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Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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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-

aries 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 wanthu.
 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

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|-------------------------|-------|----------|
| 6. | a | L-a-bab- iw -a-ko | themba | la | wangelo |
| | | 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. | W̃alwani | w̃a-ku-lingesk- 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.' | | | |

Passive

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-

Chapter 4

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 Wankhungu w̃a-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
 w̃ankhungu.
 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’

Chapter 4

- 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), *gon* ‘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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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 monotransitives 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

Chapter 4

(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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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-Caus₃-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 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-Caus₁-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-Caus₁-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-Caus₁-Pass-FV 9.crown.
 'The chief was crowned.'

Chapter 4

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.’

Chapter 4

- 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 unergative verbs.

Passive

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-Subjunct
 ‘It/There has already been spoken that he/she should 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 Wanthu wa-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.’

Chapter 4

- 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 wanthu
 9.Chief 9.SM-Perf-sorry-Caus₃-FV 2.person
 wake sono.
 his now
 'The chief has apologized to his people now'
- b Kw-a-phep-isk-ik-a sono.
 17-Perf-sorry-Caus₃-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. Citembuka 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 unspecified, 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 disrespectful.

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.

Chapter 4

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 Wanthu w-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-tewet-a mulimo.
 1.John 1.SM-Perf-work-FV 3.work
 ‘John has accomplished the task.’
 b Mulimo w-a-tewet-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.’

Chapter 4

- 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.’

Chapter 4

b Njinga	izi	zi-ku-chov-ek-a	makola.
10.bicycle	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.bicycle	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.bicycle	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.'

Passive

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 |

Chapter 4

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.

