# Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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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
2.farmer 2.SM-Pres-buy-FV 1.fertiliser 3.sun
uno.
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.