# Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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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 |