/potential of the subject to do something. The base subject is suppressed while the base object becomes the subject of the potential construction. Below are Citumbuka examples to illustrate this.

57. a Mwanakazi w-a-sw-a mbale.
1.woman 1.SM-Perf-break-FV 10.plate
'A woman has broken plates.'

b Mbale ni-za-ku-sw-ek-a.
10.plate Cop-10.SM-Pres-break-Stat/Pass-FV
i. 'The plates are broken'
ii.'The plates are breakable'
iii.'The plates have been broken'

58. a Ŵalimi ŵa-ku-gul-a feteleza muhanya uno.
2.farmer 2.SM-Pres-buy-FV 1.fertiliser 3.sun this
'Farmers are buying fertilizer today.'

b Feteleza	wa-ku-gul-ik-a	muhanya	uno
1.fertiliser	1.SM-Pres-buy-Stat/Pass-FV	3.sun	this

'Fertizer is buyable (cheap) today.'

Potential sense is common in Bantu languages, for example, Chichewa, and Kiswahili. Below are Chichewa examples:

Chichewa

59. a Mnyamata	w-a-sw-a	mbale.	
1.boy	1.SM-Perf-break-FV	10.plate	

'A boy has broken plates.'

b Mbale	ndi-zo-sw-ek-a.	
10.plate	Cop-10-break-Stat-FV	

i. 'The plates are breakable'
ii. 'The plates are broken'

60. a Mtsikana	a-ku-dy-a	bowa.
1.girl	1.SM-Pres-eat-FV	1.mushroom

'A girl is eating mushroom.'

b Bowa	uyu	ndi-wo-dy-ek-a.
1.mushroom	this	Cop-1.SM-eat-Stat-FV

'These mushrooms are edible.'

As we can see from both Citumbuka and Chichewa examples, when *-ik-* with potential/ability reading is attached to base verbs, the final derivation has an adjectival reading, which is the property of the subject of a potential passive.

4.6. Lexicalised passives

Most of the lexicalized passive verbs have the derivational suffix *-iw-* which cannot be separated from the whole verb. Below is a list of some lexicalized passive verbs.

61. a	Kusokwa	to be unlucky
b	Kukomwa	to be burdened
c	Kutengwa	to be married
d	Kuzizwa	to be surprised
e	Kufelwa	to be bereaved
f	Kukholwa	to be satisfied
g	Kuliwa	to be preyed on
h	Kukholwa	to be satisfieg
i	Kufutwa/fufulwa	to be eaten up by weevils
j	Kucedwa	to be late
l	kupulika	to hear

The dominance of the *-iw-* lexicalized passive may suggest that this is the oldest passive form in Citumbuka.

4.7. Summary of chapter

There are two passive derivational suffixes in Citumbuka: *-iw-* and *-ik-* and *-ik-* is the most commonly used. Literature from as early as 1913 shows that the suffix *-ik-* may have developed passive functions long time ago. The reasons that motivated this are yet to be investigated. The existence of a lot of lexicalized *-iw-* passives shows that it is the oldest way of expressing the passive in Citumbuka. We have also found out that there are two types of passives in Citumbuka, personal and impersonal passives. Personal passives are derived from transitive bases while impersonal passives are derived from both intransitive and transitive bases and have the locative noun class prefix *ku-*. Impersonal passives are employed to conceal the identity of an agent, mostly human, and depending on the context; the agent actually may be understood among the conversation participants. The derivational suffix *-ik-* can also be used to derive the stative/anticausative, potential and the middle in Citumbuka.

Chapter 5

5. Reciprocal

5.1. Introduction

Cross-linguistically, markers of reciprocity frequently also encompass non-reciprocal situations (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000, Kemmer 1996, Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003, Maslova 2007). "The situation is so common that Kemmer (1993:100) considers the prototypical reciprocal to be a "minor prototype," frequently subsumed under the reflexive or collective prototype situations" (Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003: 18). Vail (1972) also make a similar conclusion about Citumbuka by arguing that the term reciprocal is an oversimplification in that it overlooks the use of the reciprocal derivational suffix to indicate intensity of relationship. According to Schadeberg (2003) reciprocal meaning in Bantu is derived from the wider associative meaning. He makes such a conclusion based on the fact that in many Bantu languages, the reciprocal suffix has other related functions. Similar to Schadeberg's (2003) view are Lichtenberk's (1985), Kemmer's (1996) and Maslova's (2007) views which are based on the underlying similarities of situations among the multiple uses of the reciprocal. Kemmer (1996:235) argues that recurrent cross-linguistic polysemies indicate semantic relations among the categories expressed by the markers.

What is clear from the foregoing discussion is that cross-linguistically, the reciprocal marker is used not only to encode reciprocal situations, but also non-reciprocal situations. Thus, it is not surprising that the reciprocal suffix in Citumbuka has a wide range of usage, from prototypical reciprocals, anticausative, associative/collective, distributive to depatientive. In constructions with the reciprocal suffix there are several participants (or comparable parts) that are engaged in a symmetrical activity or state of affairs. In depatientive constructions, the use of the reciprocal suffix creates a verb in which there is implied but not expressed an extra constituent, the constituent that is absolutely unspecified. The depatientive is associated with imperfective and plurality aspects in Citumbuka. In anticausative derivation, various parts of a whole entity are involved and there is iteration of the same events. The use of the reciprocal suffix in depatientives is comparable to impersonal passives. What sets apart the depatientive from the other *-an-* derivations is the fact that they all keep their object referents as well as including them into their subjects. It is also clear that the situations that are encoded by the reciprocal derivational suffix are somehow related. In Citumbuka at the core of the semantic relations associated with the reciprocal suffix is plurality of participants and plurality of events. This chapter therefore concludes that the reciprocal suffix has multiple usages and that it is a pluractional suffix. Notable is the co-occurrence of the reciprocal marker and the stative marker to derive anticausatives in Citumbuka as we will see

later in the chapter. Note that anticausatives can also be derived by the reciprocal suffix alone.

5.2. The form of the reciprocal

The reciprocal derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-an-*. The suffix *–an-* is suffixed to a transitive base to derive reciprocal constructions. For illustration see examples below.

1. a Kalulu wa-ka-mu-temw-a cimbwe.
   1.hare 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-love-FV 1.hyena
   'The hare loved the hyena.'
   b Kalulu na cimbwe ŵa-ka-temw-an-a.
   1.hare with 1.hyena. 2.SM-Pst-love-FV
   The hare and the hyena loved one another.

Suffixation of *-an-* to the non-reciprocal verb stem, *temwa* 'love' in (1a) derives a reciprocal verb *temwana* 'love each other' in (1b). Therefore, the reciprocal suffix demotes the logical object (see 1b).

Cross-linguistically, there are six (extended) prototypical types of reciprocal marker polysemy and these are: reflexive-reciprocal, reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal, reflexive-reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal-reflexive (Geniušiene 2007:435). The typology of reciprocal marker polysemy identified with Citumbuka borders around iterative-reciprocal-sociative. Also marked by the reciprocal marker in Citumbuka is the distributive which is quite similar to the sociative (also called associative, collective) save for the fact that the participants in a distributive move to different directions. The derivations associated with *-an-* are all iterative, hence the iterative part in the typology. In the next section I discuss the prototypical reciprocal in Citumbuka.

5.3. Prototypical reciprocal

A prototypical reciprocal situation is one in which participants are in a mutual relationship such that the relationship in which participant A stands to participant B is the same as that in which participant B stands to participant A (Lichtenberk 1985). The participant roles of both participants are simultaneous or subsequent to each other. Simultaneous situations are illustrated in the following examples:

2. a Katola wa-ku-tinkh-a Chikulamayembe.
   1.Katola 1.SM-Pres-hate-FV 1.Chikulamayembe
   'Katola hates Chikulamayembe.'

b Katola na Chikulamayembe
1.Katola with 1.Chikulamayembe
ŵa-ku-tinkh-an-a.
2.SM-Pres-hate-Recip-FV
'Katola and Chikulamayembe hate each other.'

In the first example (2a) only the subject, Katola, hates the object, Chikulamayembe. In the second example (2b), both participants hate each other simultaneously, thus, each one of them is both hater and hated at the same time. Prototypical reciprocals have a detransitiving effect on an initially transitive construction. The logical subject is suppressed making the resulting construction syntactically intransitive but semantically transitive. In example (2a) the base verb takes two arguments, subject NP and object NP. In example (2b), the object NP has been suppressed.

Reciprocal constructions that encode reciprocal situations are generally categorized into three in Citumbuka: Reciprocal with a single plural NP, coordinated reciprocal and reciprocal with split co-participants/comitative reciprocal.

5.3.1. Single plural NP reciprocal

Reciprocals under this category have one plural noun in the subject position. This type is also called a simple reciprocal construction by Nedjalkov (2007). The participants usually have a shared identity, hence the possibility to lump them together. This is illustrated in the following Citumbuka examples:

3. Nkhaŵi zi-ku-timb-an-a.
10.bull 10.SM-Pres-hit-Recip-FV
'Bulls are fighting each other.'
4. Ŵapusi ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
2.baboon 2.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV
'Baboons love each other.'
5. Mbale z-a-dik-an-a.
10.plate 10.SM-Perf-cover-Recip-FV
'The plates are on top of each other.'

In example (3a), the subject NP is plural indicating that there are at least two bulls that are fighting each other. Each of the bulls is fighting another bull and being fought in turn. In (4a) the baboons love and are loved simultaneously. In (5a) one plate is placed on top of another plate which is on top of another plate and so on and so forth. In all the examples, the subject NPs show a shared identity of the participants involved.

5.3.2. Coordinated reciprocal

Cross-linguistically, languages that have a simple reciprocal construction also have the coordinate strategy of NP-conjunction (Maslova 2007). This means that if a language has simple reciprocal constructions, it is also able to derive coordinated reciprocal constructions as a strategy of deriving reciprocals with non-identical participants. In such type of reciprocal constructions, there are at least two participants preceding the verb which are usually not identical and are coordinated. The coordinated participants are mutually or subsequently involved in the reciprocal situation such that each one of them is acted upon and at the same time acts on another. Citumbuka fits into Maslova's (2007) descrption of reciprocals since it has both simple and coordinated reciprocal constructions. In chapter 2, it was concluded that the coordinator in coordinated reciprocal and in split cooparticipants reciprocal in Citumbuka is a preposition, *na*. Thus, the *na*-phrase in these reciprocals is a comitative phrase (that is, a PP). Thus, the coordinated reciprocal and spilit co-participant reciprocal may be called comitative reciprocals in Citumbuka. Below are some examples of coordinated reciprocals in which both subject NP and comitative phrase (PP) are preceding the verb.

6. a Masozi na Steria na Maria
   1.Masosi with 1.Steria with 1.Maria
   ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
   2.SM-Pres- love-Recip-FV
   'Masozi and Steria and Maria love each other.'
   b Mbuzi na nchewe zi-ku-dikizg-an-a.
   10.goat with 10.dog 10.SM-Pres-chase-Recip-FV
   'Goats and dogs are chasing each other.'

In (6a) above, there are three different participants, Masozi, Steria and Maria who love their friends and are loved at the same time. Subject agreement on the verb is actually marked by the plural class (class 2) of all the three participants. Although they are all singular, it is also possible to have plural nouns coordinated by the comitative *na*, for instance in example (6b) where both goats and dogs are in plural form. These coordinated plural nouns are viewed as collective single entities. The next type of reciprocal construction is another instance of a comitative reciprocal. Unlike in coordinated reciprocals discussed here, in split coparticipants one participant is the subject of the construction preceding the verb while the comitative phrase follows the verb (also see chapter 2, section 2.6.1).

5.3.3. Split co-participants

Participants of a reciprocal situation are split with one being in the subject position while the other is in the prepositional phrase following the verb. This type is also known as a comitative reciprocal construction. With this type, subject agreement on the verb is controlled by the gender of the subject NP or the plural form of the co-participants which may be class 2 for humans or class 8 for non-human from different noun classes. Below are some examples.

7. a John wa-ku-temw-a nchewe.
   1.John 1.SM-Pres-love-FV 9.dog
   'John loves the dog.'
   b John wa-ku-temw-an-a na nchewe.
   1.John 1.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 9.dog
   'John and the dog love each other.' (Lit.: 'John loves each other with the dog.')
   c Nchewe yi-ku-temw-an-a na John.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 1.John
   'The dog and John love one another.'

In (7b) above one of the participants is a NP in the subject position while the other one is a PP. Agreement on the verb is in singular form and is controlled by the subject NP (see 7b and c). In comitative reciprocal, the prepositional phrase is required and hence the PP is an argument. When the PP is deleted the construction either has the reading of a deobjective/antipassive or it becomes ungrammatical. This is shown in the examples.

8. a Ngoza w-a-many-an-a na Masozi.
   1.Ngoza 1.SM-Perf-know-Recip-FV with 1.Masozi
   'Ngoza and Masozi have known each other.'
   b *Ngoza w-a-many-an-a.
   1.Ngoza 1.SM-Perf-know-Recip-FV
   'Ngoza has known with each other.'
9. a Mkhuzo wa-ku-b-il-an-a na Suzgo.
   1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Pres-steal-Appl-Recip-FV with 1.Suzgo
   'Mkhuzo and Suzgo steal from each other.'
   b Mkhuzo wa-ku-b-il-an-a.
   1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Pres-steal-Appl-Recip-FV
   (i) *'Mkhuzo steals from each other.'
   (ii) 'Mkhuzo steals.'

Note that depatientives (see section 5.5.1) are associated with imperfective aspect, so a depatientive reading is not possible for (8b). In addition to the reciprocal use discussed above, the suffix *-an-* also derives other construc-

tions that are related to reciprocals in one way or another. They are discussed in the following section.

5.3.4. Sequential reciprocal

In sequential reciprocal situations the relationship is symmetric, not simultaneous. Participants perform identical roles in turns such that in one turn one is an agent while in another turn he becomes a patient or a beneficiary in the case of agent-beneficiary roles. The participant roles are identical but change with each new turn while participants remain unchanged. Examples below illustrate this.

10. a Msungwana ŵa-ku-pony-el-a msungwana
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-throw-Appl-FV 1.girl
bola.
5.ball
'A girl is throwing a ball at another girl.'
b Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-pony-el-an-a bola.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-throw-Appl-Recip-FV 5.ball
'Girls are throwing a ball at each other.'

11. a Maria wa-ku-end-el-a Eliza.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV 1.Eliza
'Maria visits Eliza.'
b Maria na Eliza ŵa-kw-end-el-an-a.
1.Maria with 1.Eliza 2.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-Recip-FV
'Maria and Eliza visit each other.'

In (10b) which is derived from (10a), girls take turns to throw and receive the ball such that at one point one of them is an agent throwing the ball while at another turn she becomes the recipient of the ball and this also applies to the other girl(s) who also become recipient at one turn and an agent at a subsequent turn. In (11b) at one turn, Maria is the one paying the visit while at the subsequent turn she is the beneficiary of Eliza's visit. The visits are not taking place simultaneously, but one after another. At each turn, participants remain the same but change their roles. Thus, the reciprocal situation itself is symmetric, which is not the case with chain reciprocals discussed in the next section.

5.3.5. Chain reciprocal

Chain reciprocal is a+ situation in which participants are involved symmetrically but not reciprocally (Bril 2007:1500-1501). In a chain reciprocal typology, participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, B stands in the same relation to C, C to D (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000). The actions are performed consecutively or successively, one after another (Moyse-Faurie

2007). Thus, chain reciprocals are not simultaneous. The reciprocal suffix *-an-* also derives chain reciprocals in Citumbuka as we can see in examples below.

12. a Nchewe yi-ku-dikizg-a nchewe.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-chase-FV 9.dog
'A dog is chasing a dog.'
b Nchewe zi-ku-dikizg-an-a.
10.dog 10.SM-Pres-chase-Recip-FV
'Dogs are chasing each other.'

13. a Masozi wa-ku-londozg-a Anna.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-follow.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Anna
'Masozi is following Anna.'
b Wanthu wa-ku-londozg-an-a.
1.Masozi 2.SM-Pres-follow.Caus$_2$-Recip-FV
'People are walking one after another'

In example (12b) there are at least three dogs, dog A running after dog B, and B running after C but not C running after B or B running after A. This also applies to example (13b) in which one person walks after another in such a way that A walks after B, B after C, C after D and so on and so forth. The relation of participants in (12b) and (13b) is successive, one after another while the same action is repeated up to the last participant.

5.4. Polysemy of the suffix *-an-*

Plurality of participants and iteration is at the centre of the reciprocal marker polysemy in Citumbuka. In iterative situations, "the action is performed several times (again and again) by one or more participants" (Moyse-Faurie 2007:1531). Iterative situations are generally associated with plurality of actions. Extended use of the reciprocal marker is also attested in various other Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003). Dom (Forthcoming) discusses the polysemy of the reciprocal suffix in Kikongo. In this section, I discuss the polysemy of the reciprocal marker in Citumbuka.

5.4.1. Depatientive /deobjective/antipassive

Lichtenberk (2000) describes a depatientive sentence as one in which the endpoint is generic or back-grounded. According to Kulikov (2011) depatientives involve demotion of the initial direct object in which the object may be completely removed or downgraded to the oblique position. Depatientives are also known as antipassive because they mirror the passive (Polinsky 2013, Kulikov 2011). The implied direct object in a depatientive is general, nonspecific and the situation encoded is habitual, general, and iterative (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000). The description above is characteristic

of one of the constructions derived by the reciprocal suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka as we can see in the following examples.

14. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana yayi lero.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child Neg nowadays
'The teacher does not hit children these days.'
b Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-an-a yayi lero.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-Recip-FV Neg nowadays
'The teacher does not hit these days.'
c *Msambizgi wa-ka-timb-an-a yayi mayilo.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-hit-Recip-FV Neg yesterday
'The teacher did not hit yesterday.'

15. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-kom-a ŵanthu madazi ghano.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-kill- FV 2.person 6.day 6.these
'People kill people these days.'
b Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-kom-an-a madazi ghano.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-kill-Recip-FV 6.day 6.these
'People kill these days.'
c Ŵanthu ŵ-a-kom-an-a.
2.person 2.SM-Perf-kill-Recip-FV
(i) People have killed each other.'
(ii) *'People have killed.'

16. a.Temwa wa-ku-khuŵal-a mu-malundi gha
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-stumble-FV 18-6.leg 6.of
Masozi.
1.Masozi
'Temwa is stumbling on the feet of Masozi.'
b Temwa wa-ku-khuŵal-an-a mu-malundi.
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-stumble-Recip-FV 18-6.leg
'Temwa is stumbling on feet.'

17. a Cidongo wa-ka-timb-ang-a Temwani.
1.Cidongo 1.SM-Pst-beat-Imperf-FV 1.Temwani
'Cidongo used to hit Temwani.'
b Cidongo wa-ka-timb-an-ang-a.
1Cidongo 1SM-Pst-beat-Recip-Imperf-FV
'Cidongo used to hit.'
c *Cidongo wa-ka-timb-an-a kamoza
1.Cidongo 1SM-Pst-beat-Recip-Imperf-FV once
pela.
only
'Cidongo hit only once.'

18. a Nchewe yi-ku-ly-a nyama ya Yohane.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-eat-FV 9.animal of 1.Yohane
'A dog is eating Yohane's meat.'

b Nchewe yi-ku-ly-el-an-a nyama.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-eat-Appl-Recip-FV 9.meat
'The dog steals meat.'

c *Nchewe yi-ka-ly-el-an-a nyama.
9.dog 9.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-Recip-FV 9.meat
'The dog stole meat.'

19. a Nya-jere wa-ku-nen-a wana.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pres-say-FV 2.child
'Ms. Jere insults children.'

b Nya-jere wa-ku-nen-an-a.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pres-say-Recip-FV.
'Ms. Jere insults.'

c *Nya-jere wa-ka-nen-an-a kamoza pela.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pst-say-Recip-FV once only.
'Ms. Jere insulted only once.'

There are two types of antipassive constructions, the implicit argument type and the oblique complement (Polinsky 2013). In the implicit type the direct object is entirely removed from the syntactic structure while the oblique complement type the direct object is downgraded down to the oblique object (Kulikov 2011:380). The preceding examples show that in Citumbuka, the object is removed from the syntactic structure but it remains implicit semantically. For instance in example (16b), the antipassive construction does not have an object, but the object is implied in the sense that it is interpreted as stumbling on the feet of a person. Thus, Citumbuka has an implicit argument type of antipassive. The implied object is general/or non-specific. The examples also show that in Citumbuka the antipassive is associated with imperfective aspect and repetition such that when the suffix *-an-* is attached to verbs with perfective aspect (see the c examples) the result is ungrammatical or they change meaning to prototypical reciprocal if the subject is plural (15c). The situations encoded by the sentences in the preceding examples are habitual, general, and iterative. For instance, (15b) is a general situation. Example (16b) is an iterative situation, in which the agent keeps on stumbling on an implied object. In fact all the examples express iterative situations. Examples (17b, 15b, 16b) express habitual situations, for instance, the dog in (18b) has a habit of stealing while in (19b) Ms. Jere has a habit of insulting. Habitual situations are further marked with imperfective aspect through the continuous tense marker *-ku-* and the imperfective marker *-ang-*. Antipassive/reciprocal polysemy is not unique to Citumbuka among Bantu languages. Dom, Bostoen and Segerer (2015) discuss the antipassive/associative polysemy in Ciluba (L31) while Bostoen, Dom and Segerer (2015b) discusses the nature of Bantu antipassive constructions using data from several Bantu languages such as Kirundi,Ciluba and Kinyarwanda.

5.4.2. Anticausative

The anticausative deletes the initial subject, an agent, from the syntactic structure while promoting the initial object to the subject (Kulikov 2011: 392). In Citumbuka, the reciprocal suffix *-an-* is also used to derive anticausatives. In some cases, the suffix *-an-* co-occurs with the suffix *-ik-* to derive anticausative constructions. Refer to section 4.6.1 where we saw that the suffix *-ik-* is also used to derive stative/anticausative in Citumbuka. Below are some examples of anticausatives derived with the suffix *-an-* from Citumbuka.

20. a Ŵana ŵ-a-mang-a cingwe.
2.child 2.SM-Perf-tie-FV 7.rope
'Children have tied a rope.'
b Cingwe c-a-mang-an-a.
7.rope 7.SM-Perf-tie-Recip-FV
'The rope is entangled.'
c Cingwe c-a-mang-ik-an-a.
7.rope 7.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-Recip-FV
'The rope is entangled.'

21. a Moses w-a-gaŵ-a maji pakati.
1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-divide-FV 6.water half
'Moses has divided the water into half.'
b Maji gha-ka-gaŵ-ik-an-a pakati.
6.water 6.SM-Pst-divide-Pass-Recip-FV half
'The water divided up into two.'
c Maji gha-ka-gaŵ-an-a pakati.
6.water 6.SM-Pst-divide-Recip-FV half
'The water divided up into two.'

22. a Mulimi wa-ka-sazg-a nchunga na vingoma.
1.farmer 1.SM-Pst-add-FV 10.bean with 8.maize
'The farmer mixed beans with maize.'
b Nchunga zi-ka-sazg-ik-an-a na vingoma.
10.beans 10.SM-Pst-add-Pass-Recip-FV with 8.maize
'Beans got mixed with maize.'
c Nchunga zi-ka-sazg-an-a na vingoma.
10.beans 10.SM-Pst-add-Recip-FV with 8.maize
'Beans got mixed with maize.'

23. a Ng'anga yi-ka-zing-a njoka.
1.witchdoctor 1.SM-Pst-coil-FV 9.snake
'A witchdoctor coiled a snake.'
b Njoka yi-ka-zing-an-a.
9snake 9SM-Pst-coil-Recip-FV
'A snake coiled up.'

c *Njoka yi-ka-zing-ik-an-a.
9snake 9SM-Pst-coil-Pass-Recip-FV
'A snake coiled up.'

24. a Masozi w-a-mang-a wuzu.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Perf-tie-FV 14.thread
'Masozi has tied a piece of thread.'

b Wuzu w-ane w-a-mang-ik-an-a.
14.thread 14-mine 14.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-Recip-FV
'My thread is entangled.'

c Wuzu w-ane w-a-mang-an-a.
14.thread 14-mine 14.SM-Perf-tie-Recip-FV
'My thread is entangled.'

In anticausative constructions, the agent is deleted while the initial direct object is promoted to the subject position (20b, c; 21b, c; 22b, c; 23b; and 24b,c). Unlike in a passive, the deleted agent in an anticausative is not implied, but rather the activity comes about spontaneously (see Kulikov 2011, Comrie 1985). This is the case in the preceding examples. For instance in (20b), an agent that caused the rope to entangle is neither expressed nor implied. The same applies to (21b) where an agent causing the division of water is also lacking and (22b) where what or who mixed the beans with maize is lacking as well. According to Nedjalkov (2007), reciprocal anticausatives are also attested in Turkic languages like Tuvan, Yakut and Kirgiz. In example (21b) what caused the snake to coil up is unknown. The same applies to (22b). They are also attested in Bantu languages, such as Kiswahili, Tswana, and Shambala (Maslova 2007). In (23b) several parts of the snake coiled up on other parts and this involves repetition. In (20a) several parts of one long piece of rope are tangled, one piece on another and so on and so forth that sometimes it even becomes difficult to trace the source or starting point of the tangle. Thus, different parts of a whole relate to each other as in parts of a snake coiling and touching other parts or different parts of a rope each tied to other parts and in so doing there is multiplicity of events and repetition of the same events.

Notable among the examples above is the possibility of having anticausative formation through attachment of either the reciprocal suffix only, or a combination of the reciprocal suffix and the stative (or anticausative) suffix in Citumbuka. We also know from chapter 4 (section 4.6.1) that the stative suffix *-ik-* alone also derives a construction identical to the anticausative construction, the stative, when attached to a verb. In Citumbuka, there is no difference in meaning between the anticausative constructions with a combination of both *-ik-* and *-an-* and those with *-an-* only. Example (20c and d) shows that not every verb allows for the combination of *-ik-* and *-an-*, and (20c) does not allow (anticausative) derivation through suffixation of *-ik-*. This may suggest that *-ik-* and *-an-* combination apply only to verbs

that allow *-ik-* derivation of anticausative constructions, but this is subject to further investigation.

5.4.3. Associative/collective situations

According to Kemmer (1996) situations whereby marked collectives are often also reciprocal markers are a widespread phenomenon. Lichtenberk (1985, 2000) and Kemmer (1996) describe the collective as a situation in which two or more participants are jointly involved in identical roles. Collectives are differentiated from reciprocals in that in collective situations participants do not act upon each other but are just companions despite the fact that both situations involve identical participant roles. Therefore, collective situations involve cooperation and companionship, with all participants converging or going the same direction. Collective situations involve at least two participants. Below are examples of collectives in Citumbuka.

25. a Ŵawukilano ŵ-a-zul-a muchalichi.
2.youth 2.SM-Perf-be.full-FV 18.church
'The church is full of youths.'
b Ŵawukilano ŵ-a-zul-an-a muchalichi.
2.youth 1.SM-Perf-be.full-Recip-FV 18.church
'The youth have filled up the church'

26. Jere na mkweni ŵa-ku-ly-el-an-a.
1.Jere with 1.son-in-law 2.SM-Pres-eat-Appl-Recip-FV
'Jere and his son-in-law eat together'

In example (25a) participants are involved in two roles, each sitting or standing and at the same time contributing in filling up the room. In (26a) Jere and his son-in-law are each involved in eating and at the same time being companion to one another. Lexical reciprocals may also be used in constructions that encode associative situations in Citumbuka. This is particularly the case with verbs of meeting and gathering and thus, lexicalization as we can see in the examples below.

27. Tuyuni tu-a-wungan-a paufu.
13.bird 13.SM-Perf-gather-FV 16-14.flour
'Birds have gathered together on the flour'

28. Mathemba gha-ku-kuman-a pa Kaphirithemba.
6.chief 6.SM-Pres-meet-FV at 1.Kaphirithemba
'Chiefs meet together at Kaphirithemba.'

29. Ŵanthu ŵ-a-sonkh-an-a pa-ciŵanja.
2.person 2.SM-Perf-contribute-Recip-FV 16-7.airport
'People have gathered (together) at the airport.'

The verb *kumana* in (28a) is a lexical reciprocal verb. In (29a) the participants are in a joint action of gathering together.

5.4.4. Distributive

Distributive situations are situations where an overall event comprises plurality of localities or different directions (Lichtenberk 2000). Distributed situations can be dispersive, reversive (back and forth), or diversative. Dispersive situations involve plurality of localities whereby different identical roles take place at the same time in different locations. Examples below illustrate dispersive situations derived by the reciprocal suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka.

30. Njuci zi-ku-cunkh-an-a.
    10.bee 10.SM-Pres-flee-Recip-FV
    'Bees are flying in all directions.'
31. Mulatho w-a-lek-an-a.
    3.bridge 3.SM-Perf-leave-Recip-FV
    'The bridge has fallen apart.'
32. a Nchewe zi-ku-guz-a bulangeti.
      10.dog 10.SM-Pres-pull-FV 5.blanket
      'Dogs are pulling a blanket.'
    b Nchewe zi-ku-guz-an-a bulangeti.
      10.dog 10.SM-Pres-pull-Recip-FV 5.blanket
      'Dogs are pulling a blanket apart.'
33. Cingwe ci-ka-dum-uk-an-a.
    7.rope7.SM-Pst-cut-Revers-Recip-FV
    'The rope cut into pieces.'

In (30a) the bees are flying from one source going to different directions. With each single bee flying away the action of flying from a single source is being repeated again and again. In (32b) the blanket is being pulled at back and forth by the dogs. In (31a) the falling apart of the bridge involves different parts or locations of the bridge. Diversatives involve plurality of directions in which different participants move from the same source to different directions. Thus, apart from being used to derive reciprocals, the suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka can also be used to derive the following constructions: anticausatives, depatientives/antipassive/deobjective, associative/collectives and distributives. At the centre of the reciprocal derivational suffix is iteration, plurality of participants and events.

5.5. Reciprocal derivation and transitivity

The reciprocal suffix only attaches to transitive and labile verbs in Citumbuka. With labile verbs, only their transitive use allow for attachment of the reciprocal suffix, *-an-*. This is discussed in the following sections.

5.5.1. Monotransitive base

Mono-transitive verbs become syntactically intransitive when the reciprocal suffix is attached. Examples below illustrate this.

34. a Ciuta wa-ku-mu-temw-a munthu.
1.God 1SM-Pres-1.OM-love-FV 1.person
'God loves people.'
b Ciuta na munthu ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
1.God with 1.person 2.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV
'God and man love each other.'

35. a Mwana wa-ku-mu-tumbik-a msambizgi.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-OM-respect-FV 1.teacher
'The child respects the teacher.'
b Msambizgi na mwana ŵa-ku-tumbik-an-a.
1.teacher with 1.child 2.SM-Pres-respect-Recip-FV
'The teacher and the child respect each other.'

5.5.2. Ambitransitive/labile

In Citumbuka, there are some verbs which can be used both intransitively and transitively. When these ambitransitive verbs are used transitively, they permit suffixation of the reciprocal suffix, *-an-*. See examples of ambitransitive verbs in the table below:

Table 4.1: Ambitransitive bases

Intransitive use	**English gloss**	**Transitive use**	**English gloss**
lila	cry	lila munthu	regret for letting go of someone or something, mourn for someone
jumpha	pass by	jumpha munthu	pass someone
seka	laugh	seka munthu	laugh at someone
gona	sleep	gona munthu	make love to someone
yenda	walk	yenda munthu pasi	trick someone

Ambitransitive bases only allow suffixation of *-an-* when they are used transitively as we can see the following examples:

36. a Salome wa-ku-sek-a.
1.Salome 1.SM-Pres-laugh-FV
'Salome is laughing.'
b Salome wa-ku-sek-a Kwangu.
1.Salome 1.SM-Pres-laugh-FV 1.Kwangu
'Salome is laughing at Kwangu.'
c Salome na Kwangu ŵa-ku-sek-an-a.
1.Salome with 1.Kwangu 2.SM-Pres-laugh-Recip-FV
'Salome and Kwangu are laughing at each other.'

37. a Galimoto y-a-jumph-a (pa-msewu).
9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-pass-FV 16-3.road
'A vehicle has passed by on the road.'
b Galimoto y-a-jumph-a galimoto pa-msewu.
9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-pass-FV 9.vehicle 16-3.road
'A car has passed another car on the road.'
c Galimoto z-a-jumph-an-a (pa-msewu).
10.vehicle 10.SM-Perf-pass-Recip-FV 16-3.road
'The vehicles have passed by each other on the road.'

5.5.3. Ditransitive base

When the reciprocal extension is suffixed to a ditransitive verb, the recipient argument is demoted and becomes a non-core argument. The derived construction is transitive. The theme argument is also non-core as it can neither take OM nor passivize. This is illustrated in the examples below.

38. a Msonda wa-ka-tum-a Ngwira kalata.
1.Msonda 1.SM-Pst-send-FV 1.Ngwira 9.letter
'Msonda sent Ngwira a letter.'

b Msonda na Ngwira ŵa-ka-tum-an-a
1.Msonda with 1.Ngwira 1.SM-Pst-send-Recip-FV
makalata.
6.letter
'Msonda and Ngwira sent each other letters.'

c *Msonda na Ngwira ŵa-ka-**gha**-tum-an-a
1.Msonda with 1.Ngwira 1.SM-Pst-OM-send-Recip-FV
makalata.
6.letter
'Msonda and Ngwira sent each other letters.'

d *Makalata gha-ka-tum-an-ik-a na Msonda
6.letter 6.SM-Pst-send-Recip-Pass-FV with 1.Msonda
na Ngwira.
with 1.Ngwira
'Letters were sent to each other by Msonda and Ngwira.'

39. a Mwana wa-ka-p-a mwana skapato.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-give-FV 1.child 10.shoe
'A child gave a child shoes.'

b Ŵana ŵa-ka-p-an-a skapato.
1.child 2.SM-Pst-give-Recip-FV 10.shoe
'Children gave each other shoes.'

c *Ŵana ŵa-ka-**zi**-p-an-a skapato.
1.child 2.SM-Pst-OM-give-Recip-FV 10.shoe
'Children gave each other shoes.'

d *Skapato zi-ka-p-an-ik-a na ŵana.
10.shoe 10.SM-Pst-give-Recip-Pass-FV with 2.child
'Shoes were given to each other by children.'

The preceding examples show that in Citumbuka, when the reciprocal suffix is suffixed to a ditransitive base, the recipient is demoted. However, the recipient is connected to the subject (38b and 39b). In example (39a), suffixation of *-an-* to the base verb *-p-* 'give' which is ditransitive derives example (39b) which is transitive in the sense that it needs a non-core argument. These semi-transitive reciprocal constructions derived from a ditransitive base are the ones Vail (1972) refers to as the category of reciprocals with an obligatory object NP. In fact, the theme NP is not an object but a non-core (oblique) argument. The reciprocal demotes the recipient object and removes it from the syntactic structure while the theme remains an oblique argument as it can neither take OM nor passivize.

5.5.4. Reciprocals derived from an applicative base

Derivation of an applicative construction involves increase of the valence of the base verb by one. To this effect an intransitive base becomes transitive under applicative derivation. Under reciprocalization the transitive applicative becomes intransitive again when the applied object is demoted in (40c) below.

40. a Teleza wa-ka-w-a.
1.Teleza 1.SM-Pst-fall-FV
'Teleza fell down.'
b Teleza wa-ka-w-il-a Maria.
1.Teleza 1.SM-Pst-fall-Appl-FV 1.Maria
'Teleza fell on Maria.'
c Teleza na Maria ŵa-ka-w-il-an-a.
1.Teleza with 1.Maria 2.SM-Pst-fall-Appl-Recip-FV
(i) 'Teleza and Maria fell on each other.'
(ii) 'Teleza and Maria fell down for each other.'

When the base is monotransitive, it becomes ditransitive with the suffixation of an applicative suffix. It becomes monotransitive again when the reciprocal suffix is attached. Again, the applied object is suppressed while the remaining non-subject NP, the theme remains a non-core argument. The theme being a non-core argument, it cannot take OM. Below are some examples.

41. a Mwanakazi wa-ku-phik-a somba.
1.woman 1SM-Pres-cook-FV 10.fish
'A woman is cooking fish.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-phik-il-a muzukulu somba.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-FV 1.grandchild 10.fish
'A woman is cooking fish for her grandchild.'
c Mwanakazi na mwana ŵa-ku-phik-il-an-a
1.woman with 1.child 2.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-Recip-FV
somba.
10.fish
'A woman and her grandchild are cooking fish for each other.'
d *Mwanakazi na mwana
1.woman with 1.child
ŵa-ku-**zi**-phik-il-an-a somba.
2.SM-Pres-10.OM-cook-Appl-Recip-FV 10.fish
'A woman and her grandchild are cooking fish for each other.'

In the preceding examples, it is the beneficiary object that can reciprocalize. The theme becomes a non-core argument and thus it cannot take OM (41b).

In instrumental and locative applicative, however, it is the base object that can reciprocalize and not the instrument or the locative. Below are examples of reciprocals derived from instrumental and locative applicative bases.

42. a Sellina wa-ku-timb-a munkhungu.
1.Sellina 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 1.thief
'Sellina is hitting a thief.'

b Sellina wa-ku-mu-timb-il-a ndodo munkhungu.
1.Sellina 1.SM-Pres-OM-hit-Appl-FV 9.stick 1.thief
'Sellina is hitting the thief with a stick.'

c Sellina na munkhungu
1.Sellina with 1.thief
ŵaku-timb-il-an-a ndodo.
2.SM-Pres-hit-Appl-Recip-FV 10.stick
'Sellina and the thief are hitting each other with sticks.'

d *Sellina na ndodo ŵa-ku-timb-il-an-a
1.Sellina with 9.stick 2.SM-Pres-hit-Appl-Recip-FV
munkhungu.
1.thief
'*Sellina and stick are hitting each other the thief.'

43. a Lusekelo wa-ka-timb-a Suzgo.
1.Lusekelo 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 1.Suzgo
'Lusekelo hit Suzgo.'

b Lusekelo wa-ka-mu-timb-il-a pa msika
1.Lusekelo 1.SM-Pst-OM-hit-Appl-FV 16.at 3.market
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'Lusekelo hit Suzgo at the market.'

c Lusekelo na Suzgo ŵa-ka-timb-il-an-a
1.Lusekelo with 1.Suzgo 2.SM-Pst-hit-Appl-Recip-FV
pa msika.
16.at 3.market
'Lusekelo and suzgo hit each other at the market.'

d *Lusekelo na pa msika
1.Lusekelo with at 3.market
ŵa-ka-timb-il-an-a Suzgo.
2.SM-Psthit-Appl-Recip-FV 1.Suzgo
'*Suzgo and at the market hit each other Suzgo.'

The instrument and locative objects fail to reciprocalize as we can see in examples (42d) and (43d) above. This is because the participants that react on each other in the reciprocal should be comparable. Thus, in beneficiary applicatives, the AO is a potential agent while in instrumental and locative applicatives, the AO is not an agent and therefore cannot be in a mutual relationship with an individual. Examples (42c) and (43c) the AOs are de-

moted objects, but still input for the reciprocal. This suggests that the reciprocal is not reducing the verb valency or put it differently, the reciprocal is not taking away the object in locative and instrumental applicatives.

5.5.5. Reciprocals derived from causatives

Reciprocalization of a causative ditransitive construction demotes the causee while the theme remains a non-core argument. The demoted causee is demoted to the non-core argument. Since in Citumbuka the theme is a non-core argument, it cannot to take OM as we can see in the examples below.

44. a. Muliska wa-ku-mw-a vinyo.
1.herdsman 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV wine
'The herdsman is drinking wine.'

b Sothini wa-ku-**mu**-mw-esk-a vinyo muliska.
1.Sothini 1.SM-Pres-OM-drink-Caus$_3$-FV wine 1.herdsman
'Sothini makes the herdsman drink wine.'

c Sothini na muliska
1.Sothini with 1.herdsman
ŵa-ku-mw-esk-an-a vinyo.
1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-Recip-FV 3.wine
'Sothini and the herdsman make each other drink wine.'

d *Sothini na muliska
1.Sothini with 1.herdsman
ŵa-ku-**mu**-mw-esk-an-a vinyo.
1.SM-Pres-3.OM-drink-Caus$_3$-Recip-FV 3.wine
'Sothini and the herdsman make each other drink wine.'

Suffixation of the reciprocal suffix to the causative verb stem *mweska* makes it become a monotransitive as in (44c) above which is derived from (44b). The suffixation of *-an-* also deletes the object marker on the verb. The causative renders the causee become an object. The new subject is a causer and hence an agent. The causee is mostly an agent and thus the two constituents refer to comparable constituents.

5.6. Summary and conclusion

The reciprocal derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-an-*. The suffix is used not only to derive reciprocal situations, but also related non-reciprocal situations such as depatientives, anticausatives, collective/associative situations, and distributed situations. Constructions derived by the suffix *-an-* are all pluractional and iterative. De-objectives/depatientives delete the patient/object while anticausatives delete the agent. We have also seen that the suffix -an- only attaches to transitive verb stems. We have seen that deobjectives take the object away but not semantically, the others keep the referent of the object too, but include it into the subject. And this "object"

need not only be strictly speaking a true syntactic object as long as it is a potential agent (see chapter 6 on demoted objects of the applicative. Thus, the suffix *-an-* is associated with plurality of participants and plurality of events.

6. Applicative

6.1. Introduction

An applicative construction is defined as "a construction in which a verb bears a specific morpheme which licenses an oblique or non-core argument that would not otherwise be considered a part of the verb's argument structure" (Jeong 2007:2; Kulikov 2011). The newly introduced argument is a direct object and shows all the object properties (Kulikov 2011). The morpheme used to derive the applicative construction is called an applicative morpheme, and in Bantu linguistics it is called an applicative extension suffix. Not all applicative derivations introduce a new argument in Bantu languages (see also Rapold 1997; Mabugu 2001, Marten 1999 and 2002). In Citumbuka, the applicative suffix, *-il-* introduces an NP with a range of functions: beneficiary, maleficiary, goal, locative (and source, path), instrument (and ingredients), manner and judicantis. For beneficiary, maleficiary, goal, locative and instrument, the constituent introduced by suffixation of *-il-* has object properties. The newly introduced argument is called an applied object (AO). The AOs are always required core arguments, replacing base objects which become non-core arguments. Locative and instrumental AOs are core arguments and are therefore contrasted to the locative objects of non-derived locative constructions and instrumental adjunct phrases of non-derived instrumental constructions which are non-arguments.

The instrument and ingredients also portray the manner in which some activity is conducted in addition to indicating the instrument or ingredients used to accomplish the activity. In this usage the manner/instrument constituent does not have object properties and the base object does. The motive applicative also behaves like the manner applicative in that it does not take over object properties of the base object. Thus, manner and motive roles are not AOs.

In Citumbuka, all verbs can derive applicatives, including unergative and unaccusative intransitives. Citumbuka is an asymmetrical language as only one non-subject NP is allowed to be object marked and to passivize. Citumbuka has both high (H) and low (L) applicatives. Double applicatives have been analyzed as instances of applicative reduplication. Despite variations in meaning the unifying factor about the diverse applicatives is high degree of distinguishability of the introduced NP.

6.1.1. The form of the applicative suffix

The applicative derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-il/-el-* with allophonic variants *-ir-/-er-* (see 2b and 3b below). Whether the applicative suffix is realized as *-il-* or *-el-* is determined by vowel harmony. When the preceding root vowel is *e* or *o*, the applicative suffix is realized as *-el-* (see 3b and 4b below). It is realized as *-il-* elsewhere (for example 1b and 2b below). In Citumbuka the consonants *l* and *r* are not contrastive and are usually used interchangeably. Below are examples:

1. a Mama w-a-fw-a.
   1.mother 1.SM-Perf-die-FV
   'The mother died.'
   b Mama w-a-fw-il-a mwana.
   1.mother 1.SM-Perf-die-Appl-FV 1.child
   'The mother has died for the sake of the child.'
   'The mother has died because of her child.'
2. a Tuwemi wa-ku-gul-a mbuzi.
   1.Tuwemi 1.SM-Pres-buy-FV 9.goat
   'Tuwemi is buying a goat.'
   b Tuwemi wa-ku-gul-ir-a Tasokwa mbuzi.
   1.Tuwemi 1.SM-Pres-buy-Appl-FV 1.Tasokwa 9.goat
   'Tuwemi is buying a goat for Tasokwa.'
3. a Bongololo wa-ka-tol-a mbavi.
   1.Bongolo 1.SM-Pst-take-FV 9.axe
   'Bongola took an axe.'
   b Bongololo wa-ka-tol-er-a Suzgo mbavi.
   1.Bongololo 1.SM-Pst-take-Appl-FV 1.Suzgo 9.axe
   'Bongololo took an axe on behalf of Suzgo.'
4. a Msepuka wa-ngu-bwelek-a jembe.
   1.boy 1.SM-Rec.Pst-borrow-FV 5.hoe
   'A boy borrowed a hoe.'
   b Msepuka wa-ngu-bwelek-el-a ŵasambili
   1.boy 1.SM-Rec.Pst-borrow-Appl-FV 2.learner
   jembe.
   5.hoe
   'A boy borrowed a hoe for the learners.'

Suffixationn of the applicative suffix introduces an NP which may be an object or an oblique object. In example (1b above) the introduced NP is a motive or circumstance under which the mother of the child died.

6.1.2. Lexicalized applicatives

Some applicatives are lexicalized in such a way that it is not possible to tear apart the root and the applicative suffix. Below are examples of lexicalized applicative verbs in Citumbuka.

5. a lila — cry/cry for/or regret
   b cimbila — run away
   c celela — start up very early
   d fumila — come from
   e samalila — take care of

6. a Mwana wa-zamu-lil-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Fut-cry
   'The child will cry.'
   b Mmbelwa wa-ku-lil-a ng'ombe z-ake.
   1.Mmbelwa 1.SM-Pres-cry-FV 10.cattle 10-his
   'Mmbelwa is crying for his cattle.'
   c Mavuto wa-ku-mu-lil-a muwoli w-ake.
   1.Mavuto 1.SM-Pres-OM-cry-V 1.wife 1-his
   'Mavuto regrets leaving his wife.'

6.2. Transitivity of the base

Typologically, applicative constructions vary across languages in many ways including the transitivity of the base from which an applicative can be derived (Polinsky 2011). Some languages can only derive an applicative construction from transitive bases, others intransitive bases only, while still others from both intransitive and transitive bases. Citumbuka can derive the applicative from any verb, intransitive as well as transitive.

6.2.1. Intransitive base

The applicative suffix in Citumbuka like other Bantu languages is very productive. The applicative can be derived from both unergative and unaccusative bases, contra Baker (1996:12) and Machobane (1989:59) who argue that benefactive applicatives cannot be formed from verbs that are unambiguously unaccussatives. In the examples below, both *fu-a* 'die' in (6a) and *w-a* 'fall' in (7a) are intransitive verbs that have subjects which are semantically patients. Examples (6b) and (7b) below show that it is possible to derive applicative constructions from such type of verbs.

7. a Yesu wa-ka-fw-a pa-mphinjika.
   1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-die-FV 16-9.cross
   'Jesus died on the cross.'

b *Yesu wa-ka-**pa**-fw-a pa-mphinjika.
1.Jesus 1-SM-Pst-16.OM-die-FV 16-9.cross
'Jesus died on the cross.'

c Yesu wa-ka-(ŵa)-fw-il-a ŵanthu
1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-2.OM-die-Appl-FV 2.person
pa-mphinjika.
16-9:cross
'Jesus died for people on the cross.'

8. a Mulowevyi wa-ka-ps-a pa-moto mayilo.
1.drunkard 1.SM-Pst-burn-FV 16-3.fire yesterday
'A drunkard got burnt on fire yesterday.'

b *Mulowevyi wa- ka-**pa**-ps-a pa-moto
1.drunkard 1.SM-Pst-16.OM-burn-FV 16-3:fire
mayilo.
yesterday
'A drunkard was burnt on fire yesterday.'

c Mulowevyi wa-ka-**(ŵa)**-ps-il-a pamoto ŵana.
1.drunkard 1.SM-Pst-2.OM-burn-Appl-FV 18-3.fire 2.child
'A drunkard was burnt on behalf of children.'

Example (7c) is a benefactive applicative from the verb *fwa* 'die' which is an unaccussative verb form. Example (8c) is a deputative beneficiary applicative. Unaccusative verbs do not allow locative nouns to take OM in non-applicative forms. Below are examples illustrating that unergative intransitive verbs can also derive applicative constructions:

9. a Changa wa-ka-cimbil-a.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-run-FV
'Changa ran.'

b Changa wa-ka-cimbil-il-a kukaya.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-run-Appl-FV 17.home
'Changa ran home.'

10. a Changa wa-ka-kondw-a.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-be.happy-FV
'Changa was happy.'

b Changa wa-ka-**u**-kondw-el-a usambizgi.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-OM-be.happy-FV 14.teaching
'Changa was happy because he became a teacher.'

6.2.2. Monotransitive base

In Citumbuka, applicative constructions can also be derived from monotransitive bases. Suffixation of an applicative suffix to a monotransitive base derives a ditransitive applicative construction. Suffixation of the applicative suffix *-il-* to monotransitive bases derives

ditransitive applicative constructions. Examples (11b) and (12b) below illustrate this.

11. a Changa wa-ku-sambizg-a
1.Changa 1.SM-Pres-teach.Caus$_2$-FV
masamu.
6.mathematic
'Changa is teaching mathematics.'

b Changa wa-ku-sambizg-il-a buku
1.Changa 1.SM-Pres-teach.Caus$_2$-App-FV 5book
masamu.
6.mathematic
'Changa is using a book to teach mathematics.'

12. a Ŵasepuka ŵa-ka-phik-ang-a cithuŵi.
2.boy 2.SM-Pst-cook-Imperf-FV 7.milk
'The boys used to cook milk porridge.'

b Ŵasepuka ŵa-ka-phik-il-ang-a ulongwe
2.boy 2.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-Imperf-FV 14.dung
cithuŵi.
7.milk
'The boys used to cook milk porridge using cow dung.'

6.2.3. Ditransitive base

Some verbs allow derivation of applicative constructions with three objects (tritransitives) from a ditransitive base. These verbs include the equivalents of *give*, *show*, and *ask*. Examples below illustrate this.

13. a Msambizgi wa-ku-longol-a ŵana vinyama.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-show-FV 2.child 8.animal
'The teacher is showing children some animals.'

b Msambizgi wa-ku-longol-er-a ndodo ŵana vinyama.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-show-Appl-FV 9.stick 2.child 7.animal
'The teacher is using a stick to show children some animals.'

14. a Msambizgi wa-ku-fumb-a ŵana mafumbo.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-ask-FV 2.child 6.question
'The teacher is asking children some questions.'

b Msambizgi wa-ku-fumb-il-a mwanakazi ŵana
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-ask-Appl-FV 1.woman 2.child
mafumbo.
6.questions
'The teacher is asking children some questions on behalf of /or for a woman.'

The preceding examples show that it is possible to derive applicative constructions from ditransitive bases. The resulting derivations are tritransitive applicative constructions. This section therefore, demonstrates that indeed Citumbuka applicatives can be derived from any base, intransitive (both unaccusative and unergative), transitive and ditransitive. In the next section, we investigate various semantic roles associated with the applicative derivational suffix in Citumbuka.

6.3. Semantics of applicatives

The applicative derivational suffix in Bantu is highly polysemous such that the introduced constituent can bear any of the following semantic roles: beneficiary, maleficiary, instrumental, manner, locative, source, (path/by way of), reason/motive/purpose, direction/goal, (Ngonyani 1995, Kimenyi 1988, Polinsky 2011). In some seemingly intransitive applicative constructions, there is an implied object. Furthermore, as observed by Rapold (1997), Marten (1999, 2002), and Mabugu (2001) semantic and pragmatic factors do play a role in deciphering the appropriate meaning of an applicative.

6.3.1. Beneficiary

Kittilä (2010:2) defines the beneficiary as "a participant that is advantageously affected by an event without being its obligatory participant". Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) categorize the beneficiary into three subtypes, (i) plain benefactive, (ii) deputative benefactive and (iii) recipient-benefactive which are equivalent to Kittlä's (2005) (i) pure beneficiaries, which comprises (a) concrete beneficiary and (b) substituted beneficiary, and (ii) recipient-beneficiaries (see also Kittla 2010:14, Rapold 2010:359). A plain or pure benefactive refers to situations which imply that the beneficiary did not have to carry out a particular event but benefited from that event. Substitutive or deputative benefaction refers to situations the beneficiary benefited in by not having to do the profiled event by oneself. Recipient-beneficiary on the other hand, comprises both reception and benefaction (Kittlä 2005:275). This is also the case in Citumbuka as the following examples show.

15. a Manesi w-a-phik-a cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 7.food
'Manesi has cooked food.'

b Manesi w-a-phik-il-a ŵana cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cook-Appl-FV 2.child 7.food
(i) 'Manesi has cooked food for children.'
(ii) 'Manesi has cooked food on behalf of the children.'

16. a Ŵazukulu ŵa-ku-lim-a.
2.grandchild 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV
'Grandchildren are gardening.'
b Ŵazukulu ŵa-ku-lim-il-a
2.grandchild 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-Appl-FV
sekulu w-aŵo.
1.grandfather 1.-3PL.Poss
(i) 'Grandchildren are gardening for their grandfather.'
(ii) 'Grandchildren are gardening on behalf of their grandfather.'

17. a Themba li-ka-yowoy-ang-a.
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-speak-Imperf-FV
'The chief used to speak.'
b Themba li-ka-ŵa-yowoy-el-ang-a
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-2.OM-speak-Appl-Imperf-FV
ŵanthu ŵ-ake.
2.person 2-3SG.Poss
(i) 'The chief used to speak for his people.'
(ii) 'The chief used to speak on behalf of his people.

18. a Changa wa-ka-nyamul-a mtolo wa nkhuni.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-lift-FV 3.bundle of firewood
'Changa carried a bundle of firewood.'
b Changa wa-ka-ŵa-nyamul-ila-ko mtolo
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-2.OM-lift-Appl-FV-17.Loc 3.bundle
wa nkhuni anyina.
of 9.firewood 3.his/her:mother
(i) 'Changa carried a bundle of firewood on behalf of his mother.'
(ii) 'Changa brought a bundle of firewood to his mother.'
(iii) Changa carried the bundle of firewood for his mother

In example (15b), depending on context, it could mean that the children benefit from Manesi's cooking of food because they will eat the food. In this case, it means that they are both beneficiaries and recipients of the result of the event of cooking food, and therefore children are recipient-beneficiaries. It could also mean that the children were supposed to cook the food but Manesi offered to help by doing the cooking on their behalf. In this case, they are substitutive beneficiaries. Thus they benefit in the sense that they will not have to cook the food regardless of whether they will eat the food or not. In example (16b), there are two possibilities depending on context. The first option is that the grandchildren did the gardening on behalf of their grandmother, making her the substitutive beneficiary (16b.ii.) Secondly, that the grandchildren just decided to do the gardening which will be to grandfather's benefit, but grandfather was not profiled to carry out the activity of gardening (16.b.i). This is also the case with (18b). There are certain situations where only the substitutive benefaction interpretation is possible, that is, that something was done on behalf of

someone, in which the AO only benefits in the sense that he was substituted by someone else. This is demonstrated in the examples below.

19. a Changa wa-ka-end-a ulendo wapasi.
1.Changa 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-walk-FV 14.journey 1.ground.
'Changa walked on a journey.'
b Changa wa-ka-mu-end-el-a- ulendo
1.Changa 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-walk-Appl-FV 14.journey
wapasi Suzgika pakuti iyo wa-ka-ŵ-a
14.ground 1.Suzgika because 3.SG 1.-Pst-be-FV
mulwali.
1.patient
'Changa walked on behalf of Suzgika because she was ill.'

In example (19b), the AO, Suzgika, benefits from the walk because she was substituted by Changa and therefore did not have to walk while ill. However, the event of walking on itself does not benefit Suzgika.

6.3.2. Maleficiary

Maleficiaries are conceptual counterparts of beneficiaries representing an entity to whose detriment an event encoded is occurring (Rapold 2010:360). Malefactive and benefactive applicative constructions are both derived by the applicative suffix *-il-* in Citumbuka. Context determines whether the applicative derivation has maleficiary or beneficiary interpretation. Although verbs meaning 'to kill' and 'to steal' are malevolent semantically, when used in certain applicative events, they can potentially carry the meaning that the killing or stealing events were beneficial to the AO. The interpretation of beneficiary/maleficiary is largely dependent on pragmatic factors. Consider the following examples:

20. a Ŵasepuka ŵa-ku-mw-a phele.
2.boy 2.SM-Pres-drink-FV 5.beer
'Boys are drinking some beer.'
b Ŵasepuka ŵa-ku-mw-el-a themba phele.
2.boy 2.SM-Pres-drink-Appl-FV 5.chief 5.beer
(i) 'Boys are drinking beer on the chief.'
(ii) 'Boys are drinking beer for the chief.'
(iii) 'Boys are drinking beer to annoy the chief.'
21. a Manesi w-a-ly-a cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-eat-FV 7.food
'Manesi has eaten some food.'

b Manesi w-a-ly-el-a ŵana cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-eat-Appl-FV 2.child 7.food
(i) 'Manesi has eaten children's food' (to their disadvantage).'
(ii) 'Manesi has eaten food on behalf of the children.'

From the preceding examples, we can see that the examples with the applicative suffix have the potential of having either a (i) maleficiary reading or (ii) beneficiary reading or (iii) a motive reading. In example (20b), for instance, the AO, chief, under the circumstances that he had kept his beer somewhere and the boys found the beer and started drinking, the chief is at a disadvantage, and therefore, the AO has a maleficiary role. It is also possible that the boys drank the beer just to annoy the chief probably because he prohibits them from drinking beer. In this case, the chief also carries a maleficiary role plus motive role. If on the other hand, someone brought some beer to the chief, but the chief does not like or drink beer, and he gives the beer to the boys so that they drink on his behalf, then the chief benefits from the event of drinking. The chief is therefore, a beneficiary. This is also the case if the boys went drinking simply to please the chief. Similarly, in example (21b) above, under the circumstances that the children were expected to finish their food and show their mother that the plates were empty, then Manesi's eating benefits them and their mother will think that they ate the food. But, if Manesi actually stole and ate their food, then the children were negatively affected by the event. In this case, the children carry a maleficiary role. In the examples below, we will see that semantics alone may not be able to resolve the beneficiary-maleficiary-motive ambiguity in Citumbuka.

22. a Wapolisi wa-ka-kom-a nchewe.
1.policeman 1.SM-Pst-kill-FV 9.dog
'A policeman killed a dog.'
b Wapolisi wa-ka-kom-el-a nchewe adada.
1.policeman 1.SM-Pst-kill-Appl-FV 9.dog my.father
(i) 'A policeman killed a dog for (on behalf of) my father.'
(ii) 'A policeman killed a dog on my father.'

23. a Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-b-a skaŵa.
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-steal-FV 10.peanut
'Thieves stole peanuts.'
b Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-mu-b-il-a skaŵa
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-steal-Appl-FV 10.peanut
Mercy.
1.Mercy
(i) 'Thieves stole peanuts from Mercy.'
(ii) 'Thieves stole peanuts for Mercy (on her behalf).'

In example (22a), the verb *koma* 'kill' is semantically malevolent in that it deprives life to the affected patient. In example (22b) on the other hand, depending on context, the verb 'kill' with the suffixation of the applicative derivational suffix, may encode an event that benefits the AO or negatively affects it. In the context that the dog was biting people and became uncontrollable, then the policeman killed this dog on behalf of the speaker's father, the AO. Under the circumstances that the dog was harmless and the owner treasured it, then the killing negatively affected the father of the speaker (19b(ii)). This is also the case in examples (23). In (23a), the verb 'steal' is semantically malevolent since it involves loss of property. When the applicative suffix is attached to the verb, on the other hand, depending on context, the newly introduced participant could be the one being negatively affected since they have their groundnuts stolen. At the same time, in the context that these thieves were sent by the AO, then the AO benefits from the event of stealing. Maleficiaries are a semantic counterpart of recipient-beneficiaries, source-maleficiaries. Source-maleficiaries combine the role of source and maleficiary in the same way that recipient-beneficiaries combines roles of recipient and beneficiary (Rapold 2010). This is the case with example (23b(i)) above in which the maleficiary is also the source of the stolen peanuts. Context plays a major role in interpreting the semantic role of the AO.

6.3.3. Possessor applicatives

The derivational suffix *-il-* derives also possessor applicatives in which the new constituent is an affected possessor. The possessor is either adversely affected or affected in a positive manner. Possessor applicatives allow the affected possessor of the possessee to be expressed without a preposition through suffixation of an applicative derivational suffix to the verb. The introduced constituent is an affected possessor of the possessed item. The AO may not necessarily be the owner of the possessed item, but that at the time that the possessed item was being affected, it was under the custody of the possessor. The possessor and the base object are freely ordered. Below are some examples to illustrate this.

24. a Msonthi w-a-timb-a mwana.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-Perf-hit-FV 1.child
'Msonthi has hit a child.'

b Msonthi w-a-timb-il-a mwana Tembo.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-Perf-hit-Appl-FV 1.child 1.Tembo
'Msonthi has hit Tembo's child.'

c Msonthi w-a-timb-il-a Tembo mwana.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-Perf-hit-Appl-FV 1.Tembo 1.child
'Msonthi has hit Tembo's child.'

25. a Suzgo w-a-gul-isk-a ng'ombe.
1.Suzgo 1SM-Perf-buy-Caus$_3$-FV 9.cattle.
'Suzgo has sold a cow.
b Suzgo w-a-gul-isk-il-a wiske
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-buy-Caus$_3$-Appl-FV his.father
ng'ombe.
9.cattle
'Suzgo sold his a cow of his father.'
c Suzgo w-a-gul-isk-il-a ng'ombe
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-buy-Caus$_3$-Appl-FV 9.cattle
wiske.
his.father
'Suzgo sold a cow of his father.'

26. a Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-b-a skaŵa.
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-steal-FV 10.peanut
'Thieves stole peanuts.'
b Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-b-il-a skaŵa
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-steal-Appl-FV 10.peanut
Mercy.
1.Mercy
'Thieves stole Mercy's peanuts.'

27. a Dilayivala wa-ka-gand-a nchewe na galimoto.
1.driver 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 9.dog with 9.vehicle
'The driver hit a dog with a vehicle.'
b Dilayivala wa-ka-mu-gand-il-a nchewe
1.driver 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV 9.dog
Lisa na galimoto.
1.Lisa with 9.vehicle
'The driver hit Lisa's dog with a vehicle.'

28. a Jumani wa-ka-ly-a cakulya.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Pst-eat-FV 7.food
'Jumani ate food.'
b Jumani wa-ka-ly-er-a mwana cakulya.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-FV 1.child 7.food
'Jumani ate a child's food.'

By possessor, it may actually mean that an individual who was the custodian of the possessed thing, and the possessed thing may belong to that individual or to someone else. For instance in (27b), at the time the dog was hit, it may have been under the custody of Lisa, but may not have belonged to Lisa. In example (26b), at the time that the peanuts were stolen, they may have been under the custody of Mercy, although the peanuts may have belonged to someone else.

Possessor applicatives are also connected to the beneficiary/maleficiary ambiguity. For instance, the AO in example (24b) can be interpreted as the possessor. It can also be interpreted as a maleficiary in which the AO is negatively affected by the beating of his child as opposed to the possessor interpretation which simply means the child beaten belongs to the AO. It can also be interpreted as a beneficiary in a case where the AO wanted to beat this child, who may be his or somebody else's, the child ran away and someone beat him on his behalf. Example (25b) can also have three possible interpretations. The first one could be that the sold cow belongs to the father of the agent, and this also negatively affects the father may be because it was his only cow or he had other plans for it. The third option would be a situation where the father wanted to sell the cow, and the fact that Suzgo sold it for him/on his behalf benefits him. Thus, the AO, his father, can have the role of possessor, maleficiary or beneficiary depending on context. Similarly in example (26b), three interpretations are possible. Firstly, that the peanuts which were stolen belong to Mercy. Secondly, that the peanuts which were with Mercy, were stolen from her, regardless of whether they belonged to her or not, and this negatively affects her. Thirdly, that the stealing benefited Mercy as it was done on her behalf. Thus, example (26b) also demonstrates that the AO may have possessor, beneficiary, or maleficiary roles depending on a particular context. This ambiguity is not there when the possessor is introduced by a preposition where only the possessor meaning is possible.

6.3.4. Instrument

It is generally observed that the applicative suffix is sometimes used to derive a direct object from oblique roles of various kinds such as instrumentals (see Haspelmath 2001; Polinsky 2011). Below are examples of non-applicative and applicative instrumental alternations.

29. a Manesi wa-ka-cek-a nyama na cimayi.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cut-FV 9.meat with 7.knife
'Manesi cut meat with a knife.'
b Manesi w-a-cek-el-a cimayi nyama.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-FV 7.knife 9.meat
'Manesi has cut the meat with a knife'

30. a Changa wa-ka-cong-ang-a vilingwa na
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-mark-Imperf-FV 8.exam with
bolopeni.
9.ballpoint
'Changa is marking exams with a pen.'

b Changa wa-ka-cong-el-ang-a bolopeni
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-mark-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.ballpoint
vilingwa.
8.exam
'Changa marked the exams with a ballpoint pen.'

31. a Lolani wa-ku-end-a pa galimoto
1.Lolani 1.SM-Pres-walk-FV on 9.car
ku-nchito.
17-9.work
'Lolani goes by car to his work place'

b Lolani wa-ku-end-el-a galimoto ku-nchito.
1.Lolani 1.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV 9.car 17-9.work
'Lolani goes by car to his work place.'

In Citumbuka, the applicative derivational suffix also derives constructions that have AOs that instantiate instrumental in a broad sense. They include ingredients used when cooking as we can see in the following examples:

32. a W-a-phik-a mphangwe na tomato.
1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 9.vegetables with 1.tomato
'S/he has cooked vegetables with tomato.'

b W-a-phik-il-a tomato mphangwe.
1.SM-Perf-cook-Appl-FV 1.tomato 9.vegetables
'S/he has seasoned the vegetables with tomatoes.

33. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-phik-a cikondamoyo na
2.person 2.SM-Pres-cook-FV 7.corn_cake with
soda.
9.soda
'People bake corn cakes with bicarbonate soda.'

b Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-phik-il-a soda cikondamoyo.
2.person 2-Pres-cook-Appl-FV 9.soda 7.corn_cake
'People bake a corn cake with bicarbonate soda.'

In examples (32b) and (33a) the applied suffix introduces AOs that are ingredients used when cooking something.

6.3.5. Manner Applicative

Manner applicatives describe the way in which something was done. They are closely related to the instrument/ingredients applicatives, but unlike in instrumental applicatives the introduced NP is not a core argument. In non-applicative constructions, the manner NP is an adjunct introduced by a preposition *na* (refer to chapter 2.). Below are some examples of manner applicatives.

34. a ŴaTumbuka ŵa-ku-phik-a nyama na
2.Tumbuka 2.SM-Pres-cook-FV 9.meat with
nthendero.
9.peanut.butter
'The Tumbukas cook meat with peanut butter.'
b ŴaTumbuka ŵa-ku-phik-il-a nyama
2.Tumbuka 2.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-FV 9.meat
nthendero.
9.peanut.butter
'The Tumbukas cook meat with peanut butter.'

35. a Chirambo wa-ku-jim-a na mbavi.
1.Chirambo 1.SM-Pres-dig-FV with 9.axe
'Chirambo is digging with an axe.'
b Chirambo wa-ku-jim-il-a mbavi.
1.Chirambo 1.SM-Pres-dig-Appl-FV 9.axe
'Chirambo is digging with an axe.'

Although the introduced NP is an ingredient, it also tells us the manner in which the meat is prepared among the Tumbuka, that they add peanut butter (34b). The next example shows that much as the introduced NP is an instrument, it also tells us the manner in which the digging is being done.

6.3.6. Motive/reason/purpose applicative

The applicative suffix also introduces an AO bearing the semantic role of motive, reason or purpose for doing something. The motive applicative is also known as the causative applicative (see Rapold 2010). The newly introduced object generally answers the question of why or for what purpose. The following examples illustrate this.

36. a Ŵalendo ŵa-ka-gul-a mbuzi.
2.visitors 2.SM-Pst-buy-FV 10.goat
'Visitors bought goats.'
b Ŵalendo ŵa-ka-gul-il-a lusungu mbuzi.
2.visitors 2.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-FV 11.mercy 10.goat
'Visitors bought goats out of mercy.'

37. a Changa wa-ka-njir-a usambizgi.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-enter-FV teaching
'Changa joined the teaching profession.'
b Changa wa-ka-njil-il-a ukavu usambizgi.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-enter-Appl-FV poverty teaching
'Changa joined the teaching profession because of poverty.'

38. a Changa wa-ka-mw-ang-a maji.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-drink-Imperf-FV 6.water
'Changa used to drink water.'

b Changa maji wa-ka-mw-el-ang-a nyota.
1.Changa 6.water 1.SM-Pst-drink-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.thirst
'Changa used to drink water to quench his thirst.'

39. a Vigeŵenga vi-ku-kom-a ŵanthu.
8.thugs 8.SM-Pres-kill-FV 2.person
'Thugs kill people.'
b Vigeŵenga vi-ku-kom-er-a makopala ŵanthu.
8.thugs 8.SM-Pres-kill-Appl-FV 6.money 2.person
'Thugs kill people for money.'

40. a Mpunga u-ka-mal-a na viyuni.
3.rice 3.SM-Pst-finish-FV with 8.bird
'A lot of rice was eaten by birds' ('Rice was finished because of birds).'
b Mpunga u-ka-mal-il-a viyuni.
3.rice 3.SM-Pst-finish-Appl-FV 8.bird
'A lot of rice was eaten by birds (Lit. Rice was finished because of birds).'

41. a Buledi li-ka-vund-a na cifundizi.
5.bread 5.SM-Pst-rot-FV with 7.heat
'The bread went bad because of the heat.'
b Buledi li-ka-vund-il-a cifundizi.
5.bread 5.SM-Pst-sing-Appl-FV 7.heat
'The bread went bad because of the heat.

42. a Changa wa-ka-ly-ang-a cakulya.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-eat-Imperf-FV 7.food
'Changa was eatingt food.'
b Changa wa-ka-ly-el-ang-a njala
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.hunger
cakulya.
7.food
'Changa was eating food only because of hunger.'

While the (a) examples encode a general event, the (b) examples stipulate the reason, purpose or motive or cause (40b and 41b) behind the events in (a) examples. The applicative derivational suffix therefore introduces a new participant with the role of motive/reason/purpose. In example (36a) for instance, the visitors bought a goat and (36b) we are told what specifically motivated them to buy the goat, it is because of their kindness towards the person selling it. Under the circumstances that the person sold the goat to raise money to pay for medical expenses, the buyers' purpose was to assist her/him because they felt sorry for him/her. In example (39a), we see that generally thugs kill people, but in (39b), thugs kill people specifically because they want money from their victims. In this case too, we can see that suffixation of the applicative suffix introduces a new constituent bearing a motive semantic role. Examples (40b) and (41b) show that the

suffix *-il-* enables the prepositional phrase *na*-phrase, which is the cause/reason for the acitivity expressed by the verb, to appear without a preposition. A motive/reason/purpose can also be introduced by the phrase *cifukwa ca* 'because of' in Citumbuka. This is demonstrated in the following examples compared to (36b) and the rest above.

43. a Vigeŵenga vi-ku-kom-a ŵanthu.
8.thugs 8.SM-Pres-kill-FV 2.person
'Thugs kill people.'
b Vigeŵenga vi-ku-kom-a ŵanthu cifukwa ca makopala.
8.thugs 8.SM-Pres-kill-FV 2.person because of 6.money
'Thugs kill people for money.'

44. a Lowani wa-ka-low-a mubwezi wake.
1.Lowani 1.SM-Pres-bewitch-FV 1.friend 1.3SG.Poss
'Lowani bewitched his friend.'
b Lowani wa-ka-low-a mubwezi wake
1.Lowani 1.SM-Pres-bewitch-FV 1.friend 1.3SG.Poss
cifukwa ca sanje.
because of 9.jealousy
'Lowani bewitched his friend because of jealousy.'

45. a Changa wa-ka-ly-ang-a cakulya.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-eat-Imperf-FV 7.food
'Changa used to eat food.'
b Changa wa-ka-ly-ang-a cakulya cifukwa ca
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-eat-Imperf-FV 7.food because of
njala.
9.hunger
'He ate food because of hunger.'

The preceding examples show that speakers can also extend the base sentence by adding the link *cifukwa ca* 'because of' to include the motive behind an event instead of using the applicative suffix, *-il*/*el-*.

6.3.7. Goal/Directional Applicative

The goal semantic role encodes the location or entity in the direction of which something moves. In Citumbuka, an applicative derivational suffix is also used to introduce an AO with a semantic role of goal. Examples below illustrate this.

46. a Vikoko vi-ka-khil-a.
8.beast 8.SM-Pst-descend-FV
'Beasts descended.'

b Ntheura vikoko vi-ka-khil-il-a ku-maji.
Therefore 8.beast 8.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-FV 17-6.water
'Therefore the beasts descended towards the water.'

47. a Mulendo wa-ka-andul-a makani.
3.visitor 3.SM-Pst-narrate-FV 6.story
'The visitor narrated what was happening.'

b Mulendo wa-ka-andul-ir-a Tondo makani.
3.visitor 3.SM-Pst-narrate-Appl-FV 1.Tondo 6.story
'The visitor narrated to Mr Tondo what was happening.'

48. a Lusungu wa-ka-pony-a bola.
1.lusungu 1.SM-Pst-throw-FV 5.ball
'Lusungu threw away a ball.'

b Lusungu wa-ka-pony-el-a bola nchewe.
1.lusungu 1.SM-Pst-throw-appl-FV 5.ball 9.dog
'Lusungu threw a ball at the dog.'

49. Ubwezi wa ŵapapi u-liku-mal-ir-a
14.friendship of 2.parent 14.SM-Pst.Stat-end-Appl-FV
ŵana ku-tol-an-a.
2.child 15-take-Recip-FV
'Their friendship ended into marriages between their children.'

50. a Wa-ka-cimbil-a na ku-cem-a kukulu.
1.SM-Pst-run-FV with 15-call-FV 15.big
'He ran with loud screams.'

b Wa-ka-cimbil-il-a kukaya na ku-cem-a
1.SM-Pst-run-Appl-FV 17.home with 15.-call-FV
kukulu.
15.big
'He ran towards the village with loud screams.'

51. Changa wa-liku-fik-il-a mwana wa ŵakusona.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst.Stat-reach-Appl-FV 1.child of 2.tailor
'Changa reached out to the daughter of the tailor (to ask for a her hand in marriage).'

As we can see from the examples, the newly introduced NP is the goal or potential goal of an event. In example (46b) for instance, *kumaji* 'towards water' is the potential goal that the beasts want to reach. They may have reached it or not although their descent was headed towards the direction of the river. In example (48b) the intended goal of the ball is the dog. The dog may catch it or someone else may decide to catch it before it reaches the dog. However, the dog remains the intended goal of the event of throwing the ball.

6.3.8. Locative

A locative semantic role encodes the specific physical or temporal space where the activity expressed by the verb takes place. The AO introduced by the applicative derivational suffix also introduces an AO that is a place where the event took place. Below are some examples to illustrate.

52. a Changa wa-ka-khil-a basi.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-FV 9.bus
'Changa boarded off the bus.'
b Changa wa-ka-khil-il-a pa
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-FV 16.at
Lilongwe basi.
1.Lilongwe 9.bus
'Changa boarded off the bus at Lilongwe.'

53. a Chiukepo wa-ka-timb-a Suzgo.
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 1.Suzgo
'Chiukepo hit Suzgo.'
b Chiukepo wa-ka-mu-timb-il-a pa-chalichi
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV 16-5.church
Suzgo.
Suzgo
'Chiukepo beat Suzgo at the church.'

54. Ti-ka-mu-mbuk-il-a Rukuru pa
1PL.SM-Pst-1.OM-cross-Appl-FV 1.Rukuru 16.at
Chipokaŵawoli.
1.Chipokaŵawoli
'We crossed the Rukuru river at Chipokaŵawoli.'

55. a Yesu wa-ka-fw-a.
1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-die-FV
'Jesus died.'
b Yesu wa-ka-fw-il-a pa-mphinjika.
1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-die-Appl-FV 16-9.cross
'Jesus died on the cross.'

56. a Chikulamayembe wa-ka-gaŵ-ang-a malo
1.Chikulamayembe 1.SM-Pst-distribute-Imperf-FV 6.place
'Chikulamayembe was distributing pieces of land.'
b Chikulamayembe malo wa-ka-gaŵ-il-a
1.Chikulamayembe 6.place 1.SM-Pst-distribute-Appl-FV
pa Kaphirithemba.
at 1.Kaphirithemba
'Chikulamayembe used to distribute pieces of land at Kaphirithemba.'

As the preceding examples demonstrate, the applicative derivational suffix introduces an NP that encodes the specific location where the acitivity

described by the verb took place. In (50b) for instance, the AO is the specific place where Changa boarded off the bus. In example (54b) the AO is the specific place where Chikulamayembe was when he was distributing pieces of land.

6.3.9. Path/ by way of

Some applicatives encode the meaning of going or coming by way of a particular place (or a path) on the way to a final destination. Thus, they encode the path through which the event travels. Consider the following examples of "by way of/or path".

57. a Joni wa-ka-lut-a ku London.
1.Joni 1.SM-Pst-go-FV 17.to London
'Joni went to London.'
b Joni wa-ka-end-el-a ku Nairobi
1.Joni 1.SM-Pst-walk-Appl-FV 17.to 1.Nairobi
pa-ku-lut-a ku London.
16-Infin-go-FV 17.to London
'Joni travelled through Nairobi when going to London.'

58. a Mwiza wa-ka-wel-a ku-sukulu.
1.Mwiza 1.SM-Pst-return 17-9.school
'Mwiza came back from school.'
b Mwiza wa-ka-end-el-a ku-munda
1.Mwiza 1.SM-Pst-walk-Appl-FV 17-3.garden
pa-ku-wel-a ku-sukulu.
16-Inf-return-FV 17-9.school
'Mwiza passed by the garden when coming back from school.'

In the preceding examples, the derivational suffix introduces the location or path by which an agent travelled by way of or through before reaching their last destination. For instance example (57b) states the path or way, Nairobi, that Joni took to reach his intended destination, London. The event of travelling is still going on until Joni reaches London, his intended destination which is also a locational goal. Another subcategory of locative applicatives is source, which is the location from where an event originates. Source applicatives are discussed below.

6.3.10. Source

An applicative can also be a source, the specific place where the event described by the verb originates. The source differs from the locative discussed above because the source is only the starting point of an event. This is illustrated in the examples below:

59. a Gule wa-ka-yamb-a.
1.dance 1.SM-Pst-start-FV
'The dance started.'
b Gule wa-ka-yamb-il-a mu-nyumba.
1.dance 1.SM-Pst-start-Appl-FV 18-3.house
'The dance started from the house.'

60. a Ulendo w-awo ŵa-ka-nyamuk-a mayilo.
14.journey 14.3PL.Poss 2.SM-Pst-depart-FV yesterday
'They started off their journey yesterday.'
b Ulendo w-awo ŵa-ka-nyamuk-il-a ku
14.journey 14.3PL.Poss 2.SM-Pst-depart-FV 17.to
Zomba mayilo.
1.Zomba yesterday
'They started their journey from Zomba yesterday.'

61. a Ŵa-ka-kwer-a ndege ya Tanganyika.
2.SM-Pst-climb-FV 9.plane of Tanganyika
'They boarded a Tanganyika plane.'
b Ŵa-ka-kwer-er-a ku Blantyre ndege ya
2.SM-Pst-climb-Appl-FV 17.to Blantyre 9.plane of
Tanganyika.
Tanganyika
'They boarded the Tanganyika plane from Blantyre.'

While the (a) examples state a general statement about the event, the (b) examples specify the origin of the event. In examples (59) for instance, (a) just informs us that the dance had started while (b) specifies the source or starting point of the dance. In examples (60), (a) is a general statement stating that the journey had started off as opposed to (b) which specifies where exactly the journey originated. With example (a), it is possible that the journey originated from somewhere else and the travelers had a stop-over but have now started off continuing with their journey which originated from somewhere else. The (b) example however can only have an interpretation that the speaker wants us to know the starting point of a journey. This also applies to example (61b) which specifies the starting point of the journey with the Tanganyika plane. Example (61a) just tells us that they boarded a plane without telling us where it happened and whether that was the source of their journey or they were connecting from somewhere else to their intended destination.

The locative applicative constructions in Citumbuka can be divided into three, the place where a particular event is taking place, the path or way through which the event proceeds and the source or starting point of the event itself. All the three AO are marked by one of the locative noun class prefixes *ku-*, *pa-*, or *mu-*. They are all locative nouns with differences arising based on whether the event is taking place at a specific place, or is

only passing through to some destination or indeed it is just originating there but it will end somewhere else.

6.3.11. Sociative applicatives

In sociative applicatives, several participants are simultaneously involved in a common and/or identical situation. In Citumbuka, the sociative applicative requires the presence of the numeral modifier *-moza* 'one' which may mean both at the same time and place, or at the same place or at the same time. The subject of the sociative construction is always plural. Consider the following examples:

62. a Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵ-a-kul-a.
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa 2.SM-Perf-grow-FV
'Matiyasi and Mapopa have grown up.'
b Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵ-a-kul-a
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa 2.SM-Perf-grow-FV
nyumba yi-moza.
9.house 9.one
'Matiyasi and Mapopa have grown up in the same house.'
c *Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵ-a-kul-il-a.
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa 2.SM-Perf-grow-Appl-FV
''Matiyasi and Mapopa have grown up for.'
d Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵ-a-kul-ir-a
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa 2.SM-Perf-grow-Appl-FV
nyumba yimoza.
9.house 9.one
'Matiyasi and Mapopa have grown up in the same house.'

63. a Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-end-a.
2.child 2.these 2.SM-Pres-walk-FV
'These children walk.'
b Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-end-a lumoza.
2.child these 2.SM-Pres-walk-FV together
'These children walk together.'
c *Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-end-el-a.
2.child these 2.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV
'These children walk for.'
d Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-end-el-a lumoza.
2.child these 2.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV together
'These children walk together.'

64. a Maria na Mayilesi ŵ-a-ku-imb-a.
1.Maria with 1.Mayilesi 2.SM-Pres-sing-FV
'Maria and Mayilesi sing.'

b Maria na Mayilesi ŵa-ku-imb-a
1.Maria with 1.Mayilesi 2.SM-Pres-sing-FV
lumoza.
11.together
'Maria and Mayilesi sing together.'

c *Maria na Mayilesi ŵa-ku-imb-ir-a.
1.Maria with 1.Mayilesi 2.SM-Pres-sing-Appl-FV
'Maria and Mayilesi sing for.'

d Maria na Mayilesi ŵa-ku-imb-il-a
1.Maria with 1.Mayilesi 2.SM-Pres-sing-Appl-FV
lumoza.
together
'Maria and Masozi sing together.'

65. a Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-phik-a phele.
2.collective 1.Jere 1.SM-Pst-cook-FV 5.beer
'The Jere's brew some beer.'

b Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-phik-a phele nyengo
2.collective 1.Jere 2.SM-Pst-cook-FV 5.beer 9.time
yi-moza.
9-one
'The Jeres brew beer at the same time.'

c *Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-phik-il-a phele.
2.collective 1.Jere 2.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-FV 5.beer
'The Jeres brew beer for.'

d Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-phik-il-a nyengo yimoza
2.collective 1.Jere 2.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-FV 9.time 9.one
phele.
5.beer
'The Jeres brew beer at the same place.'

66. a Ŵena Phiri ŵa-ka-khal-a pasi.
2.collective 1.Phiri 2.SM-Pst-sit-FV down
'The Phiris sat down.'

b Ŵena Phiri ŵa-ka-khal-a pamoza.
2.collective 1.Phiri 2.SM-Pst-sit-FV together
'The Phiris sat together.'

c *Ŵena Phiri ŵa-ka-khal-il-a.
2.collective 1.Phiri 2.SM-Pst-sit-Appl-FV
'The Phiris sat for.'

d Ŵena Phiri ŵa-ka-khal-il-a pa-moza.
2.collective 1.Phiri 2.SM-Pst-sit-Appl-FV 16-one
'The Phiris were sitting down together.'

The non-applicative construction gives a sociative meaning with the addition of the *-moza* (see (b) examples). The addition of *-moza* in a sociative applicative construction does not only bring the sociative sense, but it is

also required (see c and d examples). *-moza* in the non-applicative sociative is an adjunct as it is optional. The (b) and (d) example show that there is no meaning difference between the applicative sociative (d) and the non-applicative sociative constructions. For the native speakers, one can either use (b) sentences or (d) sentences to express the sociative relationship and in both cases, addition of the phrase *-moza* is crucial to attaining the sociative meaning.

In the examples above, the individual participants are involved in individual situations that are taking at the same time or same place or both same time and same place. In example (62) and (62d) above, Matiyasi and Mapopa may have grown up in the same house at the same time or at different times. In examples (63b) and (63d), the children are walking individually but at the same time and same place. In examples (64b) and (64d), Mariya and Mayilesi sing together, that is, each one of them sings at the same time and place. In examples (65b) and (65b) the Jeres may have brewed the beer at the same time time and place or only at the same time but in different places. In examples (66b) and (66d), the Phiris are individually sitting at the same time and same place.

6.3.12. Judicantis

Judicantis or judger's dative encodes the entity according to which some entity is evaluated (Rapold 2010:362; Haspelmath 2003). In Citumbuka the suffix *-il-* introduces a NP with the role of the judger. Below are some examples of judicantis applicatives:

67. a Ci-ka-ŵ-a cinonono kwa Maria
7.SM-Pst-be-FV 7.hard to 1.Maria
ku-lek-a ku-ly-a nyama.
Infin-stop-FV Infin-eat-FV 9.meat
'It was hard to stop eating meat to Maria.'
b Ci-ka-ŵ-il-a cinonono Maria
7.SM-Pst-be-Appl-FV 7.hard 1.Maria
ku-lek-a ku-ly-a nyama.
Infin-stop-FV Infin-eat-FV 9.meat
'It was hard for Maria to stop eating meat.'

68. a Ku-a-tal-ik-a ku Lilongwe.
17.SM-Pst-long-Pass-FV to.17 1.Lilongwe
'Lilongwe is far.'
b Ku-a-tal-ik-il-a amama ku
17.SM-Perf-long-Pass-Appl-FV 2.mother to
Lilongwe.
1.Lilongwe
'Lilongwe is far to my mother.'

69. a Nchunga zi-ku-now-a kwa Edesi.
10.bean 10.SM-Pres-be_tasty-FV to 1.Edesi
'Beans are tasty to Edesi.'
b Nchunga zi-ku-now-el-a Edesi.
10.bean 10.SM-Pres-be_tasty-Appl-FV 1.Edesi.
'Beans are tasty for Edesi'

70. a Themba li-ku-yowoy-a makola kwa Tione.
5.chief 5.SM-Pres-speak-FV well to 1.Tione
'The chief speaks well to Tione.'
b Themba li-ku-mu-yowoy-el-a makola Tione.
5.chief 5.SM-Pres-1.OM-speak-Appl-FV well 1.Tione.
'The chief speaks well to Tione.'

In these applicative sentences the verb action is from the point of view of the judger. For example in (70b) above, the way the chief speaks is evaluated from the point of view of Tione while (70a) is a general view. Similarly, in example (69b), the judgement that beans are tasty is from the viewpoint of Edesi.

6.3.13. The seemingly non-valence change applicative

Vail (1972) argues that the *-il-* suffixation that does not increase the verb valency is a pseudo extension with no syntactic and semantic significance in Citumbuka. However, most of the seemingly non-significant cases introduce an implied motive/reason NP as we can see from the examples below.

Table 6.1: examples of seemingly non-valence adding applicatives

Base	English	Base+Appl	English
cimbila	run	cimbilila	run for, run after, run on behalf of
nunkha	stink	nunkhila	smell bad to someone, smell nice to someone
fuma	come out	fumila	come from some place
vwala	dress	vwalila	dress up for some ocasion

71. a Jumani w-a-vwal-a suti.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Perf-wear-FV 9.suit
'Jumani is wearing a suit.'
b Jumani w-a-vwal-il-a suti.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Perf-wear-Appl-FV 9.suit
'Jumani is wearing a suit (for a particular occasion or reason).'

72. a Jumani w-a-chen-a suti.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Perf-dress_up-FV 9.suit
'Jumani is dressed up in a suit.'
b Jumani w-a-chen-el-a suti.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Perf-dress_up-Appl-FV 9.suit
'Jumani is dressed up in a suit (for some occasion/reason).'

73. a Jumani wa-ka-wuk-a mulenji.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Pst-rise-FV morning
'Jumani woke up in the morning.'
b Jumani wa-ka-wuk-il-a mulenji.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Perf-rise-Appl-FV morning
'Jumani woke up in the morning (for some occasion/purpose').
c Jumani wa-ka-wuk-il-il-a mulenji.
1.Jumani 1.SM-Pst-rise-Appl-Appl-FV morning
'Jumani woke up early in the morning (for some purpose).'

Examples (71a, b) show that although the applied form does not have an overt NP introduced by suffixation of *-il-*, there is a reason or purpose for which Jumani is wearing a suit. In a context that Jumani is going for an interview, the reason/occasion for wearing the suit is the interview. Or if he was invited to speak somewhere else, then the reason for wearing the suit is the occasion where he is going to speak. Example (72a) and (72b) show

that in (a) it is all about Juma dressing up while in (b), the dressing up is for a particular occasion or purpose and this information is shared by both the speaker and the hearer. This is further supported by the fact that (71b) and (72b) can be extended to include the specific reason, purpose or occasion for wearing the suit or dressing up as shown in (71b) and (72b. The examples also show that the implied purpose or reason is easily identified in context. Examples in table 6.1 show that there are two senses of the applicative verb *nunkhila,* it means 'smell nice' when used intransitively, and 'smell bad to someone else' when used transitively Thus, the seemingly non-valency changing applicatives introduce a motive NP which is still implied when left unexpressed.

6.3.14. Multiple applicative morphemes

Some verbal derivations have multiple applicative suffixes in Citumbuka. According to Vail (1972:345), the double applicative *-ilil-* in Citumbuka, which he terms the persistative, is associated with intensity, repetition, and continuation. Cross-linguistically, multiple applicative constructions are associated with repetition, continuation, plurality, intensity, distribution, multiple applicatives, etc. These senses are also associated with reduplication across world languages (Regier 1998, Key 1965, Inkelas and Zoll 2005; Dressler 1968 as cited by Tovena 2008; Kulikov 1993:128-129). This suggests that the second applicative suffix in constructions with double applicatives on the verb is a reduplication. Phiri (1980:97) also treats *-il-il-* as a reduplicated verbal form which "indicates continuation of the action expressed by the verbal stem". Consider the following examples from Citumbuka.

74. a Munkhungu w-a-mang-a mbuzi.
1.thief 1.SM-Perf-tie-FV 9.goat
'A thief has tied a goat.'
b Munkhungu w-a-mang-il-a mbuzi cingwe.
1.thief 1.SM-Perf-tie-Appl-FV 9.goat 7.rope
'A thief has tied a goat with a rope.'
c Munkhungu w-a-mang-il-il-a mbuzi pa-njinga.
1.thief 1.SM-Perf-tie-Appl-Appl-FV 9.goat 17-9.bicyle
'The thief has tied a goat onto the bicycle.'

75. Sitima y-a-mang-il-il-a mabogi ghanandi.
9.train 9.SM-Perf-tie-Appl-Appl-FV 5.container 5.many
'The train is pulling many containers' (Lit. the train has tied many containers.)

76. a Mama wa-ku-lind-a mwana.
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-wait-FV 1.child
'A mother is waiting on her child

b Mama wa-ku-lind-il-a mwana.
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-wait-Appl-FV 1.child
'A mother is waiting for her child.'

c Mama wa-ku-lind-il-il-a mwana ku-dambo.
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-wait-Appl-Appl-FV 1.child 17-5-river
'A mother is waiting for her child at the river'

77. a Mutheliso wa-ka-jumph-a.
1.Mutheliso 1.SM-Pst-FV
'Mutheliso passed by the road.'

b Mutheliso wa-ka-jumph-il-a kuno.
1.Mutheliso 1.SM-Pst-Appl-FV here
'Mutheliso stopped over here on his journery.'

c Mutheliso wa-ka-jumph-il-il-a munthowa.
1.Mutheliso 1.SM-Pst-Appl-FV 18-9.way
'Mutheliso went straight to his final destination (without a stop over).

78. a Maji gha-ku-end-a.
6.water 6.SM-Pres-walk-FV
'Water is flowing.'

b Maji gha-kw-end-el-a mphepo.
6.Water 6.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV 9.wind
'Water flows with the wind.'

c Maji gha-kw-end-el-el-a.
6.water 6.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-Appl-FV
'The water is overflowing.'

79. a Mwana wa-ku-pok-a cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-receive 7.food
'A child is receiving food'

b Mwana wa-ku-pok-el-a cakulya mulendo.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-receive-Appl-FV 7.food 1.visitor
A child is receiving food for/on behalf of the visitor.'

c Mwana wa-ku-pok-el-el-a mulendo.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-receive-Appl-Appl-FV 1.visitor
'A child is welcoming a visitor'

In example (74c) the implication is that the thief has tied the goat to the bicycle with something, most likely a rope and the tying is repeated more than once, which suggests multiple applicative. The activity involves more than one applicatives, tie with a rope, tie onto the bicycle, repeated typing of a goat with a rope to the bicyle. In (75a), the linking of containers to the train and then to other containers is achieved through something that can attach to the train and to the container directly connected to it and also to other containers. This activity also involves an activity in which something is connected to another thing with the aid of something else that connects them. In (76c), the mother is kept on waiting for her child, thus doubling of *-il-* depicts continuation of waiting for her child, as opposed to (76b) where

she could be doing other things while waiting for the child. Thus, the mother is continuously waiting for her child and she will only leave that place when the child arrives. Examples (76c) and (77c) also involve continuation and therefore repetition. In (77c) Mutheliso continues with his journey without stopping over anywhere, therefore, this involves continuation. Example (78c) shows the sense of distributive meaning. The water spreads to different directions, which is in line with Key (1965) concerning semantic functions of reduplication. Example (79c) demonstrates that the double applicative suffixation derives a construction with sense of affection, welcoming someone involves affection (i.e. receive someone with affection).

6.3.15. Summary of section

This section has established several meanings associated with the applicative derivational suffix in Citumbuka. They include beneficiary, maleficiary, possessor, goal/direction, motive/reason/purpose, instrument, locative (includes location, source and path), sociative, judicantis and manner related meaning. We have also seen that beneficiaries are further categorized into (i), recipient beneficiary (ii) plain benefactive and (iii) deputative beneficiary. Maleficiaries fall into two categories (i) source maleficiaries and (ii) plain maleficiaries. Repetition of the applicatives suffixes has been treated as an instance of reduplication. To this effect, doubling of applicatives morphemes is associated with repetition, continuation, distribution and multiple applicatives.

6.4. Object properties of applied objects

In this section I discuss object properties of the NP introduced through suffixation of the applicative suffix in Citumbuka. Using the objecthood tests, passivization and object marking (see chapter 2), it is demonstrated that not all NPs introduced by *-il-* have objectlike properties. Thus, some applicatives (beneficiary/maleficiary, possessor, goal/direction) introduce an NP that takes over object properties of the base object while other applicatives (motive and manner) let the base object retain its object properties. Object properties also reveal that instrumental and locative applicatives allow either the introduced NP or the base object to passivise and take OM. The judicantis applicative only allows object marking but not passivization. The sociative applicative does not allow object marking and passivization.

6.4.1. Benefactive/malefactive applicative

In benefactive/malefactive applicatives, only the introduced NP can take OM and become the subject of a passive construction. The following examples demonstrate this.

80. a Manesi w-a-**ŵa**-ly-el-a ŵana cakulya
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-2.OM- eat-Appl-FV 2.child 7.food
'Manesi has eaten food for/on the children.'
b Manesi w-a-**ci**-ly-el-a ŵana cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-eat-Appl-FV 2.child 7.food
*(i) 'Manesi has eaten food for/to the detriment of children.'
(ii) 'Manesi has eaten the food because of the children.' (OK)

81. a Ŵalendo ŵa-ka-**mu**-gul-il-a mbuzi Lusungu.
2.visitor 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-buy-FV 10.goat 1.Lusungu
'Visitors bought goats for Lusungu.
b Ŵalendo ŵa-ka-**zi**-gul-il-a Lusungu mbuzi.
2.visitors 2.SM-Pst-10.OM-buy-FV 1.Lusungu 10.goat
*(i) 'Visitors bought the goats for Lusungu.'
(ii) 'Visitors bought the goats because of Lusungu.' (OK).

In examples (80b) and (81b), when the base object takes OM, the result is ungrammatical unless (80b) and (81b) are interpreted as motive/purpose (see 80bi and 81bi). The OM may be used to distinguish benefactive and motive applicatives. The following examples show that only the AO can become the subject of the passive construction.

82. a Ŵalendo ŵa-ka-gul-il-a Lusungu mbuzi.
2.visitor 2.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-FV 1.Lusungu 10.goat
'Visitors bought goats for Lusungu.'
b Lusungu wa-ka-gul-il-ik-a mbuzi na
1.Lusungu 1.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-Pass-FV 10.goat with
ŵalendo.
2.visitor
'Lusungu was bought goats by the visitors.'
c *Mbuzi zi-ka-gul-il-ik-a Lusungu
10.goat 10.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-Pass-FV 1.Lusungu
na ŵalendo.
with 2.visitor
'Goats were bought for Lusungu by visitors.'

83. a Manesi w-a-ly-el-a cakulya ŵana.
1.Mamesi 1.SM-Perf-eat-Appl-FV 7.food 2.child
'Manesi has eaten food for/on children'
b Ŵana ŵ-a-ly-el-ek-a cakulya na
2.child 2.SM-Perf-eat-Appl-Pass-FV 7.food with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
'Children had their food eaten by Manesi.'
c *Cakulya c-a-ly-el-ek-a ŵana na Manesi.
7.food 7.SM-eat-Appl-Pass-FV 2.child with 1.Manesi
'Food was eaten on/for children.'

84. a Ŵankhungu ŵa-ka-mu-b-il-a Mercy skaŵa.
2.thief 2.SM-Pst-1.OM-steal-Appl-FV 1.Mercy 10.peanut
(i) 'Thieves stole peanuts on Mercy.'
(ii) 'Thieves stole peanuts for Mercy (on her behalf)
b Mercy wa-ka-b-il-ik-a skaŵa
1.Mercy 1.SM-Pst-steal-Appl-Pass-FV 10.peanut
na ŵankhungu.
with 2.thief
'Mercy had her peanuts stolen by thieves.'
c *Skaŵa zi-ka-b-il-ik-a Mercy na ŵankhungu.
10.peanut 10.SM-Pst-Appl-Pass-FV 1.Mercy with 2.thief
'Groundnuts were stolen from Mercy by thieves.'

In example (82b) the subject of the passivized construction is an AO and the sentence is grammatical. When the base object becomes the subject in example (82c), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is also the case in examples (83b) where the subject is the AO and the sentence is grammatical while in (83c) it is ungrammatical where the subject is the base object. Thus, only the AO can take OM and only the AO can passivize. This shows that the AO object takes over the object properties of the base object in benefactive/malefactive applicatives.

6.4.2. Goal/directional applicatives

Goal/directional applicatives behave just like benefactive/malefactive applicatives. Only the introduced NP can take OM and passivize. Examples below demonstrate this.

85. a Mulendo wa-ka-andul-a makani.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-narrate-FV 6.story
The visitor narrated the story.'

b Mulendo wa-ka-**mu**-andul-ir-a Tondo
3.visitor 3.SM-Pst-narrate-Appl-FV 1.Lizard
makani.
6.story
'The visitor narrated the story to Mr. Lizard.'

c *Mulendo wa-ka-gha-andul-il-a Tondo
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-6.OM-narrate-Appl-FV 1.Lizard
makani.
6.story
'The visitor narrated the story to Mr. Lizard.'

86. a Lusungu wa-ka-pony-a bola.
1.Lusungu 1.SM-Pst-throw-FV 5.ball
'Lusungu threw the ball.'

b Lusungu wa-ka-**yi**-pony-el-a nchewe
1.Lusungu 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-throw-Appl-FV 9.dog
bola.
5.ball
'Lusungu threw a ball at the dog.'

c *Lusungu wa-ka-**li**-pony-el-a nchewe bola.
1.Lusungu 1.SM-Pst-5.OM-throw-Appl-FV 9.dog 5.ball
'Lusungu threw the ball towards the dog.'

In example (85b), the sentence is grammatical when the introduced NP takes OM but it is ungrammatical (85c) when the base object takes OM. In the examples below, only the AO can passivize.

87. a Mulendo wa-ka-andul-ir-a Tondo
3.visitor 3.SM-Pst-narrate-Appl-FV 1.Lizard
makani.
6.story
'The visitor narrated the story to Mr Lizard.'

b Tondo wa-ka-andul-il-ik-a makani na
1.Lizard 1.SM-Pst-narrate-Appl-Pass-FV 6.story with
mulendo.
1. Visitor
'Mr Lizard had the story narrated to him by the story.'

c *Makani gha-ka-andul-il-ik-a Tondo na
6.story 6.SM-Pst-narrate-Appl-Pass-FV 1.Lizard with
mulendo.
1.visitor
'The story was narrated to Mr. Lizard by the visitor.'

88. a Lusungu wa-ka-pony-el-a bola nchewe.
1.lusungu 1.SM-Pst-throw-appl-FV 5.ball 9.dog
'Lusungu threw a ball towards the dog.'

b Nchewe yi-ka-pony-el-ek-a bola na
9.dog 9.SM-Pst-throw-Appl-Pass-FV 5.ball with
Lusungu.
1.Lusungu
'The dog had a ball thrown to it.'

c *Bola li-ka-pony-el-ek-a nchewe na
5.ball 5.SM-Pst-throw-Appl-Pass-FV 9.dog with
Lusungu.
1.Lusungu
'The ball was thrown to the dog by Lusungu.'

In the preceding examples, only the AO can passivize. For instance, in (88b), when the AO passivizes, the sentence is grammatical, but when the base object passivizes, the result is ungrammatical (88c). Passivization and object marking therefore shows that in goal/directional applicatives, the AO takes over the object properties of the base object. Thus, benefctive/malefactive and goal/directional applicatives behave alike. The introduced NP display object properties and is therefore an object and core argument. The base object loses its object properties to the AO and therefore becomes a non-core argument.

6.4.3. Possessor

Only the possessor object allows object marking and passivization. This is illustrated in the examples below.

89. a Suzgo w-a-timb-il-a Tembo mbuzi.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-hit-Appl-FV 1.Tembo 9.goat
'Suzgo has hit Tembo's goat.'

b Suzgo w-a-**mu**-timb-il-a mbuzi Tembo.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV 9.goat 1.Tembo
'Suzgo has hit Tembo's goat.'

c *Suzgo w-a-**yi**-timb-il-a Tembo
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-hit-Appl-FV 1.Tembo
mbuzi.
9.goat
'Suzgo has hit it Tembo's goat.

d Tembo w-a-timb-il-ik-a mbuzi na
1.Tembo 1.SM-Perf-hit-Appl-Pass-FV 1.goat with
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'Tembo's goat has been hit by Suzgo.'

e *Mbuzi y-a-timb-il-ik-a Tembo na
9.goat 9.SM-Perf-hit-Appl-Pass-FV 1.Tembo with
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'The goat has been hit of Tembo by Suzgo.'

90. a Msonthi w-a-b-il-a vingoma mlimi.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-Perf-steal-Appl-FV 8.maize 1.farmer
'Msonthi has stolen the farmer's maize.'

b Msonthi w-a-**mu**-b-il-a vingoma mlimi.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-steal-Appl-FV 8.maize 1.farmer
'Msonthi has stolen the farmer's maize.'

c *Msonthi w-a-**vi**-b-il-a vingoma mlimi.
1.Msonthi 1.SM-8.OM-steal-Appl-FV 8.maize 1.farmer
'Msonthi stole them the farmer's maize.'

d Mlimi w-a-b-il-ik-a vingoma na
1.farmer 1.SM-Perf-steal-Appl-Pass-FV 8.maize with
Msonthi.
1.Msonthi
'The farmer's maize was stolen by Msonthi.'

e *Vingoma vi-ka-b-il-ik-a mlimi na
8.Maize 8.SM-Pst-steal-Appl-Pass-FV 1.farmer with
Msonthi.
1.Msonthi
'Maize was stolen from the farmer by Msonthi.'

In examples (89c) and (90c), the base object takes OM and the result is ungrammatical. In examples (89b) and (90b), the possessor takes OM and the result is grammatical. In examples (89e) and (90e), the base object passivizes and the result is ungrammatical. In examples (89d) and (90d) the possessor passivizes and the result is grammatical. This suggests that the possessor does take over the object properties of the base object, and becomes a core argument. The base object on the other hand loses its object properties and becomes a non-core argument. Thus, possessor applicatives behaves the same way as goal and benefactive applicatives.

6.4.4. Motive/purpose/reason applicatives

In motive applicatives the base object retains its object properties and therefore remains the object. The motive NP cannot passivize or take OM. It is therefore not an object and therefore a non-core argument. The following examples show that the base object retains its object properties.

91. a Mlendo wa-ka-gul-a nchewe.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-buy-FV 9.dog
'The visitor bought a dog.'

b Mlendo wa-ka-gul-ir-a lusungu nchewe.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-FV 11.mercy 9.dog
'The visitor bought the dog out of mercy.'

c Mlendo wa-ka-**yi**-gul-ir-a lusungu
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-buy-Appl-FV 11.mercy
nchewe.
9.dog
'The visitor bought the dog out of mercy.'

d *Mlendo wa-ka-**lu**-gul-ir-a lusungu
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-11.OM-buy-Appl-FV 11.mercy
nchewe.
9.dog
'The visitor bought it mercy the dog.'

e *Nchewe yi-ka-gul-il-ik-a lusungu
9.dog 9.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-Pass-FV 11.mercy
na mlendo.
with 1.visitor
'The dog was bought out of mercy by the visitor.'

e *Lusungu lu-ka-gul-il-ik-a nchewe na
11.mercy 11.SM-Pst-buy-Appl-Pass-FV 9.dog with
mlendo.
1.visitor
'Mercy was bought for a dog by the visitor.'

92. a Changa wa-ka-ly-el-ang-a njala
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.hunger
cakulya.
7.food
'Changa used to eat the food only because of hunger.'

b Changa wa-ka-**ci**-ly-el-ang-a njala
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-8.OM-eat-Imperf-Appl-FV 9.hunger
cakulya.
7.food
'Changa used to eat the food only because of hunger.'

c *Changa wa-ka-**yi**-ly-el-ang-a njala
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-eat-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.hunger
cakulya.
7.food
'Changa used to eat the food only because of hunger.'

d *Cakulya ci-ka-ly-el-ek-ang-a njala
7.food 7.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-Imperf-FV 9.hunger
na Changa.
with 1.Changa
'The food used to be eaten only because of hunger by Changa.'

e *Njala yi-ka-ly-ek-ang-a cakulya na
9.hunger 9.SM-Pst-eat-Pass-Imperf-FV 7.food with
Changa.
1.Changa
'Hunger used to be eaten food for by Changa.'

In examples (91c) and (92c), when the motive NP takes OM the result is ungrammatical while in (91b) and (92b), when the base object takes OM the result is grammatical. In examples (91d) and (92d), when the base object passivizes the result is ungrammatical, and in (91e) and (92e), when the motive NP passivizes the result is ungrammatical, too.

6.4.5. Judicantis applicative

The judicantis applicative allows the judger to take OM but not to passivize. In applicative ditransitive, only the judger can take OM, but neither the base object nor the judger can become subject of a passive construction. The judger is therefore an AO since it can be marked by the OM but the remarkable fact is that the AO cannot passivize. Below are some examples showing that the judger can take OM although it cannot passivize.

93. a Mkaka u-ku-now-a.
3.milk 3.SM-Pres-be_tasty-FV
'Milk tastes nices.'
b Mkaka u-ku-now-a kwa Marita
3.milk 3.SM-Pres-be-tasty-FV to 1.Marita
'Milk tastes nice to Marita.'
c Mkaka u-ku-(**mu**)-now-el-a Marita.
3.milk 3.SM-Pres-be_tasty-Appl-FV 1.Marita
'Milk tastes nice to Marita.'
d *Marita wa-ku-now-el-ek-a mkaka.
1.Marita 1.SM-Pres-be_tasty-Appl-Pass-FV 3.milk
'To Marita tastes well milk.'

94. a Amama ŵa-ku-phik-a cindongwa.
2.my.mother 2.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-FV 7.sweet_beer
'My mother brews sweet beer.''
b Amama ŵa-ku-phik-a makola
2.my.mother 2.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-FV well
cindongwa kwa Temwa
7.sweet_beer to 1.Temwa
'My mother brews sweet beer well to Temwani.'

c Amama ŵa-ku-**mu**-phik-il-a makola
2.my.mother 2.SM-Pres-1.OM-cook-Appl-FV well
cindongwa Temwa.
7.sweet_beer 1.Temwa
'My mother brews sweet beer well to Temwa.'

d *Amama ŵa-ku-**ci**-phik-il-a makola
2.my.mother 2.SM-Pres-7.OM-cook-Appl-FV well
cindongwa Temwa.
7.sweet_beer 1.Temwa
'My mother brews the sweet beer well to Temwa.'

e *Temwa wa-ku-phik-il-ik-a cindongwa
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-Pass-FV 7.sweet_beer
makola na amama.
well with 2.my.mother.
'Temwa is brewed sweet beer well by my mother.'

f *Cindongwa ci-ku-phik-il-ik-a makola
7.sweet_beer 7.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-Pass-FV well
na Temwa amama.
with 1.Temwa 2.my.mother
'Sweet beer is brewed well to Temwa by my mother.'

The judger can be object marked (93c) and (94c) but it cannot passivize (93d and 94e).

6.4.6. Sociative applicative

In sociative applicatives, only the base object can take OM. Passivization of either the base object or AO is ungrammatical. Below are some examples to illustrate this.

95. a Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵa-ka-kul-ir-a
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa 2.SM-Pst-grow-Appl-FV
nyumba yi-moza.
9.house 9.one
'Matiyasi and Mapopa grew up in the same house.'

b *Matiyasi na Mapopa ŵa-ka-**yi**-kul-il-a
1.Matiyasi with Mapopa 2.SM-Pst-9.OM-grow-Appl-FV
nyumba yimoza.
9.house 9.one.
'Matiyasi and Mapopa grew up in the same house.'

c *Nyumba yimoza yi-ka-kul-il-ik-a na
9.house 9.one 9.SM-Pst-grow-Appl-Pass-FV with
Matiyasi na Mapopa.
1.Matiyasi with 1.Mapopa
'The same house was grown up in by Matiyasi and Mapopa.'

96. a Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-end-el-a lumoza.
2.child 2.these 2.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV 11.one
'These children walk together.'

b *Ŵana aŵa ŵa-ku-**lu**-end-el-a
2.child 2.these 2.SM-Pres-11.OM-walk-Appl-FV
lu-moza.
11-one
'These children walk together.'

c *Lumoza lu-ku-end-el-ek-a na ŵana
11.one 11.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-Pass-FV with 2.child
aŵa.
2.these
'Together is walked by these children.'

97. a Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-phik-il-a nyengo yi-moza
2.collective 1.Jere 2.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-FV 9.time 9.one
phele.
5.beer
'Jeres brew beer at the same time.'

b Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-**li**-phik-il-a nyengo
2.collective 1.Jere 2.SM-Pst-5.OM-cook-Appl-FV 9.time
yi-moza phele.
9.one 5.beer
'Jeres brew the beer at the same time.'

c *Ŵena Jere ŵa-ka-**yi**-phik-il-a nyengo
2.collective 1.jere 2.SM-Pst-9.OM-cook-Appl-FV 9.time
yi-moza phele.
9.one 5.beer
'Jeres brew beer at the same time.'

d *Phele li-ka-phik-il-ik-a nyengo yimoza
5.beer 5.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-Pass-FV 9.time 9.one
na ŵena Jere.
with 12.collective Jere
'Beer was brewed at the same time by the Jeres.'

e *Nyengo yimoza yi-ka-phik-il-ik-a phele
9.time 9.one 9.SM-Pst-cook-Appl-Pass-FV 5.beer
na ŵena Jere.
with 2.collective 1.Jere
'The same time was brewed beer by the Jeres.'

In example (97b) it is the base object that takes OM and the result is grammatical while in (97c) it is the AO that takes OM and the result is ungrammatical. Examples (97d and e) show that the both base object and AO cannot passivize. In examples (95b) and (96b) the AO takes OM and the result is ungrammatical. Examples (95b) and (96b) are derived from

intransitive bases and therefore do not have base objects. Examples (95c) and (96c) show that the AO cannot passivize.

6.4.7. Instrumental

In instrumental applicatives, either the base object or the instrument can take OM. And, either the base object or the instrument can become the subject of a passive construction. This is illustrated in the examples below.

98. a Suzgo wa-ka-**yi**-kom-el-a mkondo
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-kill-Appl-FV 3.spear
ng'ombe.
9.cattle
'Suzgo killed the cow with a spear.'

b Suzgo wa-ka-**u**-kom-el-a ng'ombe
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-3.OM-kill-Appl-FV 9.cattle
mkondo.
3.spear
'Suzgo killed a cow with the spear.'

99. a Suzgo w-a-**yi**-tem-el-a khuni
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-Appl-FV 5.tree
mbavi.
9.axe
'Suzgo cut a tree with an axe.'

b Suzgo w-a-**li**-tem-el-a mbavi khuni.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-5.OM-cut-Appl-FV 9.axe 5.tree
'Suzgo has cut a tree with an axe.'

100.a Manesi w-a-**ci**-cek-el-a nyama
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-cut-Appl-FV 9.meat
cimayi.
7.knife
'Manesi has cut meat with a knife'

b Manesi w-a-**yi**-cek-el-a ci-mayi
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-Appl-FV 7.knife
nyama.
9.meat
'Manesi has cut the meat with a knife.'

In example (99a) for instance, it is the base object that takes OM while in (99b), it is the instrument that takes OM. Similarly, under passivization, either the base object or the instrument can become the subject. Below are some examples:

101.a Mkondo w-a-kom-el-ek-a ng'ombe
3.spear 1.SM-Perf-kill-Appl-Pass-FV 9.cattle
na Manesi.
with 1.Manesi
'A spear has been used to kill a cow by Manesi.'

b Ng'ombe y-a-kom-el-ek-a mkondo
9.cattle 9.SM-Perf-kill-Appl-Pass-FV 3.spear
na Manesi
with 1.Manesi
'A cow has been killed with a spear by Manesi.'

102.a Mbavi y-a-tem-el-ek-a khuni na
9.axe 9.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 5.tree with
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'An axe has been used to cut a tree by Suzgo.

b Khuni l-a-tem-el-ek-a mbavi na Suzgo.
5.tree 5.SM-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 9.axe with 1.Suzgo
'A tree has been cut with an axe by Suzgo.'

103.a Cimayi c-a-cek-el-ek-a nyama.
7.knife 7.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 9.nyama
'A knife has been used to cut meat.'

b Nyama y-a-cek-el-ek-a cimayi.
9.meat 9.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 9.knife
'Meat was cut with a knife.'

Thus, while the base object retains its object properties in instrumental applicatives, the AO, that is the instrument, acquires object properties and behaves just like the object. Locative applicatives also behave just like instrumental applicatives as discussed in the next section.

6.4.8. Locative applicative

In locative applicatives, either the base object or the AO can take OM, and either of the two can also passivize. Examples (104) to (106) below show that either the base object or the AO can take OM.

104.a Changa wa-ka-**pa**-khil-il-a pa
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-16.OM-descend-Appl-FV at.16
Lilongwe basi.
1.Lilongwe 9.bus
'Changa boarded off the bus at Lilongwe.'

b Changa wa-ka-**yi**-khil-il-a pa
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-descend-Appl-FV at.16
Lilongwe basi.
1.Lilongwe 9.bus
'Changa got off the bus at Lilongwe.'

105.a Chiukepo wa-ka-**mu**-timb-il-a pa
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV at.16
Chalichi Suzgo.
5.church 1.Suzgo
'Chiukepo beat Suzgo at a church.'

b Chiukepo wa-ka-**pa**-timb-il-a Suzgo
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-16.OM-hit-Appl-FV 1.Suzgo
pa chalichi.
16.at 5.chalichi
'Chiukepo beat Suzgo at the church.'

106.a Themba li-ka-**gha**-gaŵ-il-ang-a pa
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-OM-distribute-Appl-Imperf-FV at.16
Kaphirithemba malo.
1.Kaphirithemba 6.place
'The chief distributed land there at Kaphirithemba.'

b Themba li-ka-**pa**-gaŵ-il-ang-a
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-16.OM-distribute-Appl-Imperf-FV
malo pa Kaphirithemba.
6.place 16.at 1.Kaphirithemba
'The chief distributed land there at Kaphirithemba.'

In example (104a), it is the AO that takes OM while in example (104b) it is the base object that takes OM. In example (105a) it is the base object that takes OM while in (105b). In example in (106a) it is the base object that takes OM while in (106b) it is the AO. The following examples illustrate that either the base object or the AO can passivize.

107.a Changa wa-ka-khil-il-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa got the bus at Lilongwe.'

b Pa Lilongwe pa-ka-khil-il-ik-a
at. 1.Lilongwe 16.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-Pass-FV
basi na Changa.
9.bus with 1.changa
'At Lilongwe the bus was got off by Changa.'

c Basi yi-ka-khil-il-ik-a pa Lilongwe
9.bus 9.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-Pass-FV at.16 1.Lilongwe
na Changa.
with 1.Changa
'The bus was got off at Lilongwe by Changa.'

108.a Chiukepo wa-ka-mu-timb-il-a pa
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV 16.at
Chalichi Suzgo.
5.church 1.Suzgo
'Chiukepo hit Suzgo at the church.'

b Pachalichi pa-ka-timb-il-ik-a Suzgo
16-5.church 16.SM-Pst-hit-Appl-Pass-FV 1.Suzgo
na Chiukepo.
with 1.Chiukepo
'Suzgo was hit by Chiukepo at the church.'

c Suzgo wa-ka-timb-il-ik-a pa-chalichi
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pst-hit-Appl-Pass-FV 16-5.church
na Suzgo.
with 1.Suzgo
'Suzgo was hit at the church by Chiukepo.'

109.a Chikulamayembe malo wa-ka-gaŵ-il-a
1.Chikulamayembe 6.place 1.SM-Pst-distribute-Appl-FV
pa Kaphirithemba.
at.16 1.Kaphirithemba
'Chikulamayembe distributed land from Kaphirithemba.'

b Pa Kaphirithemba pa-ka-gaŵ-il-ik-a
at.16 1.Kaphirithemba 16.SM-Pst-distribute-Pass-FV
malo na Chikulamayembe.
6.land with 1.Chikulamayembe
'Land was distributed at Kaphirithemba by Chikulamayembe.'

c Malo gha-ka-gaŵ-il-ik-a pa
6.place 6.SM-Pst-distribute-Appl-Pass-FV 16.at
Kaphirithemba.
1.Kaphirithemba
'Land was distributed at Kaphirithemba.'

While the (b) examples have the AOs for a subject, the (c) examples have base objects as their subject. Thus, both the base object and the AO display characteristics of a base object in locative applicatives. Thus, locative applicative and instrumental applicative display a similar pattern in terms of object marking and passivization in Citumbuka.

6.4.9. Summary of the section

Applicatives in Citumbuka can be divided into two major categories on the basis of the object properties; symmetrical and asymmetrical ones. Instrumental and locative applicatives are strictly symmetrical since both the AO and the base object display properties of an object. For instance, either the AO or the base object can passivise, and either of them can take object marking in Citumbuka. Benefactive/malefactive, goal/direction, motive and possessor applicative are asymmetrical since only one post-verbal NP in these constructions display properties of an object, the AO in benefactive/malefactive and goal applicatives, and the base object in motive/purpose/reason applicatives. Object properties also reveal that beneficiary/maleficiary, goal, possessor, locative, instrumental and judger NPs are true objects and therefore core arguments in applicative constructions in Citumbuka. Motive and associative applicatives retain the object properties of the base object, and the argument is not a core argument. Locative seems symmetrical because locatives always pass the object criteria. Instruments oscillate between introduced instrument as core argument or manner as non-core argument. Below is a table summarizing object properties of derived applicative ditransitive constructions in Citumbuka.

Table 6.2: Object properties of derived applictive ditransitives

Type of Applicative	**Object Marking**	**Passivization**
Goal/direction	only AO	only AO
Benefactive/malefactive	only AO	only AO
Locative (includes path and source)	either AO or base object	either AO or base object
Judicantis	AO only	no passivization
Motive	only base object	only base object
Sociative	base object only	no passivization
Possessor	only AO	only AO
Manner	no OM	no passivization
Instrument	either AO or base object	Either AO or base object

Applicatives vary both language-internally and cross-linguistically (McGinnis 2008:1231; see also Ngonyani 1998 and Pylkkänen 2000). Benefactives, possessor and directional applicatives allow only the AO to take OM and only the AO can passivize. Motive applicatives allow only the base object to take OM and to passivize. Locative and instrumental applicative allow either the AO or the base object to take OM and to passivize. The sociative applicative allows only the base object to take OM

while passivization is not allowed at all. Judicantis AO allows OM but it does not allow passivization at all. This suggests that only benefactive, goal, instrument and locative applicatives introduce AOs that have objectlike properties. Motive and associative applicatives retain the object properties of the base object.

6.5. The High/Low applicatives dichotomy

Pylkkännen (2000:5 and 2008) argues that there are two types of applicatives, high (H) applicatives and low (L) applicatives. H applicatives denote a relation between an event and an AO, while L applicatives denote a relation between the direct object and the AO. The H applicative simply adds another participant to the event described by the verb while L applicative bears no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever. Thirdly, only the H applicative is expected to combine with unergative verbs, not L applicative. Pylkkänen (2000) further argues that deriving a L applicative from unergative verbs should therefore be impossible since L applicatives relate the direct object and an AO. "High applicatives, on the other hand, should have no problem combining with an unergative since high applicative heads simply relate another participant to the event described by the V/RootP" (Pylkkäanen 2000:6). The H applicative can combine with verbs that are completely static unlike L applicative. Only H applicative is available for depictive modification and not L applicative. Furthermore, resultative secondary predication easily combines with H applicative while it fails to co-occur with L applicative. One of the properties of H applicatives is their ability to derive applicatives from unergative verbs. Citumbuka allows derivation of applicatives from both unergative and unaccusative intransitive verbs (see section 6.2.1). Below are a few examples.

110. Yesu wa-ka-fw-ir-a ŵanthu.
1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-die-Appl-FV 2.person
'Jesus died for people.'

111. Chidakwa w-a-w-ir-a vingoma.
1.Chidakwa 1.SM-Perf-fall-Appl-FV 8.maize
'Chidakwa fell on some maize.'

112. Kanakazi ka-ku-vin-ir-a themba.
11.woman 11.SM-Pres-dance-Appl-FV 5.chief
'A young lady is dancing for a chief.'

113. Mwana wa-ku-cimbil-il-a mpapi.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-run-Appl-FV 1.parent
'A child is running on behalf of his/her parent.'

Examples (110) and (112) are applicatives derived from unaccussative bases. Examples (113) and (110) show applicatives derived from unergative bases. H applicatives are said to easily combine with verbs that are completely static (Pylkkänen 2008). Citumbuka applicatives easily combine with such verbs as we can see from the example below.

114. Sam wa-ka-kolel-el-a Maria cikwama.
1.Sam 1.SM-Pst-hold-Appl-FV 1.Maria 7.bag.
'Sam held a bag for Maria.'

6.5.1. (A)symmetric vs. H/L applicative typology

According to (Pylkkäanen 2000), H applicatives have been traditionally called symmetric applicatives while L applicatives have been called asymmetric applicatives. With H applicatives, both AO and the direct object (base object) behave as true objects unlike with L applicatives where only the AO show a full range of object properties. Bresnan and Moshi (1993) describe symmetric languages as those in which the AO behaves like an object while asymmetric languages are those in which the AO is syntactically distinct from the base object. Thus, we expect an asymmetric language not to allow applicatives derived from unergative verbs if asymmetric equals L applicatives, and vice versa. This is not the case in Citumbuka, which is an asymmetric language, but allows derivation of applicatives even from unergative intransitive bases. Peterson (2004) makes a similar conclusion for Lai's applicatives which on one hand behave like Pylkkanen's (2000) H applicatives, and on the other hand behave like traditional asymmetrical languages. Thus, Citumbuka confirms Peterson's (2004) conclusion that the H/L applicative typology is not equivalent to the asymmetrical/symmetrical applicative typology. Citumbuka patterns as H applicative but it is asymmetric since only one non-subject NP displays full characteristics of a true object in terms of object marking and passivization.

6.6. Summary of the chapter

The chapter has discussed the applicative derivational suffix in Citumbuka. In Citumbuka an applicative can be derived from any verb 'be' it intransitive, monotransitive, or ditransitive. The suffix *-il/-el* is a transitivising morpheme. The applicative suffix is highly polysemous in Citumbuka. The AO can bear the following semantic roles: beneficiary/maleficiary, goal/direction, external possessor, motive/reason/purpose, locative, instrument, manner, judicantis. Beneficiaries are of three categories: pure beneficiaries, substitutive beneficiary and recipient-beneficiaries. Maleficiaries are of two categories: plain maleficiaries and source maleficiaries. Locatives are also in three categories: location, path and source. Apart from deriving applicative

constructions, the applicative suffix in Citumbuka is also used to derive sociative constructions. Reduplicated forms of the applicative morpheme are used to express multiple applicatives as well as iteration. Locative and instrumental applicatives are symmetric while the rest are strictly asymmetric. In terms of Pylkkänen's (2000) applicative typology, Citumbuka patterns as both high and low. I conclude that Citumbuka confirms that the high/low applicative typology does not parallel the (a)symmetric language typology since Citumbuka is asymmetric in terms of Bresnan and Moshi (1993) but patterns as H applicative.

Chapter 7

7. Causative

7.1. Introduction

There are three derivational suffixes used to derive causatives in Citumbuka which are *-ik/ek*[2]- (caus$_1$), *-Y-* (Caus$_2$), and *-isk/esk-* (Caus$_3$). The morphemes *-Y-* and *-ik/ek-* are less productive and are mostly associated with intransitive verb forms. The morpheme *-isk-* is the most productive and can attach to any verb form. The three forms also function as verbalizers. It is common across languages to find morphemes that mark both causatives and intensives (Kulikov 1993; 1999a; 1999b; Comrie 1985; Li 1991). There are two major differences between the intensive and causative in Citumbuka. Firstly, the intensive does not introduce a new argument; and secondly, the penultimate syllable is more stressed in an intensive than a causative. In this thesis, the intensive suffix is therefore, presented as *-ísk/ésk-* and thus distinguished from the causative suffix *-isk/esk-*. Some causatives carry an autobenefactive meaning (cause oneself to do something for some personal benefit), others carry a sociative meaning, while some *-Y-* causatives are conversive. In autobenefactive causatives, the causer is also the causee while in associative causatives the causer is the helper and the causee is the one being assisted. Conversive causatives involve alternation of the stimuli and the experiencer in their syntactic functional roles. Citumbuka also allows double causatives and periphrastic causatives. I start by discussing the three causative derivational suffixes in turn, starting with the form *-ik/ek-*.

7.2. Impositive causative suffix *-ik-*

The *-ik-* causative is the least productive in Citumbuka. The suffix attaches to a few change of state and positional intransitive verbs. The morpheme *-ik-* functions as an impositive extension in many Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003). Schadeberg (2003:74) argues that although this morpheme (*-*k-*) has been understood as a kind of causative, lists of verbs carrying *-ik-* from individual Bantu languages and proto-Bantu reconstructions show that the meaning associated with this morpheme should be defined more precisely as 'to put (sth.) into some position.' The impositive causative does not always involve physically putting something in a particular position, it can also involve instructing or ordering an individual to be in a certain position in Citumbuka. As Simango (2009) argues, the *-ik-* morpheme should be classified as the causative morpheme based on its syntax and semantics. The impositive causative introduces a causer and the causer surfaces as the subject of the derived construction. Below are Citumbuka examples of impositive causatives:

Table 7.1: examples of impositive causative

[2] *-ik-* causative is glossed as Caus$_1$; *-Y-* as Caus$_2$ while *-isk* as Caus$_3$

Causative

base	**English**	**impositive**	**English**
gona	sleep	goneka	lay someone/thing down
khala	sit	khalika	put someone/thing down or on some place
sindama	bend down	sindamika	make someone/thing bend
tupa	swell	tupika	soak something'
vunda	rot	vundika	ripen fruits, ferment something
ima	stand/stop moving	imika	make someone/thing stand up or stop moving
vwala	wear	vwalika	dress someone
zizima	be cold	zizimika	cool someone/thing, make someone feel cold
pingama	lie across	pingamika	make someone/thing lie across
womba	be soaked	wombeka	soak/stip something in a liquid
pusa	be stupid	pusika	fool someone
pendama	be slanted	pendamika	make someone/thing slant

1. a Viŵisi wa-ku-gon-a.
   1.Viŵisi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
   'Viŵisi is sleeping/ lying down.'
   b Masozi wa-ku-gon-ek-a Viŵisi.
   1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-$Caus_1$-FV 1.Viŵisi
   (i) 'Masozi is laying down/or putting Viŵisi to bed.'
   (ii) 'Masozi is making Viŵisi lie down (by instruction or command).'
2. a Galimoto y-a-im-a.
   9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-stop-FV
   'The vehicle has stopped.'
   b Mateyu w-a-yi-im-ik-a galimoto.
   1.Mateyu 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-stop-$Caus_1$-FV 9.vehicle
   (i) 'Mateyu has stopped the vehicle.'
   (ii) 'Mateyu has made the driver stop the vehicle (by command, signal or request).'

3. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-sindam-a.
   2.person 2.SM-Perf-bend.down-FV
   'People are bending down.'
   b Muliska w-a-sindam-ik-a ŵanthu.
   1.pastor 1.SM-Perf-bend.down-Caus$_1$-FV 2.person
   'The pastor made people bend down.'

The examples above show that *-ik-* attaches to intransitive action and/or change of state verb stems. We can also see that suffixation of *-ik-* introduces the causer argument which becomes the new subject while the former subject becomes the new object. In example (1b) there are two possibilities by which the causer makes the causee to lie down. Firstly, by physically putting the causee in a lying position and secondly, by commanding the causee to lie down. Similarly in example (2b), the causer might have commanded the driver to stop the car by word of mouth. The causer might have physically stopped the car from moving usually in a case where he/she is the driver.

As already stated elsewhere (see chapter 4), the morpheme *-ik-* also derives valency-reducing constructions in Citumbuka, namely: passive, anti-causative/stative/neuter-passive, and potentives. This is not unique to Citumbuka. In Chichewa and Kiswahili, the suffix *-ik-* has both valency-reducing (stative/middle and potential) and valency-increasing (causative) effects (Simango 2009). Nedjalkov (1970:96) in his survey of polysemy of causative affixes also reports about the ability of causative suffixes to either maintain, increase or reduce the verb valency in several languages of the world. This is also the case in Korean and Sonrai (Songhai) according to Dixon (2000). In Sonrai the verb can take two tokens of the suffix *-ndi*, one for causative and another for passive (Dixon 2000). In Citumbuka, the passive suffix *-ik-* and the causative *-ik-* are not historically related. The *-ik-* passive and *-ik-* causative are homophonous morphemes which can occur consecutively on a verb. Below are examples below from Citumbuka:

4. a Mwana w-a-gon-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-FV
   'A child has slept.'
   b Maria w-a-gon-ek-a mwana.
   1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child
   'Maria has put the child to bed.'
   c Mwana w-a-gon-ek-ek-a na Maria.
   1.child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV with 1.Maria
   'A child has been put to bed by Maria.'
5. a Mwana wa-ku-vwal-a Malaya.
   1.child 1.SM-Pres-wear-FV 6.clothes
   'A child is wearing clothes.'

b Msungwana wa-ku-vwal-ik-a mwana malaya.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child 6.clothes
'A girl is dressing a child with clothes.'

c Mwana wa-ku-vwal-ik-ik-a malaya
1.child 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV 6.clothes
na msungwana.
with 1.girl
'A child is being dressed with clothes by a girl.'

Examples (4b) and (5b) show *-ik-* being used to derive an impositive causative while examples (4c) and (5c) show that the impositive *-ik-* and passive *-ik-* can occur consecutively on a verb. Examples (4c) and (5c) are passives of examples (4b) and (5b).

7.2.1. Semantics of *-ik-* causative

As already stated elsewhere, the *-ik-* causative is particularly associated with physically positioning something. In addition to the physical positioning, the suffix may also be used to express commands or requests that result in the causee being in a certain position. The causative *-ik-* can also carry assistive meaning in Citumbuka. Below are some examples from Citumbuka demonstrating that the causative suffix *-ik-* is associated with causing things to be in a certain position.

6. a Muphika u-li pa-moto.
3.pot 3.SM-be 16-3.fire
'The pot is on the cooking fire.'

b Jala w-a-khal-ik-a muphika pa-moto.
1.Jala 1.SM-Perf-sit-Caus$_1$-FV 3.pot 16-3.fire
'Jala has set the pot on the cooking fire.'

7. a Gondwe wa-ku-vwal-a skapato.
1.Gondwe 1.SM-Pres-wear-FV 10.shoes
'Mr. Gondwe wears shoes.'

b Muliska wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Gondwe
1.shepherd 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.Gondwe
skapato.
10.shoe
(i) 'The pastor provides shoes for Mr. Gondwe.'
(ii) 'The pastor helps Mr. Gondwe putting on shoes.'

8. a Basi y-a-im-a.
9.bus 9.SM-Perf-stop-FV
'The bus has stopped.'

b Matiyasi w-a-im-ik-a basi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-stop-Caus$_1$-FV 9.bus
'Matiyasi has stopped a bus.'

c Matiyasi w-a-im-isk-a basi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-stop-Caus$_3$-FV 9.bus
'Matiyasi has stopped the bus.'

9. a Madoda gh-a-sindam-a na soni.
6.man 6.SM-Perf-stoop-FV with shame
'Men are looking down with embarrassment.'

b Mwana w-a-sindam-ik-a madoda na
1.child 1.SM-Perf-stoop-Caus$_1$-FV 6.men with
soni.
10.shame
'The child made men to look down with embarrassment.'

In example (6b) the causee has been physically put on fire. In example (7b) there are two ways. Firstly, the causer makes the causee to be in a position to wear shoes by providing the shoes. Secondly, the causer physically takes the shoes and puts them on the feet of the causee. In both (7bii) and (7bii), the causative has assistive meaning. In example (8b and 8c) the causer may have physically stopped the bus, being the driver. Another possibility is that the causer is someone, for example, a traffic officer who commanded the driver to stop the bus. In example (9b) the causer psychologically influences the causee to bend down in embarrassment through some shameful behaviour. Thus, the example show that the positioning by the causer may be physical by taking something and putting it in a certain position, or may be abstract by giving instructions or commands and inducing some psychological influence.

In terms of direct and indirect causation, the *-ik-* causative tends to be linked to direct causation in Citumbuka as rightly put by Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980). However, there are some *-ik-* causatives that do not show a direct link to direct causation. Below are some examples:

10. a Tomato wa-ka-vund-a.
1.tomato 1.SM-Pst-rot-FV
'Tomatoes got rotten.'

b Tawonga wa-ka-vund-ik-a tomato.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_1$-FV 1.tomato
'Tawonga ripened tomatoes.'

c Tawonga wa-ka-vund-isk-a tomato.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tomato
'Tawonga made tomatoes to go bad.'

11. a Lundi li-ka-tup-a.
5.leg 5.SM-Pst-swell-FV
'The leg got swollen.'

b *Msungwana wa-ka-tup-ik-a lundi l-ake.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_3$-FV 5.leg 5-3SG.Poss
'A girl made her leg swell.'

c Msungwana wa-ka-tup-ik-a nchunga.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_1$-FV 10.bean
'A girl soaked beans.'

d Msungwana wa-ka-tup-isk-a lundi l-ake.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_3$-FV 5.leg 5.3SG.Poss
'A girl made her leg swell.'

There are two basic semantic types of causatives, direct and indirect causatives, also termed directive versus manipulative, contact vs distant, and immediate versus mediated (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 2001). The major distinction between the two lies in whether the causative situation is controlled by the causer or the causee (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 1999; Li 1991). In example (6b) the causative situation is fully under the control of the causer since the causee, *muphika*, is inanimate and cannot control whether it should be set on the cooking fire or not. Similarly in (7b), the causative implies direct causation if the causer is directly providing the shoes for Mr Gondwe who may not be able to buy shoes for himself. Alternatively, the causative construction can also be interpreted as directly assisting Mr Gondwe to put on shoes, possibly because for some reason or another, he cannot put on the shoes by himself. In both cases the agent is directly involved by helping out Mr. Gondwe. Thus, the two examples indicate that the causative form *-ik-* derives direct causatives. The two examples also show that *-ik-* causatives can have assistive meaning. In an unmarked form, the verb *vwala* is an autobenefactive in the sense that normally one dresses themselves. The causative form *-ik-* in example (7b) also serves to express de-reflexivity, that is, that the act of dressing is not being performed on oneself, but another individual. Nedjakov (1970) describes de-reflexivity as involving a situation in which one does not perform some action upon oneself.

Examples (10b), (9b), (10c) and (11c) are best described as being manipulative where the causer does something that influences the caused situation. In example (10b) the causer acts intentionally while in (10c) the causer may either be intentional or not. In (10b) the causer is only in control of the situation up to the extent of putting the tomatoes in a place where they will ripen, but not in control of the ripening processes itself. It is possible to have put the tomatoes somewhere with the intention of ripening them but end up with rotten tomatoes in which case (10c) applies. This means that the causer is not completely in control of the ripening process just as he is not in control of the rotting process. However, he can only go as far as manipulating the situation by putting tomatoes in a place where they will ripen quickly or where they will definitely come out rotten. Similarly, in example

(8b), the causer is fully in control of the causative situation of stopping the car if he is driving it. If the causer is someone by the roadside, he can stop the car by a hand signal, but still more, the causee, who is the driver decides on his own whether to stop for the person giving a stop signal or not. Yet, the same causative form *-ik-* is being used for both interpretations, (i), where the causer is the driver and (ii) where the causer is the person by the roadside. It can also have the driver as the one stopping the car or someone by the roadside giving a stop signal in which the driver can choose to stop or not. In examples (11c) and (11d), the agent does not directly cause the act of swelling up, but can only manipulate the situation of causation by doing something that will lead to the swelling of beans in (11c) by putting them in water or the leg in (11d), but he cannot control whether or not the beans will swell up after soaking them, or whether the leg will swell up after injuring it. Thus, it is not always the case that the *-ik-* causative implies direct causation. Rather, the *-ik-* causative can also be manipulative, despite its tendency to be direct.

7.2.2. Summary of *-ik-* causative

To summarize, the *-ik-* causative suffix is the least productive in Citumbuka. It attaches to intransitive change of state and positional verb stems. The *-ik-* causative suffix derives both direct and indirect (manipulative) causative situations. Causatives derived through *-ik-* suffixation may carry assistive, impositive, manipulative and de-reflexive meaning. In the next section, I discuss the second causative suffix in Citumbuka, *-Y-*.

7.3. The *-Y-* causative

The second causative suffix in Citumbuka is *-Y-*. In Bantu literature, the *-Y-* causative is also referred to as the transitive suffix. In Citumbuka, it is more productive than the *-ik-* form, but less productive compared to the *-isk-* causative morpheme. It changes the phonological form of the base verb. The *-Y-* has more lexicalized forms than the regular causative *-isk-* in Citumbuka which suggests that it might have been the most productive form at some point in the past. Below are some examples of *-Y-* causatives:

12. a Hlezipe wa-ku-pul-a.
    1.Hlezipe 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV
    'Hlezipe is pounding.'
  b Alesi wa-ku-puzg-a Hlezipe.
    1.Alesi 1.SM-Pres-pound.$Caus_2$-FV 1.Hlezipe
    'Alesi is assisting Hlezipe with pounding.'
13. a Ŵana ŵa-ku-sambil-a.
    2.child 2.SM-Pres-learn-FV
    'Children are learning.'

Causative

b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a ŵana.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child
'A teacher is teaching children.'

Suffixation of the -*Y*- causative suffix imposes changes on the root final consonants *l, -w-, p, t, and k* in Citumbuka as illustrated in table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Examples of –Y- causatives

base	**English**	**Causative**	**English**
kula	be big	kuzga	make something big, raise someone
khala	sit	khazga	wait on someone
longola	show	longozga	direct/instruct
sambila	learn	sambizga	teach
lila	cry	lizga	make someone cry
kola	touch	kozga	resemble
vuka	tire	vuska	tire someone
wuka	rise	wuska	wake someone up
fika	arrive	fiska	achieve something
wuluka	fly	wuluska	make/cause to fly away
mbininika	scatter	mbininiska	make some people/things to scatter
kumbuka	remember	kumbuska	remind
luta	go	luska	outdo
nunkha	stink	nuska	sniff
nyeka	burn	nyeska	cause to burn
duka	jump/fly	duska	make to jump/fly
towa	be beautiful	tozga	make beautiful
tengwa	be married	tezga	let someone get married
opa	fear	ofya	scare/frighten
cepa	be small	cefya	demean
fuma	get out	fumya	let out
timbana	fight	timbanya	make people fight
wungana	gather	wunganya	make people gather or gather things
kumana	meet	kumanya	make people/things meet

Contrary to Vail (1972), Phiri (1982) and Mphande (1989) who treat -zg- and -sk- as separate causative morphemes, *-sk-* and *-zg-* are phonological variants of the causative *-Y-*.

7.3.1. Transitivity of the base

The *-Y-* form attaches to both intransitive and mono-transitive bases. Below are examples to illustrate this:

14. a Nkhondo yi-ka-mal-a.
    9.war 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
    'The war ended.'
    b Mawupu gha-ka-mazg-a nkhondo.
    6.organisation 6.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 9.war
    'Organizations ended the war.'
15. a Bala l-a-pol-a.
    5.porridge 5.SM-Perf-be_cold-FV
    'The porridge has cooled.'
    b Tembo w-a-pozg-a bala.
    1.Tembo 1.SM-Perf-be_cold.Caus$_2$-FV 5.porridge
    'Tembo has cooled the porridge.'
16. a Masida wa-ka-wer-a.
    1.Masida 1.SM-Pst-return-FV.
    'Masida returned.'
    b Hedimasitala wa-ka-mu-wezg-a
    1.headmaster 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-return.Caus$_2$-FV
    Masida.
    1.Masida
    'The headmaster sent Masida back.'
17. a Mbuzi zi-ku-lil-a.
    10.goat 10.SM-Pres-cry-FV
    'Goats are bleating.'
    b Cimbwe wa-ku-lizg-a mbuzi.
    1.hyena 1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 10.goat
    A hyena is making goats to bleat.'
18. a Mtengo wa feteleza wu-ka-khil-a.
    3.price of 1.fertiliser 3.SM-Pst-descend-FV
    'The price of fertilizer went down.'
    b Pulezidenti wa-ka-khizg-a mtengo wa
    1.president 1.SM-Pst-descend.Caus$_2$-FV 3.price of
    feteleza.
    1.fertiliser
    'The president lowered fertilizer prices.'

In the examples above, the non-causative forms are intransitive while their causative counterparts have an extra argument being introduced in the subject position. There are a few monotransitive verb stems that allow suffixation of the form *-Y-*. In some cases, suffixation of *-Y-* causative to monotransitive bases does not lead to introduction of a new argument. Examples (19) and (20) below show that a new argument is introduced when *-Y-* is attached to monotransitive bases, while (21-23) show cases in which no argument is introduced.

19. a Tomasi wa-ku-kwel-a njinga.
    1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-climb-FV 9.bicycle
    'Tomasi is riding a bicyle.'
  b Miko w-a-kwezg-a Tomasi
    1.Miko 1.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Tomasi
    njinga.
    9.bicycle
    'Miko has carried Tomasi on the bicycle.'
20. a Twana tu-ku-sambil-a Citumbuka.
    13.child 13.SM-Pres-learn-FV 7.Citumbuka
    'Small children are learning Citumbuka.'
  b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a twana
    1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 13.child
    Citumbuka.
    7.Citumbuka
    'A teacher is teaching small children Citumbuka.'

While example (19a) is monotransitive, suffixation of the suffix *-Y-* introduces a new subject argument in (19b) making it ditransitive. This is also the case in (20b) in which a new argument, *msambizgi*, is introduced in the subject position through *-Y-* suffixation. Examples below however, show that not all instances of *-Y-* suffixation introduce a new argument.

21. a Mwana wa-ku-yi-op-a nchewe.
    1.child 1.SM-Pres-9.OM-fear-FV 9.dog
    'A child is afraid of a dog.'
  b Nchewe yi-ku-mu-ofy-a mwana.
    9.dog 9.SM-Pres-1.OM-fear.Caus$_2$-FV 1.child
    'A dog is scaring a child.'
22. a Wanthu wa-ku-cimbil-a wapolisi.
    2.person 2.SM-Pres-run-FV 2.police
    'People are running away from policemen/women.'
  b Wapolisi wa-ku-cimbizg-a wanthu.
    2.police 2.SM-Pres-run.Caus$_2$-FV 2.person
    'Policemen/women are chasing people.'

23. a Mama wa-ku-lil-a mwana uyo
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-cry-FV 1.child 1.Rel
w-a-kak-ik-a.
1.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-FV
A woman is crying for her child who has been arrested.'
b Mwana uyo w-a-kak-ik-a
1.child 1.Rel 1.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-FV
wa-ku-liz-g-a nyina.
1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 3SG.mother
'The child who has been arrested is making his/her mother cry.'

Affixation of *-Y-* does not always increase the verb valency. When the causative suffix is attached to the base stem, the stimulus becomes the subject of the derived causative construction while the experiencer becomes the causee and the object. In both cases, the stimulus triggers the experience experienced by the experiencer. Thus, there is no new argument introduced, but rather the alternation of syntactic roles of the experiencer and the stimulus.

7.3.2. Lexicalised *-Y-* causatives

Almost all lexicalized causatives in Citumbuka have the *-Y-* form. This suggests that at a certain point in the language, the suffix *-Y-* might have been the most regular causative form. Below are some examples of lexicalized causatives in Citumbuka.

24. a	pembuzga	console someone	*pembula
b	sambazga	become rich	*sambala
c	gomezga	believe /trust	*gomela
d	cezga	chat	*cela
e	tawuzga	greet	*tawula
f	sunkhunya	shake something	*sunkhuna
g	banya	combine	*bana

These forms do not have corresponding non-causative stems in Citumbuka hence the term lexicalized causatives.

7.4. The *-isk* causative suffix

This is the most productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. It can attach to any verb, intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. The regular form can also derive causatives that behave semantically like those derived by *-ik-* and *-Y-* forms. Below are examples to illustrate that the form *-isk-* can attach to any verb: intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs.

Table 7.3:examples showing that *-isk- can attach to any verb*

base	**English**	**Causative**	**English**
iwa	fall	wiska	drop something/ cause someone to fall
ilya	eat	lyeska	feed some-one/coerce someone to eat
imwa	drink	mweska	assist/force/cause someone to drink
funda	be warm	fundiska	warm something
gula	buy	guliska	sell/ cause someone to buy
pona	be saved	poneska	save someone/thing
manya	know	manyiska	inform
thera	surrender	thereska	make someone sur-render
kholwa	be satisfied	kholweska	make someone be satisfied
gona	sleep/lie down	goneska	make someone lie down/or sleep
vwala	wear	vwaliska	make someone wear something
phika	cook	phikiska	cause to cook
kana	refuse	kaniska	cause to refuse
yenda	walk/move	yendeska	cause to walk/move
fika	arrive	fikiska	cause to reach/bring to destination
suka	clean/wash utensils	sukiska	cause to clean
imba	sing	imbiska	cause to sing
ipa	give	piska	cause to give
luka	knit	lukiska	cause to knit
luma	bite	lumiska	cause to bite
vina	dance	viniska	cause to dance

25. a Temwani w-a-fik-a.
1.Temwani 1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Temwani has arrived.'

b Temwani w-a-fisk-a khumbiro
1.Temwani 1.SM-Perf-achieve.Caus$_2$-FV 5.desire
l-ake.
5-3SG.Poss
'Temwani has achieved the desire of his heart.'
c Temwani w-a-fik-isk-a buku.
1.Temwani 1.SM-arrive-Caus$_3$-FV 5.book
'Temwani has brought the book.'

While examples (25b) and (25c) are both derived from the same base *-fik-a*, they do not mean exactly the same. Example (25b) means to achieve something or to bring something to fruition. Example (25c) on the other hand means to make something be it a message or an object reach a destination.

7.5. Periphrastic causatives

Periphrastic causatives involve two verbs in separate clauses, with the causative verb appearing in the main clause while the lexical verb is in a complement or some other kind of subordinate clause. In Citumbuka, causative constructions can also be derived periphrastically by having the causative suffix on the main verb while the lexical verb is in the infinitive or complement clause. The main verb is either *panga* 'make' or *cita* 'do', to which causative *-isk-* is suffixed to derive the causative verbs *pangiska* 'make/or cause to' or *citiska* 'make/or cause to'. Without the causative suffix, the periphrastic causatives are not possible. Thus, with *panga* and *cita* plus the causative *-isk-* causation is marked twice in such causative constructions. The causee maintains its function as the subject of the subordinate infinitival clause. Examples below illustrate this.

26. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-gul-a futi.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-buy-FV 9.gun
'People are buying guns.'
b Ŵankhungu ŵa-ku-pang-isk-a ŵanthu
2.thief 2.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 2.person
ku-gul-a futi.
Infin-buy-FV 9.gun
'Thieves/robbers make people to buy guns.'
c Ŵankhungu ŵa-ku-pang-isk-a kuti ŵanthu
2.thief 2.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 2.person
ŵ-a-gul-e futi.
2.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.gun
'Thieves/robbers make people to buy guns.'

27. a Ukavu u-ku-pang-isk-a munthu
14.poverty 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 1.person
ku-gwir-a nchito.
Infin-work- FV 9.work
'Poverty makes people to work.'
b Ukavu u-ku-pang-isk-a kuti munthu
14.poverty 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 1.person
w-a-gwir-e nchito.
1.SM-Perf- work-FV 9.work
'Poverty makes people to work.'

28. a Maria wa-ka-cit-isk-a kuti mubwezi
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-do-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 1.friend
w-ake wa-tengw-e.
1.3SG.Poss 1.SM-be_married-Asp
'Maria caused her friend to get married.'
b Maria wa-ka-cit-isk-a mubwezi w-ake
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-do-Caus$_3$-FV 1.friend 1.3SG.Poss
ku-tengw-a.
Infin-be_married-FV
'Maria caused her friend to get married.'

29. a Ucanda u-ku-pang-isk-a kuti
14.cleanliness 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp
ŵanthu ŵa-gul-eng-e malonda.
2.people 2.SM-buy-Imperf -FV goods_for_sale
'Cleanliness makes people to buy (your) goods.'
b Ucanda u-ku-pang-isk-a ŵanthu
14.cleanliness 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 2.person
ku-gul-ang-a malonda.
Infin-buy-Imperf-FV 6.goods_for_sale
'Cleanliness makes people to buy (your) goods.'

The examples also indicate that when the subordinate clause is an infinitival complement, it is introduced by an infinitival phrase (see 26b, 27b, 28b and 29b). When the subordinate clause is a subjunctive complement, it is introduced by a complementizer *kuti* (see 26c, 27b, 28a and 29a). However, these alternations do not change the meaning expressed by the causative constructions.

7.6. Transitivity of the base versus *-Y-* and *-isk*/*esk*-forms

Languages differ in the way they derive morphological causatives. In some languages only intransitive bases can causativize, in others, only intransitives and monotransitives but not ditransitives, yet in other languages, all

verbs can causativise (Dixon 2000:43). According to Nedjalkov (1969), in some languages, a transitive has to be detransitivised first before a causative suffix can be suffixed. In Citumbuka all verbs, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive causativize. Suffixation of a causative suffix introduces a causer argument such that an initially intransitive base becomes transitive while the monotransitive may become ditransitive or remain monotransitive with the causee in oblique position. Some ditransitive bases derive tritransitive causative constructions. In this section I discuss regular causatives derived from each of the three bases in Citumbuka, starting with intransitive bases.

7.6.1. Intransitive

Suffixation of a causative morpheme to an intransitive base introduces a new argument. The new argument bears the role of a causer and functions as the subject of a causative construction. The subject of the base sentence becomes the causee and functions as the object of the causative construction. In Citumbuka, almost all intransitive verbs allow causativization. Examples below illustrate this.

Unaccusative

30. a Masozi w-a-w-a.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Perf-fall-FV
'Masozi has fallen down.'
b Matiyasi w-a-w-isk-a Masozi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Masozi
'Matiyasi has dropped/or made Masozi fall down.'

31. a Nkhondo yi-ka-mal-a.
9.war 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
'The war ended.'
b Mawupu gha-ka-mazg-a nkhondo.
6.organisation 6.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 9.war
'Organizations ended the war.'

32. a Nyama yi-ku-sow̑-a madazi ghano.
9.meat 9.SM-Pres-be_scarce-FV 6.days 6.this
'Meat is scarce these days.'
b Matenda gha-ku-sow̑-esk-a nyama madazi
6.disease 6.SM-Pres-be_scarce-Caus$_3$-FV 9.meat 6.day
ghano.
6.this
'Diseases are making meat scarce these days.'

In the preceding examples, subject NPs in the base ((a) examples) are unaccusatives. Their (b) counterparts show that these unaccusative predicates

can derive causative constructions in Citumbuka. This is also the case with unergative intransitive bases as shown in the following examples.

Unergative bases

33. a Zovu yi-ka-thel-a.
9.elephant 9.SM-Pst-surrender-FV.
'The elephant surrendered.'
b Cipolopolo ci-ka-thel-esk-a zovu.
7.bullet 7.SM-Pst-surrender-Caus$_3$-FV 9.elephant
'A bullet overcame the elephant/ or made the elephant to surrender.'

34. a Mwana wa-ku-gon-a.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
'A child is sleeping.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-gon-esk-a mwana.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-sleep-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'A woman is making a child sleep.'

35. a Doda li-ku-vin-a.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-dance-FV
'A man is dancing.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-vin-isk-a doda.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-dance-Caus$_3$-FV 5.man
'A woman is making a man dance.'

36. a Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-sek-a.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-laugh-FV
'Girls are laughing.'
b Mucekulu wa-ku-sek-esk-a
1.old_person 1.SM-Pres-laugh-Caus$_3$-FV
ŵasungwana.
2.girl
An oldman/woman is making girls laugh.'

Examples above demonstrate that causativization of unergative intransitive bases is also possible in Citumbuka. Thus, we can conclude that in Citumbuka, almost all intransitive verbs can causativize.

7.6.2. Monotransitive

In Citumbuka, causativization of monotransitive bases can either derive a ditransitive causative construction or a monotransitive causative construction. Cross-linguistically, the causative of a transitive clause is less straightforward and more varied than that of an intransitive clause (Dixon 2000). According to Dixon (2000:48), there are five main possibilities of morphological causatives of transitives. These are presented in the following table (based on Dixon 2000:48):

Type	**Causer**	**original A (causee)**	**Original O**
(i)	A	special marking	O
(ii)	A	retains A-marking	O
(iii)	A	has O-marking	has O-marking
(iv)	A	O	non-core
(v)	A	non-core	O

In the first type, the causee gets some special marking while the original object remains in the object position. Since Citumbuka does not get overt case marking, this is not a possibility. In the type (ii), the causee has subject marking while the original object receives object marking. In Citumbuka, only the causer gets subject marking. So this is not a possibility as well. In type (iii), both the causee and the original object have object marking. In Citumbuka, only one non-subject NP can have object marking (see chapter 2). Thus, either the causee or the original object can have object marking but not both. In type (iv) languages, the causee becomes an object while the original object becomes a non-core argument. In type (v), the causee becomes a non-core argument while the original object remains in the object position. Citumbuka has these two main possibilities, (a) type (iv) and (b) type (v). In Citumbuka, another possibility is that the causee can optionally be left unspecified. These possibilities for Citumbuka are discussed in the following subsections.

Causee becomes the object (type iv)

The causee becomes the object and takes over the object properties of the base object. This is supported by the fact that only the causee can passivize and take object marking. See examples below.

37. a Mavenda gha-ka-mw-a phele li-nandi.
6.vendor 6.SM-Pst-drink-FV 5.beer 5-many
'Vendors drunk lots of beer.'

b Pulezidenti wa-ka-mw-esk-a mavenda phele
1.president 1.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 6.vendor 5.beer
li-nandi.
5-many
'The president made the vendors drink lots of beer.'

c Mavenda gha-ka-mw-esk-ek-a phele na
6.vendor 6.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.beer with
pulezidenti.
1.president
'Vendors were made to drink beer by the president.'

d *Phele li-ka-mw-esk-ek-a mavenda
5.beer 5.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 6.vendor
na pulezidenti.
with 1.presidenti
'Beer was made to be drunk by vendors by the president.'

38. a Tomasi w-a-kumbuk-a ku-mwa munkhwala
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-remember-FV Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine
'Tomasi has remembered to take his medication.'

b Amama ŵ-a-mu-kumbusk-a
2.mother 2.SM-Perf-1.OM-remember.Caus$_2$-FV
Tomasi ku-mwa munkhwala.
1.Tomasi Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine.
'My mother has reminded Tomasi to take his medication.'

c Tomasi w-a-kumbusk-ik-a
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-remember.Caus$_2$-Pass-FV
ku-mw-a munkhwala na amama.
Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine with 2.mother
'Tomasi has been reminded to take medication by my mother.'

d *Kumwa munkhwala
Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine
kwa-kumbusk-ik-a Tomasi na
Infin-remember.Caus$_2$-Pass-FV 1.Tomasi with
amama.
2.mother
'Taking medication was reminded of Tomasi by my mother.'

39. a Ŵasambizgi ŵ-a-lemb-a buku.
2.teachers 2.SM-Perf-write-FV 5.book
'Teachers have written a book.'

b Mulongozgi w-a-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi
1.leader 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
buku.
5.book
'A leader has made teachers write a book.'

c Ŵasambizgi ŵa-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a buku
2.teacher 2.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.book
na mulongozgi.
with 1.leader
'Teachers were made to write a book by a leader.'

d *Buku li-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a ŵasambizgi
5.book 5.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 2.teacher
na mulongozgi.
with 1.leader
'A book was made to be written teachers by a leader.'

40. a Doda li-ku-phik-a cakulya.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-FV 7.food
'A man is cooking food.'
b Mwana wa-ku-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making a man cook food.'
c Doda li-ku-phik-isk-ik-a cakulya na
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 7.food with
mwana.
1.child
'A man is being made to cook food by a child.'
d *Cakulya ci-ku-phik-isk-ik-a doda na
7.food 7.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.man with
mwana.
1.child
'*Food is being made to be cooked a man by a child.'

In example (40b), we have the causer introduced through suffixation of the causative suffix *-isk-* The original subject, *doda* is now a non-subject NP bearing the semantic role of causee. In example (40c) the causee is the subject of the passive construction and the result is grammatical unlike in (40d) where subjectivization of the base object results into an ungrammatical sentence. One of the properties of objects is their ability to become the subject of a passive construction. Examples above show that only the causee can become the subject of the passive construction and not the base object. Examples below show that only the causee can take OM.

41. a Mwana wa-ku-li-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-cook-5.OM-Caus-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making a man cook food
b *Mwana wa-ku-**ci**-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-7.OM-cook-Caus-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making the man cook food.'
42. a Mulongozgi w-a-**ŵa**-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi buku.
1.leader 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus-FV 2.teacher 5.book
'A leader has made the teachers to write a book.'
b *Mulongozgi wa-ka-**li**-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi
1.leader 1.SM-Pst-5.OM-write-Caus-FV 2.teacher
buku.
5.book
'A leader made teachers write the book.'

43. a Pulezidenti wa-ka-**gha**-mw-esk-a mavenda phele linandi.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-6.OM-drink-FV 6.vendor 5.beer 5.many
'The president made (supplied) the vendors drink lots of beer.'

b *Pulezidenti wa-ka-li-mw-esk-a mavenda phele li-nandi.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-5.OM-drink-Caus-FV 6.vendor 5-beer 5-many
'The president made vendors drink a lot of beer.'

Only the causee can take OM while object marking the base object results in constructions that are not grammatical. One of the properties of objecthood is its ability to take OM (see chapter 2). Thus, we can conclude that the causee has object properties, and not the base object. Passivization and object marking confirm that the causee in Citumbuka takes over the object properties of the base object, making the base object lose its object properties. Thus, the causee becomes the core argument while the base object becomes a non-core argument. Another possibility, as we shall see in section 7.6.4 below, is that the causee can become a non-core argument while the base object retains its object properties. When the causee appears in non-core argument, it can optionally be dropped.

(a) Causee becomes non-core argument while original object retains object properties (type v)

Another possibility for Citumbuka monotransitive causativization is in line with Dixon's (2000) type (v) causative constructions in which the causee appears in non-core argument position. In Citumbuka, the causee appears in oblique and is introduced by a locative preposition, *kwa*/*ku* 'at'. Since the causee appears in oblique, it does not passivize and cannot take OM. The base object maintains its object properties, and can therefore passivize and take OM. Examples below illustrate this.

44. a Doda li-ku-phik-a cakulya.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-FV 7.food
'A man is cooking food.'

b Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa doda.
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at 5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

c Cakulya ci-ku-phik-isk-ik-a na ŵalendo
7.food 7.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV with 2.visitor
kwa doda.
at 5.man
'Food is being made to be cooked by visitors by (lit. at) a man.'

d Kwa doda ku-ku-phik-isk-ik-a cakulya
17.at 5.man 17.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 7.food
na ŵalendo.
with 2.visitor
(i) Food is being made to be cooked at the man's place.
(ii) *Food is being made to be cooked by a man.'

45. a Changa wa-ka-lemb-a kalata.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-write-FV 9.letter
'Changa wrote a letter.'

b Yeremiya wa-ka-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa Changa.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at 1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

c Kalata yi-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a na Yeremiya
9.letter 9.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV with 1.Yeremiya
kwa Changa.
at 1.Changa
'The letter was made to be written by Yeremiya by (lit. at) Changa.'

d Kwa Changa ku-ku-lemb-esk-ek-a
17.at 1.Changa 17.SM-Pres-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV
kalata na Yeremiya.
9.letter with 1.Yeremiya
(i) A letter is being made to be written at Changa's place by Yeremi ya.
(ii) *Changa is being made to write a letter by Yeremiya.

In the preceding examples, passivization of the original object is possible (see 44c) but not the causee (44d(ii)) and (45d(ii)). Examples (46b) and (47b) below show that object marking the causee when it occurs in oblique position is not allowed in Citumbuka. Examples (46a) and 47a) show that object marking the original object is possible in Citumbuka.

46. a Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-**ci**-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-7.OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at
doda.
5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

b *Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-**li**-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-5.OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at
doda.
5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

47. a Yeremiya wa-ka-**yi**-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at
Changa.
1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

b *Yeremiya wa-ka-**mu**-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at
Changa.
1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

In Citumbuka, when the causee appears as an oblique, the causative construction is ambiguous in such a way that it can either be interpreted that it is not necessarily the causee who undertook the action (see (b.i) translations) or that it is actually the causee who undertook the action enforced by the causer (see (b.ii) translations). Where the causee is not necessarily the one who undertook the action, it is possible that the causer may have commanded or requested the causee to make sure the activity is done whether by the causee him/herself or someone else. Thus, what matters to the causer is that the causee should make sure that the activity takes place, whether by the causee or through a third party. With (b.ii) interpretations, it is the causee who undertakes the activity of meeting the causer's demand or request. In the (c) examples, we can actually see that when the causee is in a non-core argument position, the base object maintains its object properties, and can therefore become the subject of a passive construction.

(c) Causee is left unspecified

Another possibility in Citumbuka is that the causee can be left unspecified. This is illustrated in the examples below.

48. a Tione wa-ka-phik-a somba.
1.Tione 1.SM-Pst-cook-FV 10.fish
'Tione cooked fish.'

b Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a Tione somba.
1SG 1Sg-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Tione 10.fish
'I made Tione cook fish.'

c Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a somba kwa Tione.
1SG 1Sg-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 10.fish at 1.Tione
'I had fish cooked at/by Tione/or I made Tione cook fish.'

d Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a somba.
1SG 1SG-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 10.fish
'I had fish cooked.'

49. a Telala wa-ku-son-a madilesi lero.
1.tailor 1.SM-Pres-sew-FV 6.dress nowadays
'The tailor makes dresses these days.'

b Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a telala
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tailor
madilesi lero.
6.dress nowadays
'Young ladies make the tailor make dresses these days.'

c Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a madiresi
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 6.dress
kwa telala lero.
at 1.tailor nowadays
'Young ladies are having dresses made at/by the tailor these days.'

d Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a madiresi
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 6.dress
lero.
nowadays
'Young ladies are having dresses made these days.'

50. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child
'A teacher hits children.'

b Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a msambizgi ŵana.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher 2.child
'A parent causes the teacher to hit children.'

c Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a ŵana kwa msambizgi.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 2.child at 1.teacher
'A parent causes children to be hit by the teacher.'

d Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a ŵana.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 2.child.
'A parent causes children to be hit.'

51. a Talitha wa-ku-cap-a vyakuvwala ku
1.Talitha 1.SM-Pres-wash-FV 8.clothes to
msika.
3.market
'Talitha washes clothes at the market.'

b Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a Talitha vyakuvwala
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Talitha 8.clothes
ku msika.
to 3.market
'We make Talitha wash our clothes at the market.'

c Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a vyakuvwala kwa
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 8.clothes at
Talitha ku msika.
1.Talitha to msika
'We have our clothes washed at/by Talitha at the market.'

d Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a vyakuvwala ku
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 8.clothes to
msika.
3.market
'We have our clothes washed at the market.'

The preceding examples show that it is possible to drop the causee (see (d) examples). It is therefore concluded that there are three possibilities for a causative derived from a monotransitive base in Citumbuka. Either the causee becomes the object and takes over the object properties of the base object or the causee appears as an oblique, or the causee is left unspecified. In the next section, I discuss causatives derived from a ditransitive base.

7.6.3. Ditransitive

There are two possibilities; either we get a tritransitive causative construction or a ditransitive causative construction. In both cases, the causee becomes the object. In a ditransitive causative construction, the base object is realized as an oblique. Examples below illustrate this.

52. a Ŵana ŵa-ku-sambil-a masamu.
2.child 2.SM-Pres-learn-FV 6.mathematics.
'Children are learning mathematics.'

b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a ŵana
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child
masamu.
6.mathematics
'A teacher is teaching children mathematics.'

c Mwanakazi wa-ku-sambizg-isk-a msambizgi
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
ŵana masamu.
2.child 6.mathematics
'A woman is making a teacher teach children mathematics.'

d Mwanakazi wa-ku-sambizg-isk-a msambizgi
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-learn-Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
masamu ku ŵana.
5.math to 2.child
'A woman is making a teacher teach mathematics to children.'

53. a Mliska wa-ku-longol-a ŵalendo chalichi.
1.pastor 1.SM-Pres-show-FV 2.visitor 5.church
'A pastor is showing visitors a church.

b Mwana wa-ku-longol-esk-a mliska
1.child 1.SM-Pres-show-Caus$_3$-FV 1.pastor
ŵalendo chalichi.'
2.visitor 5.church
'A child is making a pastor show visitors a church.'

c Mwana wa-ku-longol-esk-a mliska
1.child 1.SM-Pres-show-Caus$_3$-FV 1.pastor
chalichi ku ŵalendo.
5.church to 2.visitor
'A child is making a pastor to show visitors a church.'

54. a Temwani wa-ku-p-a Mailesi buku.
1.Temwani 1.SM-Pres-give-FV 1.Mailesi 5.book
'Temwani is giving Mailesi a book.'

b Yowoyani wa-ku-p-isk-a Temwani buku
1.Yowoyani 1.SM-Pres-give-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani 5.book
Mailesi.
1.Mailesi
'Yowoyani is making Temwani give Mailesi a book.'

c Yowoyani wa-ku-p-isk-a Temwani buku
1.Yowoyani 1.SM-Pres-give-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani 5.book
kwa Mailesi.
at 1.Mailesi
'Yowoyani is making Temwani give a book to Mailesi.'

From the preceding examples we can see that when a causative suffix is attached to a ditransitive base, the causee becomes the object (see examples 52c, 53b, and 54b). The object of the base sentence can also appear as an

oblique while the causee appears as an object (see examples 52d, 53c and 54b). Thus, the base object becomes a non-core argument. With ditransitive bases it is not possible for the causee to become an adjunct. This is probably because all ditransitive bases have a human object. If the causee of the causative derivation would be left unmarked the original direct object which would remain object is human and interpretable as a causee.

7.7. Autobenefactive Causatives

Citumbuka has a causative construction in which the causer is also the causee and I term these causatives 'autobenefactive causatives'. Verbs that allow derivation of autobenefactive causative constructions are mostly those that can optionally drop the object or are labile (that is, they can be used both transitively and intransitively). In autobenefactive causatives the causer/causee does some work to enable him/herself earn some kind of benefit. Examples below illustrate this.

55. a Tiwonge wa-ku-lim-a mpunga ku
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV 3.rice at
munda.
3.farm
'Tiwonge is cultivating rice in the farm.'
b Tiwonge wa-ku-lim-isk-a diresi
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 5.dress
ku-munda.
17-3.farm
'Tiwonge is cultivating in the farm for a dress.'

56. a Tiwonge wa-ku-pul-a ngoma.
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV 9.maize
'Tiwonge is pounding maize.'
b Tiwonge wa-ku-pul-isk-a makopala
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-pound-Caus$_3$-FV 6.money
'Tiwonge is pounding for money.'

57. a Msepuka wa-ku-vun-a malezi.
1.boy 1.SM-Pres-harvest-FV 6.millet
'A boy is harvesting millet.'
b Msepuka wa-ku-vun-isk-a skapato.
1.boy 1.SM-Pres-harvest-Caus$_3$-FV 10.shoe
'A boy is harvesting (millet) for shoes.'

58. a Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-kolop-a nyumba.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-mop-FV 9.house
'Girls are mopping a house.'

b Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-kolop-esk-a cakulya.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-mop-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food
'Girls are mopping for food.'

The preceding examples also indicate that the base object is deleted in an autobenefactive causative construction (see examples 55-58). Literal translations of these causatives would be 'cause oneself to work for something.' The causer makes a decision to do some kind of work for some benefit, or he makes him/herself to work in order to earn something beneficial to him/herself. The introduced argument is a goal that motivates him/herself to make themselves do some kind of work. For instance, in example (55b) the goal of the causer/causee is to earn a dress, while in (56b) the goal is to earn money. Since the base object is deleted while a new argument is introduced, it can be argued that this type of causative construction is valency preserving.

7.8. Conversive causatives

In a conversive construction, the initial subject may become an indirect or oblique object of relatively high rank (Kulikov 2011). Kulikov (2011) reports that this is often the case with verbs of perception and emotional states constructed with two main arguments, stimulus and experiencer. He goes on to say, "In some cases, it is even possible that the Stimulus and Experiencer roles switch their syntactic positions, which results into a symmetric conversive" (Kulikov 2011:380). This is the case in Citumbuka where the *-Y-* causative form derives conversive constructions in which the Stimulus and the experiencer change their syntactic positions. In the causative derivation, the stimulus becomes the subject while the experiencer becomes the object. In the non-derived form, the experiencer is the subject while the stimulus is the object. Thus, no argument is introduced. Below are examples showing this alternation.

59. a Mwana wa-ku-op-a nchewe.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-fear-FV 9.dog
'A child is afraid of a dog.'
b Nchewe yi-ku-ofy-a mwana.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-fear.Caus$_2$-FV 1.child
'A dog is scaring a child.'

60. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-cimbil-a ŵapolisi.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-run-FV 2.police
'People are running away from policemen/women.'
b Ŵapolisi ŵa-ku-cimbizg-a ŵanthu.
2.police 2.SM-Pres-run.Caus$_2$-FV 2.person
'Policemen/women are chasing people.'

The preceding Citumbuka examples are a clear case of symmetric conversive constructions as the (b) sets are converses of (a) sets and vice versa.

7.9. Associative causatives

In Citumbuka some causatives carry the meaning of companionship between the causer and the causee. In such situations, each of the participants is involved individually in the event. Inherent in associative causative is the element of assistive, companionship, and plurality of events through repetition. Nedjalkov (1970) describes such derivations in which the causer performs an activity together with the causee as causatives with commitativity meaning. Thus, Citumbuka associative causatives have a comitative meaning, which falls short of the canonical causative meaning. However, associative causatives are not completely devoid of causative meaning. The comitative meaning in these causatives is likely to underlie the causative/comitative polysemy in the language. Consider the following examples:

61. a Abuya ŵa-ku-lim-a ku munda.
    2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV to 3.farm
    'My grandmother is working in the farm.'
  b Ndindase wa-ku-lim-isk-a abuya
    1.Ndindase 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 2.grandmother
    ku-munda.
    17-3.farm
    (i) 'Ndindase is helping grandmother to cultivate in the farm.'
    (ii) 'Ndindase is making grandmother to cultivate in the farm.'
62. a NyaNhlane wa-ku-vun-a mpunga.
    1.Ms.Nhlane 1.SM-Pres-harvest-FV 3.rice
    'Ms. Nhlane is harvesting rice.'
  b Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-vun-isk-a nyaNhlane
    2.youth 2.SM-Pres-harvest-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Ms.Nhlane
    mpunga.
    3.rice
    (i) 'Youths are helping Ms Nhlane to harvest rice.'
    (ii) 'Youths are making Ms. Nhlane to harvest rice.'
63. a Temwani wa-ku-yowoy-a.
    1.Temwani 1.SM-Pres-speak-FV
    'Temwani is speaking.'
  b Kondwani wa-ku-yowoy-esk-a Temwani.
    1.Kondwani 1.SM-Pres-speak-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani
    'Kondwani is speaking with Temwani. (Lit. Kondwani is making Temwani speak.)'

64. a Msungwana wa-ku-chokol-a.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV
'A girl is pounding.'
b Mabuci wa-ku-chokozg-a msungwana.
1.Mabuci 1.SM-Pres-pound.Caus$_2$-FV 1.girl
'Mabuci is assisting a girl to pound.'

65. a Mulendo wa-ku-cezg-a.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pres-chat-FV
'A visitor is chatting.'
b Amama wa-ku-cezg-esk-a mulendo.
2.mother 2.SM-Pres-chat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.visitor
'My mother is chatting with a visitor.'

66. a Mulendo wa-ka-nyamul-a katundu.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-lift-FV 1.luggage
'A visitor carried some luggage.'
b Msepuka wa-ka-nyamuzg-a mulendo katundu.
1.boy 1.SM-Pst-lift.Caus$_2$-FV 1.visitor 1.luggage
'A boy assisted a visitor carrying some luggage.'

As the preceding examples show, each participant is individually participating in the event while also being a helper and a companion. In example (61b) for instance, both 'grandmother' and Ndindase are individually working in the farm at the same time, Ndindase, the causer, is a helper. It is possible that Ndindase could be construed as the causer here in the sense that the one being helped is being motivated to continue working as long as the helper is still working. In this case, the helper is the causer (motivator) while the one being helped is the causee, the one being motivated/or made to keep working. This also applies to (62b), (63b) and (66b). Similarly, examples (63b) and (64b) also show companionship, each individual participates in the talking. Perhaps causation comes in because it is unexpected to see someone talking by themselves. So by talking to someone, you make them talk as well. These examples depict characteristics of associative situations, where each of the co-participants is involved in the same activity individually while keeping each other company. They still have an element of causation in them since the causer acts as a motivator while the causee is the one being motivated/or made to keep going while benefiting from the companionship and acts of the helper. Hence, the term associative causative. Like all other associative situations, iterativity and plurality of participants and situations are also characteristic of these associative causatives as they involve more than one participant doing something together.

7.10. Double Causatives

Some causative derivations allow suffixation of other causative suffixes thereby deriving double causatives in Citumbuka. Addition of a second causative morpheme introduces a new argument. Double causativization is not unique to Citumbuka. In fact, according to Kulikov (1993; 2001) double causatives are derived from what he terms 'first causative' by adding a second causative morpheme (see also Dixon 2000). He further observes that this is common in agglutinating languages where affixes easily combine with each other and reiterate. In Citumbuka, double causatives are mostly derived from intransitive roots. Double causatives express chain causation where someone/thing influences someone/thing to cause something to happen. Examples below show double causation in Citumbuka:

67. a Ciwangwa c-a-w-a.
7.bone 7.SM-Perf-fall-FV
'A bone has fallen down.'
b Nchewe y-a-w-isk-a ciwangwa.
9.dog 9.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 7.bone
'A dog has dropped a bone down'
c Yesaya w-a-w-isk-isk-a nchewe
1.Yesaya 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 9.dog
ciwanga.
7.bone
'Yesaya has made a dog drop down a bone.'

68. a Maria w-a-w-a pasi.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-fall-FV 16.down
'Maria has fallen down.'
b Musepuka w-a-w-isk-a Maria pasi.
1.boy 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Maria 16.down
'A boy has made Maria fall down.'
c Musepuka w-a-w-isk-isk-a Maria
1.boy 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Maria
pasi.
Down
'A boy has caused Maria to fall down.'

69. a Tomasi w-a-kwel-a njinga.
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-climb-FV 9.bicycle
'Tomasi is riding a bicyle.'
b Miko w-a-kwezg-a Tomasi
1.Miko 1.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Tomasi
njinga.
9.bicycle
'Miko is carrying Tomasi on the bicycle.'

c Amama ŵ-a-kwezg-esk-a Miko
2.mother 2.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Miko
Tomasi njinga.
1.Tomasi 9.bicycle
'My mother has made Miko to carry Tomasi on the bicycle.'

70. a Mwana w-a-gez-a.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-bathe-FV
'A child has bathed (himself)'

b Masida w-a-gez-isk-a mwana.
1.Masida 1.SM-Perf-bathe-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'Masida has bathed a child.'

c Mwanakazi w-a-gez-isk-isk-a Masida
1.woman 1.SM-Perf-bathe-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Masida
mwana.
1.child
'A woman has made Masida to bathe a child.'

71. a Dilayivala w-a-jul-a windo.
1.driver 1.SM-Perf-open-FV 5.window
'The driver has opened a window.'

b Bwana w-a-jul-isk-a dilayivala windo.
1.boss 1.SM-Perf-open-Caus$_3$-FV 1.driver 5.window
'The boss has made the driver to open a window.'

c Bwana w-a-jul-isk-isk-a dilayivala
1.boss 1.SM-Perf-open-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.driver
windo.
5.window
'The boss has made (someone) to have the driver open a window.'

72. a Vigeŵenga vy-a-timb-a mwanakazi.
8.bandit 8.SM-Perf-hit/beat-FV woman
'Bandits have beaten up a woman.'

b Doda l-a-timb-isk-a mwanakazi
5.man 5.SM-Perf-hit/beat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.woman
ku vigeŵenga.
to 8.bandit
'A man has caused a woman to be beaten by bandits.'

c Doda l-a-timb-isk-isk-a mwanakazi
5.man 5.SM-Perf-hit/beat-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.woman
ku vigeŵenga.
to 8.bandit
'A man has caused a woman to be beaten up by bandits.' (unintentional or accidental)

As the examples above show, suffixation of a second causative morpheme introduces a new causer such that we have two causers, which indicates that there is indeed double causativization. Double causativization occurs with

intransitive roots, the first causative suffix derives a monotransitive construction and the next causative suffix derives a ditransitive causative construction from a monotransitive causative construction. Double causativization is sometimes associated with meanings such as 'force to do,' plurality of participants of the causative situation, intensivity, iterativity, or distant causation in some languages (Dixon 2000; Kulikov 1993, 2001). In Citumbuka, double causatives are associated with coercion (71c) or influencing someone to do something (67c, 68c, 69c, 70c, 71c, 72c), and distant/or indirect causation (71c, 72c). Examples (67c, 68c, 69c, 70c and 71c) can be associated with either coercion or influencing someone or something to do something. Example (68c and 69c) can only be associated with influencing someone to do something. Double causatives may express accidental causation (see example 72c and 68c), and in some cases, a chain of causation (71c).

7.11. Causative suffixes as verbalisers

Fufa (2009) observes that in Oromo, the causative suffix *-is-* also functions as de-ideophonic verbalizer. He argues that in this language, the causative suffix *-is-* does not always add a new argument since suffixation of *-is-* verbaliser derives intransitive verbs from ideophones. He further observes that in Oromo semantically, the derived intransitive causatives are of two types: motion verbs and sound emission verbs. In Citumbuka causative suffixes *-isk-* and *-ik-* also function as verbalizers. However, in Citumbuka it is not only ideophones, but also nominals and certain expressions such as interjections that can be verbalized by causative suffixes *-isk-* and *-ik-*. The derived verb has causative semantics. Examples in the table below illustrate this:

Table 7.4: Examples of -isk and -ik verbalisers

Verbalised item	**English**	**Verb**	**English**
phepa	expression for saying 'sorry'	phepiska	say sorry/apologise
odi	excuse me	odiska	say *odi*
coka	get lost	cokeska	say get lost
mbinini	ideophone for scatter	mbininiska	scatter
cikhakhali	shrieking laughter	khakhaliska	make shrieking laughter
kho kho kho	ideophone for hitting a hard surface with something hard such as a hammer	khokhoska	make kho kho sound
me me me	bleating of goats	memeska	bleat
tandala	afternoon greeting	tandalika	greet someone in the afternoon
monile	greetings	moniska	greet someone
gu gu gu	of a brooding chicken	guguska	make gu gu gu sound
kwali	expression for 'I don't know, or am not sure'	kwaliska	say *kwali*

73. a Pulezidenti wa-ka-yowoy-a kuti phepani.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-speak-FV Comp sorry
'The president said sorry.'
b Pulezidenti wa-ka-phep-isk-a.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-sorry-$Caus_3$-FV
'The president apologized (lit. said sorry).

74. a Maria wa-ka-ti kwali.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-say doubt/lack.of.knowledge
'Maria said she does not now/or she doubts.'
b Maria wa-ka-kwali-ik-a.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-doubt-Caus3-FV.
'Maria expressed doubt/or lack of knowledge.'

Examples in table 7.4 above show that suffixation of causative suffixes to ideophones derives verbs from the ideophones. The examples in the table also show that even nominals such as nouns, adjectives and one word sen-

tences can also derive verbs through suffixation of causative suffixes *-ik-* or *-isk-*. The examples also show that the verbalisers allow for derivation of intransitive causatives. For instance, examples (75b), (76b) are intransitive causatives.

7.12. Semantics of causatives (*-Y-* and *-isk-*)

The description of causative constructions cannot be complete without discussing their semantics (Dixon 2000). Kulikov (2001) identifies five semantic types of causatives: direct vs. indirect causatives, permissive vs. coercive, assistive, declarative and deliberate vs. accidental causation. I will not include the declarative type in the discussion since I have not observed any causative that behaves that way in Citumbuka.

There are two basic semantic types of causatives, direct and indirect causatives, also termed directive versus manipulative causatives, contact vs distant, and immediate versus mediated (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 2001). The major distinction between the two major semantic types of causatives lies in whether the causative situation is controlled by the causer or the causee (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 1999; Li 1991). According to Shibatani (1975, 1976), these differences also parallel the type of causative formation in that lexical causatives tend to be more direct while morphological (the productive causative) tend to be indirect. Shibatani (2000:33) argues that where there are two or more causative mechanisms in a language, they always have different meanings. Some Bantu languages make a formal distinction between direct and indirect causation in that where a language has more than one causative forms, one form derives indirect causatives while other forms derive direct causatives (Good 2005). The less productive causative morphemes are associated with direct causation in many Bantu languages, for instance, in Chichewa (Simango 2009), Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), Kihema (Mugisa 2009). In Nkore and Nyoro, the *-Y-* causative form marks direct causation while the *-is-* form marks indirect causation (Good 2005). Simango (1999, 2008) observes that in Chichewa, the less productive forms are associated with direct causation while the most productive form *-its-* is associated with indirect causation. In Citumbuka, Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980) differentiate the *-isk-* causative from the other two causative forms *-Y-* and *-ik-* by arguing that the former is linked to indirect causation while the latter imply physical intervention or direct causation. However, a closer examination of the data involving all the three causative suffixes indicates that there is no clear distinction among the three forms regarding whether *-ik-* and *-Y-* represent direct causation while *-isk-* represents indirect causation. In fact *-isk-* also derives causatives that are better construed as direct and intentional while *-ik-* and *-Y-* also derive causatives that are better construed as indirect and unintentional. Based on this, I argue

that Citumbuka does not make a formal distinction between direct and indirect causation in terms of its three causative forms. However, double causatives and periphrastic causatives are mostly associated with indirect and distant causation.

7.12.1. The *-Y-* form

In Citumbuka, as examples below illustrate, the *-Y-* causatives derives both direct and indirect causatives.

75. a Tuyuni tu-ka-duk-a.
13.bird 13.SM-Pst-jump/fly-FV
'Small birds flew away.'
b Yeremiya wa-ka-dusk-a tuyuni.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-jump/fly.Caus$_2$-FV 13.bird
'Yeremiya made small birds fly away.'
c Yeremiya wa-ka-duk-isk-a tuyuni.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-jump/fly-Caus$_3$-FV 13.bird
'Yeremiya made small birds fly away.'

76. a Nyumba y-a-tow-a.
9.house 9.SM-Perf-be.beautiful-FV
'The house has become beautiful.'
b Mulendo w-a-tozg-a nyumba.
1.visitor 1.SM-Perf-be.beautiful.Caus$_2$-FV 9.house
'The visitor has made the house look beautiful.'
c Mulendo w-a-tow-esk-a nyumba.
1.visitor 1.SM-Perf-be.beautiful-Caus$_3$-FV 9.house
'The visitor has made the house look beautiful.'

77. a Mulwali wa-ku-bokol-a.
1.patient 1.SM-Pres-vomit-FV
'The patient is vomiting.'
b Nyama y-a-bokozg-a mulwali.
9.animal 9.SM-Perf-vomit.Caus$_2$-FV 1.patient
'The meat has made the patient to vomit.'
c Nyama y-a-bokol-esk-a mulwali.
9.animal 9.SM-Perf-vomit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient
'The meat has made the patient to vomit.'

78. a Mbembe yi-ka-mal-a
9.fight 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
'The fight ended.'
b Abuya ŵa-ka-mazg-a mbembe.
2.grandmother 2.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 3.fight
'Gradmother ended the fight.'

79. a Nthengwa yi-ka-khol-a.
9.marriage 9.SM-Pst-be.strong-FV
'The marriage became strong.'
b Muliska wa-ka-khozg-a nthengwa.
1.shepherd 1.SM-Pst-be.strong.Caus$_2$-FV 9.marriage
'The pastor strengthened the marriage.'

80. a Munkhungu wa-ka-njir-a mu-nyumba.
1.thief 1.SM-Pst-enter-FV 18-9.house
'A thief entered the house.'
b Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a munkhungu mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 1.thief 18-9.house
(i) 'Marrieta let a thief into the house.'
(ii) 'Marrieta caused the thief to enter into the house.'
c Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a ŵalendo mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.visitor 18-9.house
'Marrietta let the visitor into the house.'
d Amama ŵa-kuti ti-kiy-eng-e
2.mother 2.SM-Pres-say 1PL-lock-Imperf-FV
nyumba ti-nga-njizg-a-mo ŵankhungu.
9.house 1PL-Mod-enter.Caus$_2$-FV-18.Loc 2.thief
'My mother says that we should be locking the house lest we let in thieves.'
e Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a jembe mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.hoe 18-9.house
'Marrietta took the hoe into the house.'

81. a Changa wa-ka-lil-a.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV
'Changa cried.'
b Msambizgi wa-ka-lizg-a Changa.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV 1.Changa
'A teacher made Changa cry.'
c Msambizgi wa-ka-lil-isk-a Changa.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-cry-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Changa
'A teacher made Changa cry.'
d Chikanga wa-ku-lizg-a ng'oma.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 9.drum
'Changa is beating a drum.'

82. a Biyeni wa-li-ku-tengw-a.
1.Biyeni 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married-FV
'Biyeni got married.'

b Mziya wa-li-ku-tezg-a Biyeni.
1.Mziya 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Biyeni
'Mziya let Biyeni get married.'
c Mziya wa-li-ku-tengw-esk-a Biyeni.
1.Mziya 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Biyeni
'Mziya made Biyeni get married.'

The examples above show that while it is true that the *-Y-* form derives direct causatives, there are also cases in which the causative derivations are better interpreted as being indirect. Some cases are ambiguous as both direct and indirect causation are possible. In example (75b), *duska* may be interpreted as direct causation in the sense that Yeremiya sees the small birds and intentionally throws a stone to make them fly away. Or he had the birds in his hands and releases them thereby making them fly away. Thus, he physically makes them to fly. It may also be indirect in the sense that when the birds see him, they instantly fly away without his knowledge. Thus, his presence makes them fly away, but he does not have full control over the situation. In the same way, the causative form *-isk-* can be used to mean he accidentally made them fly away or intentionally by physically throwing a stone at them. In example (76b and c), it could be that the causer made the house look beautiful by directly working on it or through hiring someone to do the job. But, note that either *-Y-* (76b) or *-isk-* form can be used in both cases. In (77 b and c) the patient vomits after eating meat. Whether one uses the *-Y-* form (77b) or the *-isk-* one (77c), the vomiting is induced by the meat. Examples in (80) also show various possibilities with the use of the *-Y-* form. In (80b) there are two possibilities, one is where Marrietta directly lets in the thief by opening for the thief and asking the thief to come in (80b(i)). Another possibility is that Marrietta left the door open, thereby making the thief have a chance to enter the house in order to steal (80b(ii)). By leaving the door open, Marrietta allows the thief to enter the house, but she does not necessarily control the causative situation because it is possible for the thief to see that the door is open but decide not to go inside. Examples (80c) and (80e) are direct causatives since the control lies in the hands of the causer, the causative situation depends on the person letting in the visitors in (80c) and the person physically taking the hoe into the house. In example (81b), the causer, the teacher may not have full control over the causee regarding crying. He can only cause the crying by doing something and as a result, Changa cries, for instance beating him or bullying him. However, Changa can still choose not to cry. In (81c) the teacher may coerce Changa to cry, or the teacher can make Changa cry by doing something that hurts him making him cry. Thus, both (81b and c) are arguably indirect causatives. Compare that with (81d) which is a direct causative, the causer beats the drum and the drum produces some sound. All these examples show that much as *-Y-* is associated with direct causation, there are other cases that suggest that it can equally derive indirect

causatives just like the most regular form, *-isk-*. In fact, even the most productive causative suffix, *-isk-* can derive indirect causatives.

7.12.2. The *-isk-* form

As already observed, *-isk-* is the most productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. Vail (1972), Phiri (1980) and Mphande (1989), associate this form with indirect and intentional causatives. However, they do not take into account the fact this form can also be used to derive causatives in which the causer has full control over the causative situation. The following examples show some *-isk-* causatives in which the causer has direct control over the situation.

83. a Buku li-ka-w-a.
5.book 5.SM-Pst-fall-FV
'A book fell.'
b Takondwa wa-ka-w-isk-a buku.
1.Takondwa 1.SM-Pst-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 5.book
(i) 'Takondwa dropped a book.'
(ii) Takondwa made the book to fall.'
b Nesi wa-ku-ly-esk-a mulwali cakulya.
1.nurse 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient 7.food
'A nurse is feeding a patient.'

84. a NyaJere wa-ku-bem-a hona.
1.Ms.Jere 1.SM-Pres-sniff/smoke.FV 1.tobacco
'Ms. Jere is sniffing/smoking tobacco.'
b Tembo wa-ku-bem-isk-a hona
1.Tembo 1.SM-Pres-smoke/sniff-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tobacco
NyaJere.
1.Ms.Jere
(i) 'Tembo makes Ms Jere smoke/sniff tobacco.'
(ii) 'Tembo provides Ms Jere with sniffing/smoking tobacco.'

85. a Bonda wa-ku-mw-a mkaka.
1.baby 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV 3.milk
'A baby is drinking milk.'
b Suzgo wa-ku-mw-esk-a bonda mkaka.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 1.baby 1.milk
(i) 'Suzgo is feeding a baby milk.'
(ii) 'Suzgo is making a baby drink milk.'
c Suzgo wa-ku-mw-esk-a mbuzi ku-dambo.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 9.goat 16-5.river
(i) 'Suzgo takes the goats to the river for them to drink water.'
(ii) Suzgo makes the goats drink water in the river.'

86. a Ŵalimi ŵa-ku-gul-a mbewu.
2.farmer 2.SM-Pres-guy-FV 10.seed
'Farmers buy seeds.'
b Admarc yi-ku-gul-isk-a ŵalimi mbewu.
9.Admarc 9.SM-Pres-buy-Caus$_3$-FV 2.farmer 10.seed
(i) 'Admarc sells seeds to farmers.'
(ii) 'Admarc makes farmers buy seeds.'

87. aTisungane wa-ku-many-a kuti Mwiza
1.Tisungane 1.SM-Pres-know-FV Comp 1.Mwiza
w-a-fik-a.
1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Tisungane knows that Mwiza has arrived.'
b Thembi w-a-mu-many-isk-a Tisungane
1.Thembi 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-know-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Tisungane
kuti Mwiza wafika.
Comp 1.Mwiza 1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Thembi has informed Tisungane that Mwiza has arrived.'

88. a Kasuzi wa-ku-yend-esk-a galimoto.
1.Kasuzi 1.SM-Pres-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 1.car
'Kasuzi is driving a car.'
b Kasuzi w-a-yend-esk-a Temwani
1.Kasuzi 1.SM-Perf-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani
'Kasuzi has made Temwani walk.'

89. a Mwanakazi w-a-phik-a cakulya.
1.woman 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 7.food
'A woman has cooked food.'
b Zitwere w-a-mu-phik-isk-a cakulya
1.Zitwere 1.SM-Perf-OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food
mwanakazi.
1.woman
'Zitwere has made the woman cook food.'

90. a Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-lim-a.
2.youth 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV
The youths are working in the farm.
b Mulimi wa-ku-lim-isk-a ŵaukilano.
1.farmer 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 2.youth
'A farmer is making some youths to work in the farm.'
c Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-lim-isk-a makopala kwa
1.youth 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus-FV 2.money at
mulimi.
1.farmer
'Some youths are working in the farm for money from the farmer.'

In (83b) the causer can be involved directly by taking the book and dropping in down, thereby making in fall. The involvement of the causer may

also be accidental or indirectly where the causer for example pushes a book standing causing the book to fall. In example (85b), the nurse is directly and physically involved by taking the food and putting it in the mouth of the patient. However, the nurse can only assist in taking and putting the food in the mouth of the patient. Whether the patient will eat or not is beyond the control of the nurse. This is also the case (85b) where the baby has to be fed with milk and it cannot take the bottle of milk and drink from it by itself. Examples which involve direct causative situations include (85b), (87b), and (88a). Example (84b) has two possibilities, firstly, it could be that Tembo, the causer influences the causee, NyaJere to sniff/smoke tobacco, or that Tembo provides the tobacco. The same with (87b) where either the causer feeds the baby which is direct causation or he makes the baby drink milk by doing something to influence it. Examples from all the three forms of causative suffixes in Citumbuka show that the language does not distinguish direct and indirect causatives simply by the use of the causative suffixes. The only clear distinction concerning direct and indirect causatives in the languages is observed in double and periphrastic causatives which tend to be indirect.

7.12.3. Permissive/Coercive meaning

Citumbuka causatives may have permissive or coercive meaning. This is illustrated in the following examples:

91. Msambizgi wa-ka-njizg-a ŵana mukilasi.
    1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child 16.class
    (i) 'The teacher let the pupils into the classroom.'
    (ii) 'The teacher forced pupils to go into the classroom.'
92. Themba li-ka-kom-esk-a ng'ombe.
    5.chief 5.SM-Pst-kill-Caus$_3$-FV 9.cattle
    (i) 'The chief had the cow killed.'
    (ii) 'The chief let the cow be killed.'

In the examples above, both the coercive reading and permissive readings are possible. In (91) the teacher may have forced the pupils to go into the classroom or the pupils pleaded with the teacher to let them enter and he let them enter. In both cases, the same causative suffix *-Y-* is used. Similarly, in example (92), the form *-isk* can be used for both coercive and permissive causative meaning. In example (92(ii)) it might the case that some members of his village sort his permission to kill the cow and the chief let do so.

7.12.4. Assistive meaning

Causatives can also have assistive meaning. A good example of causatives with assistive meaning are the associative causatives already discussed in section 7.7.3. It is not only associative causatives that have assistive meaning as examples below illustrate this.

93. Muliska wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Gondwe.
    1.shepherd 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.Gondwe
    (i) 'The pastor provides shoes for Mr. Gondwe.'
    (ii) 'The pastor dresses Mr. Gondwe with shoes.'
94. Nesi wa-ku-ly-esk-a mulwali cakulya.
    1.nurse 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient 7.food
    'A nurse is feeding a patient.'
95. Maria wa-ka-mu-wusk-a mulwali uyo
    1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-OM-rise.Caus$_2$-FV 1.patient 1.Rel
    wa-ka-tondek-ang-a ku-wuk-a yekha.
    1.SM-Pst-fail-Imperf-FV Infin-rise-FV 1.self
    'Maria helped the patient who was failing to rise up.'
96. Masida wa-ka-chokozg-ang-a abuya.
    1.Masida 1.SM-Pst-pound.Caus$_2$-Imperf-FV 2.grandmother
    'Masida used to assist grandmother with pounding.'

In example (93) the causer assists the causee either by providing shoes for Mr Gondwe or by physically taking the shoes and putting them on the feet of Mr Gondwe. In example (94) the nurse is feeding a patient, being assistive. In example (96), Masida assists grandmother with pounding.

7.12.5. Deliberate vs. accidental or unintentional causation

Causative situations can be deliberate/intentional or accidental/unintentional. Vail (1972) argues that unlike the *-isk-* causative, the *-Y-* causative indicates that the subject is intentionally involved while the *-ik-* indicates that there is no notion of intentionality. However, while I agree with him that the *-Y-* causative tends to express intentionality, -the *-ik-* causative does not always indicate un-intentionality. The following examples actually show that some *-ik-* causatives may also be intentional.

97. a Tawonga wa-ka-vund-ik-a tomato.
    1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_1$-FV 1.tomato
    'Tawonga ripened tomatoes.'
  b Tawonga wa-ka-vund-isk-a tomato.
    1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tomato
    'Tawonga made tomatoes to go bad.'

98. a Maria w-a-gon-ek-a mwana.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child
'Maria has laid down/taken the child to bed.'

b Maria w-a-gon-esk-a mwana.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'Maria has made the child to sleep.'

99. a Moses w-a-kuzg-a nyumba.
1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-be_big.Caus$_2$-FV 9.house
'Moses has enlarged the house.'

b Moses w-a-kul-isk-a nyumba.
1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-be_big-Caus$_3$-FV 9.house
'Moses has made the house become big.'

100. a Mama wa-ku-ly-esk-a mwana.
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'A woman is feeding a child.'

Example (97a and b) differ in that (a) is by any means intentional while (b) is most likely accidental although in some rare cases it may be intentional, in cases where the causer has certain motives for deliberately putting tomatoes in a place where they will go bad. In examples (98a, b), again, the difference is that (a) is intentional while (b) may be intentional or accidental. Examples in (99), both (a) and (b) can be intentional or deliberate.

7.13. Distinguishing the excessive from causative

Vail (1972) and (Phiri 1980) state that the difference between an intensive form and a causative form in Citumbuka is that the intensive form allows doubling unlike the causative form. Contrary to their claim, in the previous chapter, we saw that doubling of the causative forms is possible and that it indicates double causation, chain of causation or distant causation. Thus, we cannot distinguish the can distinguish the excessive from the causative basing on doubling of the causative suffix. The difference between the intensive/excessive and the causative is that the intensive does not introduce a new argument unlike the causative. In my observation, the major difference between the causative morpheme and intensive morpheme in Citumbuka is that an intensive/excessive morpheme has accent on its vowel. Thus, an intensive morpheme should be presented as *-ísk-* while a causative morpheme is written as *-isk-*. The suffixes should thus be treated as distinct morphemes that derive distinct constructions. The difference between the two morphemes is demonstrated in the following examples.

1. a Tinkhani wa-ka-yend-esk-a galimoto.
1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pst-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 5.car
'Tinkhani drove a car.'

b Tinkhani wa-ka-yend-ésk-a.
1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pst-walk-Intens-FV
(i) Tinkhani walked too fast.'
(ii) 'Tinkhani walked too much.'

2. a Pala munthu w-a-phik-isk-a kabici.
when 1.person 1.SM-Perf-Caus$_3$-FV 1.cabbage
'When a person makes cabbage to be cooked…'

b Pala munthu w-a-phik-ísk-a kabici…
when 1.person 1.SM-Perf-Intens-FV 1.cabbage…
'When a person overcooks cabbage…'

In example (1a) the obvious interpretation is causation with the presence of the causee. In (2a) however, how one pronounces the verb may trigger either causative meaning or excessive meaning since the causee in (2a) is unspecified. With the absence of the causee it may appear as though no new argument has been introduced, giving a possibility of excessive meaning (2b). Thus, differentiating how the verb is pronounced will help the hearer to distinguish between causative (2a) and excessive (2b) meaning. The derivational suffix *-ísk-* is mostly associated with excessive meaning, that is, the notion of 'too much' or beyond the norm. For instance, in the table above, *-ísk* derivations have an element of either too much or excessive as seen from their English glosses. I will therefore refer to *-ísk-* as an intensive/or excessive derivational suffix. Suffixation of the morpheme *-ísk-* does not increase or decrease the verb valency. Therefore, *-ísk-* is a valency maintaining morpheme unlike the causative *-isk-* which introduces a new argument. The following examples illustrate this:

3. a Mafera w-a-jul-a windo.
1.Mafera 1.SM-Perf-open-FV 5.window
'Mafera has opened a window'

b Mafera w-a-jul-ísk-a windo.
1.Mafera 1.SM-Perf-Intens-FV 5.window
'Mafera has opened the window too wide.'

c Rute w-a-jul-isk-a Mafera windo.
1.Rute 1.SM-Perf-Caus-FV 1.Mafera 5.window
'Rute has caused Mafera to open a window.'

4. a Ida w-a-phik-a nyama.
1.Ida 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 9.meat
'Ida has cooked meat.'

b Ida w-a-phik-ísk-a nyama.
1.Ida 1.SM-Perf-cook-Intens-FV 9.meat
'Ida has overcooked meat.'

c Suzgo w-a-phik-isk-a Ida nyama.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-cook-Caus-FV 1.Ida 9.meat
'Suzgo has made Ida to cook meat.'

5. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana.
   1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child
   'A teacher beats children'
   b Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-ísk-a ŵana.
   1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-Intens-FV 2.child
   'A teacher beats children too much.'
   c Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a msambizgi ŵana.
   1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus-FV 1.teacher 2.child
   'A parent causes the teacher to beat children.'
6. a Nchewe yi-ka-mu-lum-a Mary.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pst-1.OM-bite-FV 1.Mary
   'A dog bit Mary.'
   b Nchewe yi-ka-mu-lum-ísk-a Mary.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pst-1.OM-bite-Intens-FV 1.Mary
   'A dog bit Mary very/too much.'
   c Mlonda wa-ka-yi-lum-isk-a nchewe
   1.guard 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-bite-$Caus_3$-FV 9.dog
   Mary.
   1.Mary
   'A guard made the dog to bite Mary.'

The difference between the causative derivation and the intensive derivation in the examples above is the fact that only the causative *-isk-* introduces a new argument. While (3b) with *-ísk-* does not introduce any new argument, *-isk-* in (3c) introduces a causer argument in the subject position. The same applies to the rest of the examples.

7.14. Summary and Conclusion

There are three causative suffixes in Citumbuka: *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The first two are restricted to certain verbs while *-isk-* attaches to any verb form, be it intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive. The *-Y-* causative suffix changes the phonological form of the base verb in certain environments such as when attached to stem-finals like *l, k, p* and *w*. In causatives derived from monotransitive and ditransitive bases, the causee can either take over object properties of the object or appear in non-core position. Some causative derivations are valency-preserving in Citumbuka, for instance, autobenefactive and conversive causatives. The suffixes *-ik-* and *-isk-* can also be used as verbalisers of nominals and ideophones in Citumbuka. In addition to the morphological causatives, we also find periphrastic causatives in Citumbuka which are associated with indirect causation. Furthermore, Citumbuka allows double causativization. Double causatives tend to be indirect, distant and may also indicate a chain of causation. Citumbuka does not distinguish direct and indirect causatives on the basis of the three deriva-

tional suffixes as each of the three suffixes is capable of deriving direct causatives. In this language, the causative may be coercive, assistive, or may indicate accidental causation. Table 7.5 below summarizes the semantics of Citumbuka causatives.

Table 7.5: Summary of Semantics of Causatives in Citumbuka

Semantic parameter	***-ik-* causative**	*-Y-* **causative**	***-isk-* causative**	**Double Causatives**	**Periphrastic causative**
transitivity	intransitive	intransitive and simple transitive	intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive	mostly intransitive	all types
causee control	less control	less control	ranges between less control to more control	less control	more control
causer control	more control	more control	-	may have more control	less control
volition (causee)	-	-	-	not volitional	-
affectedness (causee)	fully affected	-	-		-
direct	direct	direct	possible		possible
indirect	indirect possible	indirect possible	indirect	indirect	indirect
ntentionational/accidental	-	-	-	both are possible	-
naturalness	requires effort	-	-		-
involvevolvement	causer involved	causer involved	causer may be involved	causer not directly involved	causer not involved

Chapter 8

8. Intensive/excessive

8.1. Introduction

The intensive marker serves to express intensity or quickness of action while an excessive form expresses the notion of 'too much' or that something is carried to excess (Doke 1935). In many Bantu languages, an intensive form is characterized by a derivational suffix that is akin to the causative suffix (Doke 1935:130). It is common among languages of the world to find affixes that mark both causation and intensity. Comrie (1985) reports that the causative-intensive polysemy is the most recurrent one. The common denominator shared by the two is that they both involve some external force (Li 1991, Kulikov 2001) and plurality of situations (Golovko 1993). Doke (1935) argues that although the causative and intensive affixes are alike, in reality they must be distinguished from each other. For instance, in Zulu, he points out that the intensive uses *-isisa* while the causative uses the form *-isa*. He further argues that it is true that there must be an etymological connection between the intensive and the causative, but their functions are clearly distinct and therefore, they must be treated as distinct forms. Following Doke (1935), I argue that the causative form and the intensive/excessive in Citumbuka should be treated as distinct forms.

8.2. Double intensive/ or excessive markers

Doubling of the intensive/excessive suffix implies a higher degree of intensity/or excessiveness. Below are some examples to illustrate this.

7. a Mwana wa-ku-ly-a sima.
   1.child 1.SM-Pres-eat-FV 9.food
   'A child eats sima.'
   b Mwana wa-ku-ly-ésk-a sima.
   1.child 1.SM-Pres-eat-Intens-FV 9.sima
   'A child eats too much sima.'
   c Mwana wa-ku-ly-ésk-ésk-a sima.
   1.child 1.SM-Pres-eat-Intens-Intens-FV 9.sima
   'A child eats sima overly too much.'
8. a Doda li-ku-mw-a phele.
   5.man 5.SM-Pres-drink-FV 5.beer
   A man drinks beer.
   b Doda li-ku-mw-ésk-a phele.
   5.man 5.SM-Pres-drink-Intens-FV 5.drink
   'A man drinks beer too much'
   c Doda li-ku-mw-ésk-ésk-a phele.
   5.man 5.SM-Pres-drink-Intens-Intens-FV 5.drink
   'A man drinks beer overly too much.'

In the examples above, doubling of the intensive morpheme increases the degree of intensity or excessiveness as (b) examples in (7-8) above show. The sentences with double intensive morpheme can be translated literally as 'doing something too much too much.' Intensive constructions can also be derived from causative verb stems. We illustrate this in the following examples:

9.	a	lya	eat
	b	lyeska	feed
	c	lyeskéska	feed too much
10.	a	ona	see
	b	oneska	show
	c	oneskéska	see too much/very very carefully,
11.	a	pola	cool down
	b	pozg-a	make cool down
	c	pozgéska	make cool down too much

8.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that the excessive marker should be treated as being distinct from the causative marker in Citumbuka. It has been demonstrated that there are basically two differences between the intensive/excessive and the causative markers, the former does not introduce a new argument unlike the latter. Secondly, the former has a high accent on its vowel. While doubling of the causative marker entails double causativization, doubling of the intensive/excessive signals a higher degree of intensity/excessiveness.

Chapter 9

9. Suffix ordering in Citumbuka

9.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have demonstrated that derivational suffixes in Citumbuka, like other languages, can increase, decrease or maintain the valency of the base verb. Several suffixes can be attached to a single verb root. It is important to investigate how these suffixes interact. Various factors can be involved in ordering affixes, they may be semantic, phonological and morphological/templatic (Rice 2009). Each language needs careful study to determine which factors are involved and how the factors interact in case there are more than one (Rice 2009). In some languages affix order may be templatic by default and appeal to compositionality where necessary, in others it may be governed by compositionality by default and appeal to templatic principles where compositionality cannot account for the attested order (Manova and Aronoff 2010). Such languages then, have a mixed compositonality/template system (Caballero 2010; Paster 2005). Templatic order is fixed while compositionality is variable in such a way that different affix orders produce different meaning (Manova and Aronoff 2010; Rice 2009).

Hyman (2003, 2006) argues that Bantu suffix ordering is driven by a Pan-Bantu default template namely; (C)ausative (A)pplicative (R)eciprocal and (P)assive (CARP) (see also Mcpherson and Paster 2009; Good 2005, 2007; Rice 2009, among others). The different realizations of language-specific suffix ordering systems is as a result of different Bantu languages using different strategies to resolve the tension between adhering to the templatic order or the compositionality order (Hyman 2003). For instance, Chichewa resolves that by using both compositionality and templatic principles with the templatic one overriding compositionality (Hyman 2003). The extended version of CARP, which includes the Causative$_2$, (Caus$_2$ in this thesis), is Causative, Applicative, Reciprocal, Transitive, Passive (CARTP) (Good 2005, 2007:212). CARTP is also abbreviated as CARCP by Hyman (2003:262, 272; McPherson and Paster 2009:57), where the Transitive is Caus$_2$ in this thesis. This chapter investigates how Citumbuka resolves the tension between adhering to the templatic CARCP order and the compositionality order. It is demonstrated in this chapter that Citumbuka favors compositionality.

9.2. Combinations involving C_3 and Applicative

Citumbuka allows both C_3A and AC_3 suffix orders. In C_3A the applicative contributes to the meaning of the derivation and this order conforms to the default order in Bantu of CA.

9.2.1. Causative$_3$ and Applicative

Both Caus$_3$-Appl (C_3A) and Appl-Caus$_3$ (AC_3) are allowed. The following examples illustrate the order (C_3A).

1. a Chimwemwe wa-ku-phik-a nchunga.
   1.Chimwemwe 1.SM-Pres-cook-FV 10.beans
   'Chimwemwe is cooking beans.'
   b Happy wa-ku-phik-isk-a Chimwemwe
   1.Happy 1.SM-Pres-cook-**Caus$_3$**-FV 1.Chimwemwe
   nchunga.
   10.beans
   'Happy is making Chimwemwe to cook beans.'
   c Happy wa-ku-phik-isk-il-a mwana
   1.Happy 1.SM-Pres-cook-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 1.child
   nchunga kwa Chimwemwe.
   10.beans at 1.Chimwemwe
   'Happy is having beans cooked for a child at/by Chimwemwe.'
2. a Mwana wa-ka-wuk-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-rise-FV.
   'A child woke up.'
   b Thembi wa-ka-wuk-isk-a mwana.
   1.Thembi 1.SM-Pst-rise-**Caus$_3$**-FV 1.child
   'Thembi caused the child to wake up.'
   c Thembi wa-ka-wuk-isk-il-a mwana nyina.
   1.Thembi 1.SM-Pst-rise-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 1.child 3SG.mother
   'Thembi made a child to wake up on his mother.'

Suffixation of the causative suffix adds the meaning of causation to the verb. When an applicative suffix is added to the causative verb stem, it adds the meaning of something for or against someone such that we end up with a derivation of cause someone to do something for/on someone. This entails compositionality suffix ordering. At the same time, this also obeys the the proposed pan-Bantu templatic order of CARCP. In the next set of examples, I show that Citumbuka also allows the reverse order, that is, AC_3. The reverse order, AC_3 suggests that actually the order Causative-Applicative and Applicative-Causative is compositional. Below are examples of AC_3 order.

3. a Abuya ŵa-ku-wuk-a.
   2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-rise-FV
   'Grandmother is standing up.'
   b Abuya ŵa-ku-wuk-il-a ndodo.
   2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-rise-**Appl**-FV 9.stick
   'Grandmother is standing up with the support of a stick.'

c Ucekulu wu-ku-wuk-il-isk-a ndodo
14.old_age 14.SM-Pres-rise-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 9.stick
abuya.
2.grandmother
'Old age is making grandmother use a stick when standing up.'

d Vipani vi-ku-wuk-il-isk-a mawupu
8.party 8.SM-Pres-rise-Appl-Caus$_3$-FV 6.group
boma.
government
'Political parties are making civil society organisations rise against the government.'

4. a Masozi wa-ku-gon-a.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
'Masozi is sleeping.'

b Masozi wa-ku-gon-el-a mphasa.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-**Appl**-FV 9.mat
'Masozi is sleeping on a mat.'

c Chimwemwe wa-ku-gon-el-esk-a Masozi
1.Chimwemwe 1.SM-Pres-sleep-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 1.Masozi
mphasa.
9.mat
'Chimwemwe is making Masozi sleep on a mat.'

5. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-pok-el-a makopala.
2.person 1.SM-Perf-receive-**Appl**-FV 6.money
'Cidongo has received some money.'

b Mlimi w-a-pok-el-esk-a ŵanthu
1.farmer 1.SM-Perf-receive-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.person
makopala.
6.money
'The farmer has paid people some money (Lit. The farmer has made people receive money).'

Examples (3-5) show that Citumbuka allows the **AC$_3$** order which violates the CARP order. The examples also show that suffixation of a new derivational suffix alters the meaning of the base stem. In CARP template ordering, the reciprocal follows the causative and applicative. Citumbuka further violates the templatic order by allowing the reciprocal to be ordered before the causative. This is discussed in the next section.

9.2.2. Causative$_3$ and Reciprocal

Citumbuka allows both C$_3$R and RC$_3$ orders. While C$_3$R is restricted to mutual causers, which are also mutual causees, the order RC$_3$ is mainly employed when the causer is a third party, but also allows for cases where the

participants are involved in the causative situation. Below are examples to illustrate the order $Caus_3$-Recip (C_3R).

6. a Suzgo wa-ku-timb-a nchewe.
   1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 9.dog
   'Suzgo hits a dog.'
   b Tinkhani wa-ku-timb-isk-a Suzgo nchewe.
   1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$**-FV 1.Suzgo 9.dog
   'Tinkhani makes Suzgo hit a dog.'
   c Tinkhani na Suzgo wa-ku-timb-isk-an-a
   1.Tinkhani with 1.Suzgo 2.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV
   nchewe.
   9.dog
   'Tinkhani and Suzgo make each other hit a dog.'
7. a Maria wa-ku-phik-a phele.
   1.Maria 1.SM-Pres-cook-FV 5.beer
   'Maria brews beer.'
   b Joni wa-ku-phik-isk-a Maria phele.
   1.Joni 1.SM-Pres-cook-**$Caus_3$**-FV 1.Maria 5.beer
   'Joni makes Maria brew beer.'
   c Joni na Maria wa-ku-phik-isk-an-a
   1.Joni with 1.Maria 2.SM-Pres-cook-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV
   phele.
   5.beer
   'Yohane and Maria make each other brew beer.'

The preceding set of examples shows that Citumbuka adheres to C_3ARP when the order is $Caus_3$-Recip, and that the order also adheres to compositionality, as adding the R suffix alters the meaning of the causative base stem. Further investigation shows that in Citumbuka, it is also possible to find R being ordered before the C_3. The C_3R ordering is not allowed when the causer is not involved in the causative situation. Below are examples showing Reciprocal-Causative (RC_3) ordering.

8. a Wanalume wa-ku-timb-an-a.
   2.men 2.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip**-FV
   'Men hit each other.'
   b Mphangela wa-ku-timb-an-isk-a wanalume.
   1.Mphangela 1.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip-$Caus_3$**-FV 2.men
   'Mphangela makes men hit one another.'
   c *Mphangela wa-ku-timb-isk-an-a wanalume.
   1.Mphangela 1.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV 2.men
   'Mphangela makes men hit one another.'

d Ŵena Mphangela ŵa-ku-timb-an-isk-an-a.
2.collective 1.Mphangela 2.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'The Mphangelas make each other to hit each other.'

9. a Ŵankhungu ŵ-a-tem-an-a.
2.thief 2.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip**-FV
'Thieves have stabbed each other.'

b Cholopi w-a-tem-an-isk-a ŵankhungu.
1.Cholopi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.thief.
'Cholopi caused thieves to stab each other.'

c *Cholopi w-a-tem-esk-an-a ŵankhungu.
1.Cholopi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 2.thief
'Cholopi caused thieves to stab each other.'

d Ŵankhungu ŵ-a-tem-an-isk-an-a.
2.thief 2.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Thieves caused each other to stab each other.'

Examples above (8-9) show that RC_3 order is allowed in Citumbuka whether the causer is involved in the causative situation or not. When the Causer is involved, the R is doubled as in (8d) and (9d). The order CR is not allowed when the causer is external (see 8c and 9c). Thus, there are restrictions on CR but not RC order. The doubling of R in (8d and 9d) confirms that Citumbuka suffix ordering favours compositionality. Example (8d) should be interpreted as involving at least two groups of participants, say A and B, that cause members of each other's group to have internal fighting. Thus, both A and B cause each other's group to fight among themselves. This also applies to (9d). Examples (8b and 9b) on the other hand involve an external causer making participants in the causative situation to do something to one another. Thus, in (8b), two men are hitting each other, and the causer of this fight is not part of the fighting itself. Similarly, in (9b) Cholopi is only a causer, but it is the thieves that are involved in the causative situation of stabbing each other. These examples also show that Citumbuka violates the CARP and favors compositionality when ordering R and C_3 suffixes. In the next section I show how Applicative and Reciprocal derivational suffixes interact in Citumbuka.

9.2.3. Applicative and Reciprocal

Both AR and RA orders are possible in Citumbuka. However, the RA order results in introduction of another R after A such that we end up with RAR. Examples below illustrate the order Applicative-Reciprocal (AR).

10. Ku-ka-ŵavy-a ku-b-il-an-a
17.SM-Pst-not_there-FV Infin-steal-**Appl-Recip**-FV
'There was no stealing from one another.'

11. Sono apo ti-ka-dumb-il-an-a nyengo yitali.
now there 1PL-Pst-talk-**Appl-Recip**-FV 9.time 9.long
'Now, we talked to each other for a long time.'
12. Kasi mu-ka-kuman-il-an-a nkhuni?
Q 2PL-Pst-meet-**Appl-Recip**-FV where
'Where did you meet each other.'
13. Ŵa-ka-longosol-a umo
2.SM-Pst-narrate-FV how
ŵa-ku-sambizg-il-an-a kuphika.
2.SM-Pres-teach.Caus$_2$-**Appl-Recip**-FV 15.cooking
'They narrated how they teach one another to cook.'
14. Phaskani na Masozi
1.Phaskani with 1.Masozi
wa-ka-pok-el-an-a cakulya.
1.SM-Pst-receive-**Appl-Recip**-FV 7.food
'Phaskani and Masozi received food on behalf of each other.'

Examples above show that Citumbuka adheres to compositionality since the R contributes to the semantics of the derived sentences. For instance, in (10) above, without the reciprocal meaning would have the meaning whereby the patient did not suffer from having their property stolen. With the R, it means the event of the patient not having to suffer from having property stolen was reciprocated to the agent in the sens that the agent too did not suffer from his/her property stolen. Thus, addition of R contributes to the semantics of the verb 'steal'. In example (14), we have Phaskani receiving food on behalf of Masozi and Msozi reciprocating the favour by collecting the food on behalf of Phaskani. Thus, addition of R tells us the substitutive applicative in (14) is reciprocated. The order RA is reversed to (RAR), as we can see in the examples below.

15. Apa mu-nga-yamb-an-il-an-ang-a-po
here 2PL-Mod-start-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-Imperf-FV-15.Loc
yayi ŵa-ku-yamb-an-il-an-ang-a-po
neg 2.SM-Pres-start-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-Imperf-FV-15.Loc
ŵena Zgambo na ŵena Njakwa.
2.collective 1.Zgambo with 2.collective 1.Njakwa
'Do not fight over this land, they fight over this land, the Njakwa's and the Zgambo's.
16. Ndi-mo ŵa-ka-pang-an-il-an-a.
Cop-how 2.SM-Pst-make-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
'This is how they agreed.'
17. Ŵa-ka-timb-an-il-an-a pa-munda.
2.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV 16-3.garden
'They hit each other at the farm/crop field.'

18. Ŵa-ku-temw-an-il-an-a phele.
2.SM-Pres-love-**Recip**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV 5.beer
'They love each other because of beer.'

In example (15), first of all the participants fight each other and secondly the reason for hitting each other is land. Thus, Zgambos fight Njakwas for land and Njakwas fight Zgambos for the same land. In example (18) some love one another and the reason each of the loves the other is beer. There is a possibility of these people loving each other but for different reasons. Thus the two Rs in RAR serve different purposes. This suggests that Citumbuka favors compositionality. The doubling of the R is as a result of two reciprocal situations, one concerning the participants themselves, and the other concerning the goal (15), manner (16), location (17), and reason (18) of the mutual activity. Thus, the second R is due to the fact that the Applicative applies to both the participants in the mutual situation. Thus, each R contributes to the meaning of the resulting derivation, which means the order RAR is compositional.

9.3. Causative$_3$, Applicative and Reciprocal

Both C_3RA and RC_3A ordering are also possible in Citumbuka. While the former adheres to the templatic order, the latter violates the templatic order. Below are some examples demonstrating the C_3AR order.

19. a Masozi wa-ka-phik-isk-il-a musweni
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pst-cook-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-FV 1.husband
w-ake makombwe.
1-3SG.Poss 6.banana
'Masozi had bananas cooked for her husband.'
b Masozi na musweni w-ake
1.Masozi with 1.husband 1-poss
ŵa-ka-phik-isk-il-an-a makombwe.
2.SM-Pst-cook-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV 6.banana
'Masozi and her husband had bananas cooked for each other.'

20. a Doda li-ka-ni-w-isk-il-a katundu.
5.man 5.SM-Pst-OM.1SG-fall-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-FV 1.luggage
'A man caused some luggage to fall on me.'
b Ine na doda ti-ka-w-isk-il-an-a
1.SG with 5.man 1PL-Pst-fall-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV
katundu.
1.luggage
'A man and me caused luggage to fall for/on each other.'

21. a Adada ŵa-ka-kom-esk-el-a ng'ombe
2.father 2.SM-Pst-kill-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 9.cattle
mulendo.
1.visitor
'My father had his cattle killed for a visitor.
b ŴaNgoni ŵa-ku-kom-esk-el-an-a ng'ombe.
2.Ngoni 2.SM-Pres-kill-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.cattle
(i) 'Ngonis like to have cattle killed for/on each other.'
(ii) 'Ngonis like to kill cattle for each other.'

22. a Ŵa-ka-mu-gul-isk-il-a ng'oma.
2.SM-Pst-1.OM-buy-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 9.drum
(i) 'They sold the drum on him.'
(ii) 'They sold the drum for (on behalf of) him.'
b Ŵa-ka-gul-isk-il-an-a ng'oma.
2.SM-Pst-1.OM-buy-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.drum
(i) 'They sold drums on each other.'
(ii) 'They sold drums for (on behalf of) each other.'

23. a Sinya wa-ku-sinth-isk-il-a skapato ŵanthu.
1.Sinya 1.SM-Pres-change-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 10.shoes 2.person
'Sinya exchanges shoes for other people.'
b Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-sinth-isk-il-an-a skapato.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-change-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.shoes
'People exchange shoes for/on each other.'

Examples (19-23) show that C, A, and R ordering adheres to the templatic order of C_3AR. In the examples below (24-25), we see that the order C_3RA is also possible. However, C_3RA violates the templatic order.

24. a Ŵana ŵ-a-w-isk-an-a.
2.child 2.SM-Perf-fall-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Children have caused each other to fall.'
b Ŵana ŵ-a-w-isk-an-il-an-a
2.child 2.SM-Perf-fall-**Caus$_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
pamphasa.
16-mat
'Children have made each other to fall on a mat.'

25. a Ŵasepuka ŵ-a-pok-esk-an-a.
2.boy 2.SM-Perf-receive-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Boys have rescued each other.'
b Ŵasepuka ŵ-a-pok-esk-an-il-an-a
2.boy 2.SM-Perf-receive-**Caus$_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
citemwa.
7.love
'The boys rescued each other because they love each other.'

Examples below illustrate the **RC$_3$A** order, which violates the templatic order.

26. a Sungani w-a-sinth-an-isk-a skapato.
1.Sungani 1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 10.shoe
'Sungani has exchanged shoes.'
b Sungani w-a-sinth-an-isk-il-a skapato
1.Sungani 1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 10.shoe
'Sungani has exchanged shoes.'
Sungeni.
1.Sungeni
'Sungani has exchanged shoes for/on Sungeni.'
c Ŵ-a-sinth-an-isk-il-an-a skapato.
1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.shoe
'They have exchanged each other's shoes for/on each other.'

27. a Wa-ka-lek-an-isk-a mtolo wa
1.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus$_3$-**FV 3.bundle of
zinde.
9.sugarcane
He separated a bundle of sugarcane.'
b Tina wa-ka-lek-an-isk-il-a mtolo
1.Tina 1.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus3-Appl**-FV 3.bundle
wa zinde Thembi.
of 9.sugar 1.Thembi
'Tina separated a bundle of sugarcane for Thembi.'
c Ŵa-ka-lek-an-isk-il-an-a mitolo ya
2.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 4.bundle of
zinde.
9.sugarcane
'They separated bundles of sugarcane for each other.'

28. a Wa-ka-timb-an-isk-a ŵana.
1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.child
'He caused children to hit each other.'
b Suzgo wa-ka-timb-an-isk-il-a ŵana
1.suzgo 1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 2.child
msambizgi.
1.teacher
'Suzgo made the teacher's children to hit each other.'
c Ŵa-ka-timb-an-isk-il-an-a ŵana.
1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 2.children
'They caused children of each other to hit each other.'

In the order RC$_3$RAR, participants of the events cause each other to do things for each other. Thus the causation is reciprocated and the applicative is also reciprocated. For example in (28a) without the applicative, we get

the meaning of 'children' causing each other to be hit. With the introduction of an applicative in (28b), we that see while causative meaning is reciprocated, the applicative meaning is not reciprocated. In (28c) both the causative meaning and the applicative meaning are reciprocal.

Below are examples that show the order AC_3R which is also a violation of the templatic order **C_3AR**.

29. Ŵa-ku-pok-el-esk-an-a makopala.
    2.SM-Pres-receive-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 6.money
    'They give money to each other (Lit. They make each other to receive money.'
30. Ŵa-ku-temw-el-esk-an-a kwa msambizgi.
    2.SM-Pres-love-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV at 1.teacher
    'They cause each other to be favored by the teacher.'
31. Ŵa-ku-phik-il-isk-an-a majungu.
    2.SM-Pres-cook-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 6.pumpkin
    'They have pumpkins cooked for each other.'

Thus, we can see that Citumbuka allows for various ordering of the derivational suffixes Causative, Applicative and Reciprocal, which are **C_3AR**, **C_3RA**, **AC_3R** and **RC_3A**. We also see that in some cases, the R suffix doubles, which basically indicates that Citumbuka follows both templatic and compositionality when ordering its suffixes. In the next section, we investigate the ordering of the second Causative, *-Y-* in relation to the templatic order.

9.4. Combinations involving C_2

In Citumbuka, C_3 always follows C_2 (see 7.10 for details). Below are examples illustrating the order C_3C_2.

Table 9.1: Caus$_2$Caus$_3$ order

	English	**C_2C_3**	**English**
kuzga	extend	kuzgiska	cause to extend
lizga	cause to cry, sound	lizgiska	cause to cause to cry or sound
sambizga	teach	sambizgiska	cause to teach
cimbizga	chase	cimbizgiska	cause to chase
mazga	end	mazgiska	cause to end

As the examples clearly show, C_2 always precedes C_3, and the meaning of the derivations is compositional, it carries the sense of double causation. This is not restricted to Citumbuka. Simango (1999) observes that in Bantu

languages, only restricted causatives can further be causativized and not the regular causative. This means that, it is not expected for the regular causative to allow further suffixation of causative suffixes in such Bantu languages. However, section 7.8 of chapter 7 shows that it is possible for the regular causative in Citumbuka to allow suffixation of another regular causative.

9.4.1. Combinations involving Reciprocal and Causative$_2$

The order C_2R is common in Citumbuka as we can see in examples below (33a-f) illustrate C_2R ordering in Citumbuka.

32. a	kozg-a	'resemble'	kozg-an-a	'resemble each other'
b	cimbizg-a	'chase'	cimbizg-an-a	'chase each other'
c	sambizg-a	'teach'	sambizg-an-a	'teach each other'
d	cekuzg-a	'make s.o become old'		
	cekuzg-an-a	'make each other become old,' or 'grow old together'		
e	ofy-a	'scare'	ofy-an-a	'scare each other'
f	lusk-a	'outdo'	lusk-an-a	'outdo each other'

As the preceding examples show, it is the norm for C_2 to precede R in Citumbuka. There are restrictions regarding the reverse order. Citumbuka violates the templatic order, RC_2, except for a few reciprocal verbs.

33. a	op-an-a	'fear each other'	*opanya 'scare each other.'	
b	cimbil-an-a	'run from each other'	*cimbilanya	'chase each other'

34. a	dik-an-y-a	'make things (eg. plates, books) be on top of each other'
b	gumany-a	'bring two sides or parts together'
c	pal-an-y-a	'scatter things'
d	sonkh-an-y-a	'bring people or things together'
e	kuman-y-a	'make two things meet'
f	timb-an-y-a	'make people fight'
g	wung-an-y-a	'gather people/things

While examples in (33a-b) are not acceptable, those in (35a-c) are just fine. The differences suggest that different verbs may allow different orders of derivational suffixes in a language.

9.4.2. Combinations involving Causative$_2$ and Applicative

Causative$_2$-Applicative

In the following table we see examples that illustrate that it is possible to have the A follow C_2 in the order C_2A.

Table 9.2: Caus$_2$-Appl order

Caus$_2$	**English**	**Caus$_2$-Appl**	**English**
lizga	sound or make cry	lizgila	sound for or make cry for
cimbizga	chase	cimbizgila	chase for
luska	outdo	luskila	outdo for
ofya	scare	ofyela	scare for, scare with
fumya	let out	fumyila	let out for
kuzga	extend	kuzgila	extend for
wezga	send back	wezgela	send back for, revenge
lekezga	stop doing something	lekezgela	stop doing something for or at some point

It is also possible to have C2 follow A as examples in the following table show. show.

Table 9.3:Appl-Caus$_2$ order

Appl	**English**	**Appl-Caus$_2$**	**English**
nyamulila	carry for	nyamulizga	help to carry
limila	cultivate for	limizga	cause to cultivate for
tumila	send to	tumizga	send something through some medium
fumila	come from	fumizga	let out
julila	open for	julizga	ask someone to open for you

Examples in the table above demonstrate that both AC_2 and C_2A are attested in Citumbuka. The former order adheres to the templatic order while the latter violates it.

9.4.3. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Reciprocal and Applicative

Citumbuka allows several orders when the Reciprocal is combined with Applicative and Causative$_2$. Below are examples of Causative$_2$-Reciprocal-Applicative (C_2RAR) and Applicative-Causative$_2$-Reciprocal (AC_2R) orders.

35. Ŵa-ka-wezg-an-il-an-a ukali.
    2.SM-Pst-return.Caus$_2$**-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV 14.anger.
    'They sent each other back out of anger.'
36. Ŵa-ku-kozg-an-il-an-a-nga-ci?
    2.SM-Pres-resemble.Caus$_2$**-Recip-Appl-Recip**-ImPerf-FV-Q
    'Why do they resemble each other?'
37. a phal-izg-an-a 'compete against each other'
    b nyamul-izg-an-a 'carry something together.'
    c lim-izg-an-a 'cultivate together.'
    d pokel-ezg-an-a 'take turns'
    e tum-izg-an-a 'send things through each other'

In examples (38-40), two orders are attested: **Caus$_2$-Recip-Appl-Recip (C$_2$RAR),** and **Appl-Caus$_2$-Recip (AC$_2$R)**. Both **C$_2$RAR** and **AC$_2$R** violate the templatic order.

9.4.4. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Causative$_3$, and Applicative

As already stated elsewhere, C_2 always precedes C_3 in Citumbuka. When C_2 and C_3 are combined with Applicative, two orders are possible, **C$_2$C$_3$A** and **AC$_2$C$_3$.** Examples below illustrate the two orders.

38.	a kuzg-isk-il-a	'make extend for'
	b lizg-isk-il-a	'cause to make cry/sound for/on'
	c sambizg-isk-il-a	'make cause to teach for
	d mazg-isk-il-a	'cause to end for'
	e cimbizg-isk-il-a	'cause to chase for'

In the examples below, A and C_2 have merged as we know from chapter 7 that C_2 induces change on some stem final consonants of the base such as *l*.

39.	a lek-ezg-esk-a	makesomeone stop doing something
	b jul-izg-isk-a	make someone ask someone to open for you
	c tum-izg-isk-a	make someone send something through some means
	d lim-izg-isk-a	'make someone cause people to do communal work for food'
	e nyamul-izg-isk-a	'make someone assist someone to carry something'

Both **C$_2$C$_3$A** (38) and **AC$_2$C$_3$ (**39**)** violate the C$_3$AC$_2$P since C_2 is ordered before C_3 in examples above (38 and 39).

9.5. Combinations involving the passive

9.5.1. Passive and C_3

Either passive or the causative can be ordered after the other. The following examples show the order Pass-Caus$_2$.

40.	a liw-isk-a	'cause to be eaten.'
	b kom-w-esk-a	'cause to be burdened'
	c ku-omil-w-iska	'to cause to be thirsted for'
	d ziz-w-isk-a	'cause to be surprised'
	e tengw-esk-a	'cause to be married'
	f fuful-w-isk-a	'cause to be eaten by weevils.'

g kom-ek-esk-a ‘cause to be killed.’
h timb-iw-isk-a ‘cause to be hit.’

Examples (40a-h) show that it is possible for passive to precede Causative$_3$. Most of the passives that are taking the form *-iw-* in the preceding examples (40a, b, c, d and f) have lexicalized passive meaning. The reverse order **(C_3P)** is also possible as examples below (41a-e) illustrate.

41. a phik-isk-ik-a ‘be made to cook’
b w-isk-isk-ik-a ‘be made to drop’
c gul-isk-ik-a ‘be made to buy’
d yegh-esk-ek-a ‘be made to carry’
e temw-esk-ek-a ‘cause someone to be loved’

Examples (40) and (41) above show that both **C_3P** and **PC_3** are possible in Citumbuka.

9.5.2. Applicative and Passive

Either the passive can precede the applicative or the applicative can precede the passive.

42. a Manesi w-a-phik-**il**-a ŵana cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cook-**Appl**-FV 2.child 7.food
‘Manesi has cooked food for children.’
b Ŵana ŵ-a-phik-**ik-il**-a cakulya na
2.child 2.SM-Perf-cook-**Pass-Appl**-FV 7.food with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
‘Children have had food cooked for them by Manesi’
c Ŵana ŵ-a-phik-**il-ik**-a cakulya na
2.child 2.SM-Perf-cook-**Appl-Pass**-FV 7.food with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
‘Children have had food cooked for them by Manesi.’
d Cakulya c-a-phik-**ik-il**-a ŵana na
7.food 7.SM-Perf-cook-**Pass-Appl**-FV 2.child with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
The food has been cooked for children by Manesi.
43. a Manesi w-a-yi-cek-**el**-a ci-mayi nyama.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Appl**-FV 7.knife 9.meat
Manesi has cut the meat with a knife’

b Nyama y-a-cek-**ek-el**-a cimayi na
9.meat 9.SM-Perf-cut-**Pass-Appl**-FV 7.knife with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
The meat has been cut with a knife by Manesi

44. Cimayi c-a-cek-**ek-el**-a nyama na Manesi.
7.knife 7.SM-cut-**Pass-Appl**-FV 9.meat with 1.Manesi
'The knife has been used to cut meat by Manesi'

As examples (42-44) show, both **AP** and **PA** orders are possible when Applicative and Passive combine. When the Passive combine with C_2, two orders are possible, C_2P and PC_2. See examples below.

While we are aware that passive cannot reciprocalize and reciprocal cannot passivize from chapter 4, we are also aware of derivations that combine morpheme suffixes *-ik-* and *-an-*, for instance, anti-causatives (see 5.4.2 for details). Below are some examples.

45. a mang-a 'tie'
b mang-**ik**-a 'be tied'
c mang-**ik-an**-a 'entangle'
46. a sazg-a 'mix'
b sazg-**ik**-a 'be mixed'
c sazg-**ik-an**-a 'be mixed up'

9.5.3. Combinations involving C_2 and Passive

When C_2 and P interact, two orders are possible, C_2P (47) and PC_2 (48). However, as the preceding examples show, the order PC_2 is attested only in a few lexicalized passives.

47. a lusk-ik-a 'be outdone'
b nusk-ik-a 'be smelled.'
c khazg-ik-a 'be waited for'
d ofy-ek-a 'be made to fear.'
e khozg-ek-a 'be made strong'
f longozg-ek-a 'be made to lead/guide'
48. a towa 'be beautiful'
tozga 'make beautiful.'
b tengwa 'be married'
tezga 'marry off someone.'

9.6. Combinations involving c_1

As discussed in the causative chapter, Citumbuka has three causative morphemes: *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The first one, C_1, is *-ik-* (which is homophonous to the passive, potential, anti-causative and stative, *-ik.* see Chapter 5). It appears that this causative form appears in a fixed position, next to the verb root. In the examples that follow, we look at how C_1 interacts with other derivational morphemes. In the following examples, we see how the Causative$_1$ and Reciprocal are ordered.

49. a Madoda gh-a-sindam-a.
    6.men 6.SM-Perf-stoop-FV
    'Men are have stooped down.'
  b Msepuka w-a-sindam-ik-a madoda.
    1.boy 1.SM-Perf-stoop-**Caus$_1$**-FV 6.men
    'A boy has made men to stoop down.'
  c Madoda gh-a-sindam-ik-an-a.
    6.man 1.SM-Perf-stoop-**Caus$_1$-Recip**-FV
    'Men have made each other to stoop down.'

50. a Chindikani wa-ku-vwal-a.
    1.Chindikani 1.SM-Pres-dress-FV
    'Chindikani is dressing (himself).'
  b Nchindi wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Chindikani.
    1.Chindikani 1.SM-Pres-dress-**Caus$_1$**-FV 1.Chindikani
    'Nchindi is dressing Chindikani.'
  c Chindikani na Nchindi
    1.Chindikani with 1.Nchindi
    ŵa-ku-vwal-ik-an-a.
    2.SM-Pres-dress-**Caus$_1$-Recip**-FV
    'Chindikani and Nchindi are dressing each other.'

The following examples show how the causative$_1$ and applicative are ordered.

51. a Vwal-**ik-il**-a 'dress on behalf of'
  b sindam-**ik-il**-a 'make stoop for'
  c vund-**ik-il**-a 'ripen for/on behalf of'
  d vunam-**ik-il**-a 'make lie on stomach with face down for'
  e tand-**ik-il**-a 'spread mat/or sheet for/on behalf of'

In the interaction between Caus$_1$ and Passive, Caus$_1$ always precedes the passive.

52. a vund-a 'rot'
  b vund-ik-a 'ripen'
  c vund-**ik-ik**-a 'be ripened'

53.	a vwal-a	'dress'
	b vwal-ik-a	'dress someone'
	c vwal-**ik-ik**-a	'be dressed by someone'

In the following examples we see how Causative$_1$ and Causative$_3$ are ordered. We see that Caus$_1$ always precedes Caus$_3$.

54.	a vwal-**ik-isk**-a	'make to dress someone'
	b tand-**ik-isk**-a	'make to spread a mat/sheet
	c vunam-**ik-isk**-a	'cause to make lie on one's stomach'
	d vund-**ik-isk**-a	'make to ripen fruits
	e sindam-**ik-isk**-a	'cause to make someone stoop'

The preceding examples demonstrate that C_1 has a fixed position while the rest of the morphemes show some variable ordering. According to Rice (2009:2) "affixes with a more narrow scope appear in a linear order closer to a root than affixes with a less narrow scope." In other words, less productive affixes appear closer to the root unlike those that are more productive. In the chapter 7, we observed that the *-ik-* causative morpheme is the least productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. This suffix appears next to the verb root.

9.7. Doubling and tripling of some suffixes (*-il-*, *-isk-* and *-ísk-*)

As already discussed in the previous chapters, some of these derivational suffixes can double or triple themselves in some derivations. Examples below illustrate doubling and tripling of some derivational suffixes in Citumbuka.

55.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-il-a	'tie for'
	c mang-**il-il**-a	'hang/ tie something (with sth) to something'
	d mang-**il-il-il**-a	'tie sth to sth on behalf/because of sth'
56.	a lind-a	'wait on s.o./ escort'
	b lind-**il**-a	'wait for s.o/sth'
	c lind-**il-il**-a	'keep waiting for s.o/sth'
	d lind-**il-il-il**-a	'keep waiting for s.o/sth. on behalf of'
57.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-**isk**-a	'cause to arrest/tie someone/thing'
	c mang-**isk-isk**-a	'cause (accidentally) to make someone tie/arrest'
	d mang-**ísk**-a	'tie too much
	e mang-**ísk-ísk**-a	'tie too (too) firmly'(second degree)
	f mang-**ísk-ísk-ísk**-a	'tie too (too too) firmly'(third degree)

Examples (55-57) show repetition of the same morph and can thus be treated as cases of reduplicated morphemes. The examples also show that Menn and MacWhinney's (1984; see also Mathangwane 2001 and Hyman 2003:257-258) Repeated Morph Constraint is violated. Languages like Ikalanga and Xhosa (Satyo 1985 cited by Mathangwane 2001:402) also permit repetition of the same morph within the same verb without an intervening suffix (Mathangwane 2001). In fact, Chichewa also exhibits similar behavior with applicative, causative and intensive suffixes, contra Hyman (2003:257-258). See examples below from Chichewa.

Chichewa

58.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-il-a	'tie for'
	c mang-il-il-a	'tie with something to sth/or hang/peg sth e.g a goat or cattle'
	d mang-il-il-il-a	'tie sth with sth to sth/hang/peg an animal for'
59.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-its-a	'make tie'
	c mang-íts-a	'tie firmly'
	d mang-íts-íts-a	'tie too firmly'
60.	a gwir-a	'catch/touch/hold'
	b gwir-ir-a	'catch/touch/hold for'
	c gwir-ir-ir-a	'hold sth intensely/ rape s.o'
	d gwir-íts-a	'catch/hold firmly'
	e gwir-íts-íts-a	'hold too firmly'

As the preceding examples show, Chichewa also allows repetition of applicative, causative and intensive derivational morphemes without having an intervening derivational suffix, and therefore violates the Repeated Morpheme constraint, contrary to Hyman (2003:258). Thus, Chichewa, Xhosa, Ikalanga and Citumbuka are some of the Bantu languages that indicate that repetition of some morphs is common in Bantu languages.

9.8. Summary and Conclusion

The chapter aimed at investigating suffix ordering in Citumbuka. We started with Hyman's (2003) principle which states that different Bantu languages use different strategies to resolve the tension between adhering to CARP or the compositionality. For instance, Chichewa resolves that by using both compositionality and templatic principles with the templatic one overriding compositionality. Our discussion of Citumbuka shows that both templatic principles and and compositionality are used with compositionality overriding the templatic ordering. The chapter has also shown that Citumbuka does not allow the regular causative to be ordered before the second causative, hence violating the extended pan-Bantu default order,

CARCP. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that Citumbuka violates the Repeated Morph Constraint as it is possible to have the same morpheme doubled or tripled one after another in a row as is the case with applicative morphemes and intensive morphemes. Below is a list of attested suffix order in Citumbuka.

61. a $Caus_3$-Appl
    b Appl-$Caus_3$
    c $Caus_3$-Recip
    d Recip-$Caus_3$
    e Appl-Recip
    f Recip-Appl-Recip
    g $Caus_3$-Appl-Recip
    h $Caus_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip
    i Recip-$Caus_3$-Appl-Recip
    j Appl-$Caus_3$-Recip
    k $Caus_2$-$Caus_3$
    l $Caus_2$-Recip
    m Recip-$Caus_2$
    n $Caus_2$-Appl
    o Appl-$Caus_2$
    q $Caus_2$-Recip-Appl-Recip
    q Appl-$Caus_2$-Recip
    r $Caus_2$-$Caus_3$-Appl
    s Appl-$Caus_2$-$Caus_3$
    u Pass-$Caus_3$
    v $Caus_3$-Pass
    w Appl-Pass
    x Pass-Appl
    y $Caus_2$-Pass
    z Pass-$Caus_2$
62. a $Caus_1$-Recip
    b $Caus_1$-Appl
    c $Caus_1$-$Caus_3$
    d $Caus_1$-Pass
63. a Appl-Appl-
    b Appl-Appl-Appl
    c $Caus_3$-$Caus_3$
    d Intens-Intens
    e Intens-Intens-Intens

Chapter 10

10.Summary and further research.

10.1. Summary and conclusion

The subject can be any NP, locative prefixes for classes 16, 17, 18, *pa-ku-mu* respectively, or the default agreement prefix *ku-* for an unspecified subject. In Citumbuka word order is not a criterion for identifying an object since post-verbal word order is free. In this thesis, object marking and passivization have been used as tests for identifying an object. The subject and object are the core arguments in Citumbuka. Demoted base objects of applicative and causatives form non-core arguments; the same is true for the theme argument in non-derived ditransitives. Arguments are always required and where they are not expressed they are implied. Locatives are definitely arguments and objects in applicative constructions. In non-derived constructions however, locatives always meet the criteria for objecthood. Thus, properties of locative NPs are bit fuzzy and require an independent further syntactic investigation. The thesis also discusses prepositional phrases in Citumbuka and concludes that some are arguments while others are mere adjuncts. The comitative *na* is analyzed as a multifunctional preposition in Citumbuka. Based on the analysis of *na* in coordinated reciprocals, the chapter concludes that the *na* is still a preposition in coordinated reciprocals. Thus, Citumbuka is characterized as a language that uses the comitative strategy to coordinate constituents. Citumbuka is therefore analysed as a With-language.

The thesis concludes that object marking in Citumbuka is optional in the presence of a full object NP and only one OM per verb is allowed. Object marking has a tendency of indicating definiteness and specificity. On object marking of coordinated object NPs, the thesis findings shows that Citumbuka has four strategies, (a) avoid object marking (b)first conjunct strategy (c) plural of the conjuncts strategy and (d) default class object marking, usually class 8 for non-human and class 2 for humans.

There are two passive suffixes *-iw* and *-ik*. The latter has almost replaced the former and it also marks neuter-passive, also known as the stative in Bantu linguistics and potential passive. Lexicalised passive suggest that the suffix *-izw-* might have been the most common at some point. While in the passive the agent is implied, in the neuter-passive it is deleted and therefore cannot be implied at all. The suffix *-ik* is homophonous to the *-ik* causative which is discussed in chapter 6. The passive in Citumbuka demotes the agent and introduces a new subject. The subject of the passive may be an object, locative prefixes *ku-pa-mu-* marking location and the default agreement prefix *ku-* for impersonal passives. Impersonal passives can be derived from both transitive and intransitive unergative verbs. Thus, the thesis

concludes that the passive in Citumbuka demotes the agent but does not always promote the logical object to the subject position.

The reciprocal suffix is pluractional and only attaches to transitive verbs. The suffix has a wide range of usages including deriving reciprocal, anti-causative, associative/collective, distributive as well depatientive constructions. In constructions with the reciprocal suffix there are several participants (or comparable parts) that are engaged in symmetrical activity or state of affairs. In the intriguing depatientive constructions, the use of the reciprocal suffix creates a verb in which there is implied but not expressed an extra constituent that is absolutely unspecified and the action gets the meaning of more than once. Depatientives are associated with an imperfective aspect and they demote the object syntactically but not semantically. The use of the reciprocal suffix in depatientives and are iterative. The depatientive is comparable to impersonal passives. While in impersonal passives the agent is unspecified, in depatientives it is the patient that is left unspecified. It is also important to note that in the split co-participants type of reciprocal the prepositional *na*-phrase cannot be omitted as doing so changes the meaning of the reciprocal expression to that of the depatientive one. What deviates the depatientive from the other *-an-* derivations is the fact that they all keep their object referents as well as including them into their subjects.

The applicative suffix, *-il* introduces an applied object (AO) with a range of functions: beneficiary, maleficiary, goal, locative (and source, path), instrument (and ingredients), judicantis. Beneficiaries are of three categories: pure beneficiaries, substitutive beneficiary and recipient-beneficiaries. Maleficiaries are of two categories: plain maleficiaries and source maleficiaries. Locatives are also in three categories: location, path and source. Motive roles are not AOs, hence their inability to passivize and take OM. Apart from deriving applicative constructions, the applicative suffix in Citumbuka is also used to derive sociative constructions. Reduplicated forms of the applicative morpheme are used to express multiple applicatives as well as iteration. Locative and instrumental applicatives are symmetric while the rest are strictly asymmetric. In terms of Pylkkänen's (2000) H and L applicative typology, the ability of the applicative suffix to attach to both unergative and unaccusative verbs in Citumbuka suggest that Citumbuka has both high (H) and low (L) applicatives. Citumbuka confirms that the high/low applicative typology does not parallel the (a)symmetric language typology since Citumbuka is asymmetric in terms of Bresnan and Moshi (1993) but patterns as H applicative.

Citumbuka has three causative suffixes, *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The causative suffix *-ik-* is homophonous to the stative/passive suffix and is the least pro-

ductive. It only attaches to a limited of intransitive bases. The suffix *-Y-* is more productive than *-ik-* but less productive than *-isk-* and attaches to some intransitive and transitive bases. This form has more lexicalized causative verbs than the other two in Citumbuka. The *-Y-* causative suffix changes the phonological form of the base verb in certain environments such as when attached to stem-finals like l, k, p and w. The causative *-isk-* is the most productive among the three and attaches to almost any base. Attachment of the regular causative suffix to the monotransitive base results into two possibilities: either the causee takes over object properties of the base object in which case the resultant construction is a ditransitive, or the causee is in oblique in which case the resultant construction is a monotransitive. Citumbuka also shows that there is a possibility of having causatives with unspecified causee. Other types of causative constructions include autobenefactive, associative and conversive causatives. Citumbuka also allows for periphrastic and double causatives. Conversive and autobenefactive causatives are valency preserving. The causative suffixes can also be used as verbalizers in Citumbuka.

The semantics associated with causatives include permissive, assistive, coercive, and de-reflexivity. Causatives can also be direct or indirect. Previous studies have shown that $Caus_1$ and $Caus_2$ derive direct causatives while $Caus_3$ derives indirect causatives in Citumbuka. This study, however argues that even $Caus_3$ can derive direct causatives, and likewise, $Caus_1$ and $Caus_2$ also show instances of indirect causation. Periphrastic and double causatives are associated with indirect causation in Citumbuka. Double causatives may also indicate distant and chain causation.

The excessive derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-ísk-*. The excessive/intensive has been treated differently from the causative suffix *-isk-* in Citumbuka. Suffixation of the excessive suffix does not introduce a new argument. The excessive cannot be distinguished from the causative on the basis of suffix doubling. Both causative and excessive suffixes can double as demonstrated in this thesis. Doubling of the excessive suffix indicates a higher degree of excessiveness.

Chapter 9 discusses suffix order in Citumbuka. It demonstrates that Citumbuka disobeys Hyman's (2003) default Bantu templatic order of CARP. The thesis concludes that suffix order in Citumbuka is compositional.

10.2. Further Research

Citumbuka does not have a descriptive grammar. The few scholars who have worked on this language have a tackled some parts of the language, that is, some description of verbal derivation aspects and some phonology. There is need to have a comprehensive descriptive grammar and a detailed

syntactic analysis of Citumbuka. This would help in accounting for the behaviour of locative and instrumental ditransitives as well as the object properties of tritransitive constructions in Citumbuka. The thesis also recommends a comprehensive study of the phonology of Citumbuka. This would help to explain among other things, instances where the -Y- causative suffix changes the form of the base stem to -zg- and -sk- in certain environments. It would also explain the difference between the causative suffix and the excessive suffix which is reflected in how the two are pronounced.

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift behandelt de werkwoordsderivatie in het Citumbuka, een Bantoetaal (N21) uit noord Malawi en noordoost Zambia. Citumbuka heeft ongeveer twee miljoen sprekers. De analyse is gebaseerd op een corpus dat is ontwikkeld binnen het woordenboek project van het Centre for Language Studies in Malawi en aangevuld met literatuur in het Citumbuka. Her werk analyseert de functies van de belangrijkste werkwoordsextenties zoals passief, reciprook, applicatief en causatief. Aan ieder van deze extensies is een hoofdstuk gewijd. Het eerste hoofdstuk leidt in en geeft achtergrondinformatie over het Citumbuka en haar sprekers en presenteert een overzicht van eerdere studies. Hoofdstuk twee behandelt de basissyntactische eigenschappen. Het onderwerp is gemarkeerd op het werkwoord en iedere naamwoordgroep kan onderwerp zijn, ook de locatieve voorvoegsels *pa*, *ka* en *mu*. Het prefix *ku* wordt gebruikt als het onderwerp niet specifiek is. Voor de discussie van de functies van de werkwoordsextenties is het cruciaal te bepalen wanneer een constituent de grammaticale relatie van object heeft. Anders dan in sommige andere Bantoetalen is woordvolgorde hierin geen onderscheidend criterium. Immers de woordvolgorde van de constituenten na het werkwoord is vrij. De twee criteria om te bepalen of een constituent een object is zijn de mogelijkheid om subject te worden van een passief werkwoord en de mogelijkheid van een object prefix in het werkwoord dat naar de constituent verwijst. Subject en Object zijn de enige kernargumenten. Causatieven en Applicatieven hebben de mogelijkheid constituenten de status van object te geven waarbij dan de oorspronkelijke kernargumenten dat niet meer zijn. De ruimere categorie van argument kenmerkt zich doordat de referent altijd geïmpliceerd is in de uiting en meestal uitgedrukt. In zinnen met een applicatief werkwoord is een locative constituent altijd argument en object. In andere zinnen voldoen de locatieve constituenten nog steeds aan onze criteria voor object status terwijl ze in feite geen argumenten zijn. De syntactische eigenschappen van locatieven vormen een uitdaging voor vervolgonderzoek. Voorzetselvoorwerpen kunnen in het Citumbuka al dan niet een argument zijn. Het breed inzetbare voorzetsel *na* wordt ook gebruikt voor coördinatie. Cognate objecten tenslotte voldoen aan alle voorwaarden om hun status van object waar te maken. Hoofdstuk drie is gewijd aan het gebruik van het werkwoordelijk object prefix in het Citumbuka. Het Citumbuka kan niet meer dan één object prefix hebben en dit is nooit verplicht. De functie van het objectprefix tendeert naar het uitdrukken van specificiteit en definietheid.

De behandeling van de werkwoordsextenties begin met de passief in hoofdstuk vier. Het Citumbuka kent twee vormen voor de passief *–ik* en *–iw*. De vorm *–ik* kan ook gebruikt worden als neuter-passief en vindt zijn oorsprong in een neuter, statief suffix maar het is nu het meest gebruikte

suffix voor de passief functie. Het verschil tussen de passief functie en de neuter is dat in de passief een agens verondersteld wordt en in de neuter niet. Werkwoorden met *–ik* staan in principe beide interpretaties toe en hebben twee onderscheiden basisbetekenissen. Daarnaast is er ook een homofoon ander morfeem *–ik* dat als causatief fungeert en besproken wordt met de andere causatieven in hoofdstuk zes. De functie van passief is zoals gebruikelijk dat het de agens naar de achtergrond verwijst en een andere constituent naar de voorgrond door het tot onderwerp te maken. Het subject van een passief werkwoord kan niet-specifiek zijn waarvoor het subject prefix *ku* wordt gebruikt en dan is er geen sprake van de functie van het naar voren halen van een constituent maar fungeert de passief alleen voor het naar de achtergrond plaatsen van de agens. De passief derivatie kan daarom ook op intransitieve werkwoorden met een agens toegepast worden en fungeert in Citumbuka primair om de aandacht voor de agens te reduceren.

De reciprook derivatie komt aan bod in hoofdstuk vijf. Deze derivatie vereist dat de basis transitief is. Het suffix heeft een breed scala aan verwante functies en heeft behalve de reciproke kernfunctie ook gebruik als anticausatief, associatief, collectief, distributief en de-patientief. Er zijn altijd verschillende participanten in het spel, dan wel vergelijkbare onderdelen daarvan. Bovendien is de activiteit ten opzichte van deze participanten altijd symmetrisch. In het opmerkelijke de-patientief gebruik is er een geïmpliceerde participant die niet is uitgedrukt (vergelijkbaar met de onpersoonlijke passief), bijvoorbeeld *wa-ku-nen-an-a* /1SM-PRES-insult-RECIP-FV/ ‘hij/zij beledigt (x)’.

Het langste hoofdstuk is hoofdstuk zes over de applicatief *–il*. De applicatief introduceert een nieuw argument als object. De functie van dit nieuwe object kan benefactief zijn maar ook malefactief; het kan een doel aanduiden maar ook locaties zoals bron en pad; het kan een instrument toevoegen en ingrediënten van een gerecht; maar het kan ook de beoordelaar object maken. Terwijl de locatieve en instrumentele argumenten van het applicatieve werkwoorden echte objecten zijn, is dat niet geval als de toegevoegde constituent een motief weergeeft. De applicatief kan zowel agens als patient georiënteerde intransitieven als basis nemen en heeft zowel “hoge” als “lage” applicatieven. Dubbele applicatieven komen voor en zie ik als gereduplicerde applicatieven.

Er zijn drie causatief suffixen zonder dat ze verschillen in functie. Het boven genoemde suffix *–ik* is homofoon met het statief/passief suffix maar niet productief. De tweede causatief formatie is iets productiever en heeft verschillende effecten op de laatste consonant, samengevat in een abstracte vorm *-Y*. Het meest productieve suffix is *–isk* en dit suffix kan met iedere soort stam combineren (transitief, intransitief). Bij de causatief van een

transitief werkwoord kan ofwel het vroegere subject of het vroegere object de eigenschappen van object hebben en in het laatste geval hoeft het vroegere subject niet meer uitgedrukt te worden. Semantisch gezien kunnen we autobenefactieve, associatieve en conversieve causatieven onderscheiden. De causatieve suffixen worden ook gebruikt om woorden tot werkwoord te maken. Er zijn overigens ook perifrastische causatief constructies in het Citumbuka. De verschillende causatief suffixen verschillen niet langs de lijnen van directe of indirecte oorzaak. Indirecte oorzaak is prominent bij dubbele causatieven en bij perifrastische causatief constructies. Het volgende hoofdstuk (acht) behandelt het suffix *–ísk* dat segmenteel identiek is aan het causatief suffix. Het geeft aan dat de handeling excessief is en verdubbeling van dit suffix verhoogt de graad van excessiviteit.

De mogelijke en onmogelijke volgordes van deze verschillende werkwoordsextensies worden besproken in hoofdstuk negen. De volgorde van de suffixes komt sterk overeen met de logische volgorde (in de zin van de resulterende betekenis) en nauwelijks met een dwingend stramien van vormelijke volgorde hetgeen in veel andere Bantoetalen wel het geval is.

Hoofdstuk tien, het slothoofdstuk, vat de voornaamste resultaten van het proefschrift samen.

Curriculum Vitae

Jean Josephine Chavula was born on15 June 1978 at Mayereyere village in Mzimba, Malawi. In 1997, she completed her secondary school education at Stella Maris Secondary School. In April 1998, she began her studies at the University of Malawi at Chancellor College where she obtained her B.A Humanities degree in December 2002. In June 2003 she joined the Malawi Revenue Authority at as Trainee Revenue Officer. In October 2003, she was employed by the University of Malawi at the Centre for Language Studies as a Citumbuka Language Specialist. In March 2004 she began a graduate programme at Chancellor College, University of Malawi while working as a Citumbuka Language Specialist. She obtained her M.A in Linguistics in August 2008. While working at the Centre for Language Studies, she also served as an acting Deputy Director. In August 2009 she was registered as an external PhD candidate at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. From 2010 she serves as Citumbuka Language Specialist at the Centre for Language Studies and Lecturer in African Languages and Linguistics at Chancellor College, University of Malawi. She is also leading the compilation of the Citumbuka monolingual dictionary which will be ready at the end of the year. She is married to Joshua Hara and they have one child.