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Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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6. Applicative

6.1. Introduction

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

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

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

6.1.1. The form of the applicative suffix

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

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

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

6.1.2. Lexicalized applicatives

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

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

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

6.2. Transitivity of the base

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

6.2.1. Intransitive base

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2.2. Monotransitive base

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2.3. Ditransitive base

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3. Semantics of applicatives

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

6.3.1. Beneficiary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.2. Maleficiary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.3. Possessor applicatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.4. Instrument

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.5. Manner Applicative

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

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

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

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

6.3.6. Motive/reason/purpose applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.7. Goal/Directional Applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.8. Locative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.9. Path/ by way of

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

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

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

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

6.3.10. Source

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.11. Sociative applicatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.12. Judicantis

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.13. The seemingly non-valence change applicative

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

Table 6.1: examples of seemingly non-valence adding applicatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.14. Multiple applicative morphemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.15. Summary of section

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

6.4. Object properties of applied objects

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

6.4.1. Benefactive/malefactive applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.2. Goal/directional applicatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.3. Possessor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.4. Motive/purpose/reason applicatives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.5. Judicantis applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.6. Sociative applicative

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4.7. Instrumental

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

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

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

99. a Suzgo w-a-**yi**-tem-el-a khuni
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-Appl-FV 5.tree
mbavi.
9.axe
'Suzgo cut a tree with an axe.'

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

100.a Manesi w-a-**ci**-cek-el-a nyama
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-7.OM-cut-Appl-FV 9.meat
cimayi.
7.knife
'Manesi has cut meat with a knife'

b Manesi w-a-**yi**-cek-el-a ci-mayi
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-cut-Appl-FV 7.knife
nyama.
9.meat
'Manesi has cut the meat with a knife.'

In example (99a) for instance, it is the base object that takes OM while in (99b), it is the instrument that takes OM. Similarly, under passivization, either the base object or the instrument can become the subject. Below are some examples:

101.a Mkondo w-a-kom-el-ek-a ng'ombe
3.spear 1.SM-Perf-kill-Appl-Pass-FV 9.cattle
na Manesi.
with 1.Manesi
'A spear has been used to kill a cow by Manesi.'

b Ng'ombe y-a-kom-el-ek-a mkondo
9.cattle 9.SM-Perf-kill-Appl-Pass-FV 3.spear
na Manesi
with 1.Manesi
'A cow has been killed with a spear by Manesi.'

102.a Mbavi y-a-tem-el-ek-a khuni na
9.axe 9.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 5.tree with
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'An axe has been used to cut a tree by Suzgo.

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

103.a Cimayi c-a-cek-el-ek-a nyama.
7.knife 7.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 9.nyama
'A knife has been used to cut meat.'

b Nyama y-a-cek-el-ek-a cimayi.
9.meat 9.SM-Perf-cut-Appl-Pass-FV 9.knife
'Meat was cut with a knife.'

Thus, while the base object retains its object properties in instrumental applicatives, the AO, that is the instrument, acquires object properties and behaves just like the object. Locative applicatives also behave just like instrumental applicatives as discussed in the next section.

6.4.8. Locative applicative

In locative applicatives, either the base object or the AO can take OM, and either of the two can also passivize. Examples (104) to (106) below show that either the base object or the AO can take OM.

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

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

105.a Chiukepo wa-ka-**mu**-timb-il-a pa
1.Chiukepo 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-hit-Appl-FV at.16
Chalichi Suzgo.
5.church 1.Suzgo
'Chiukepo beat Suzgo at a church.'

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

106.a Themba li-ka-**gha**-gaŵ-il-ang-a pa
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-OM-distribute-Appl-Imperf-FV at.16
Kaphirithemba malo.
1.Kaphirithemba 6.place
'The chief distributed land there at Kaphirithemba.'

b Themba li-ka-**pa**-gaŵ-il-ang-a
5.chief 5.SM-Pst-16.OM-distribute-Appl-Imperf-FV
malo pa Kaphirithemba.
6.place 16.at 1.Kaphirithemba
'The chief distributed land there at Kaphirithemba.'

In example (104a), it is the AO that takes OM while in example (104b) it is the base object that takes OM. In example (105a) it is the base object that takes OM while in (105b). In example in (106a) it is the base object that takes OM while in (106b) it is the AO. The following examples illustrate that either the base object or the AO can passivize.

107.a Changa wa-ka-khil-il-a pa Lilongwe
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-descend-Appl-FV 16.at 1.Lilongwe
basi.
9.bus
'Changa got the bus at Lilongwe.'

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

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

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

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

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

109.a Chikulamayembe malo wa-ka-gaŵ-il-a
1.Chikulamayembe 6.place 1.SM-Pst-distribute-Appl-FV
pa Kaphirithemba.
at.16 1.Kaphirithemba
'Chikulamayembe distributed land from Kaphirithemba.'

b Pa Kaphirithemba pa-ka-gaŵ-il-ik-a
at.16 1.Kaphirithemba 16.SM-Pst-distribute-Pass-FV
malo na Chikulamayembe.
6.land with 1.Chikulamayembe
'Land was distributed at Kaphirithemba by Chikulamayembe.'

c Malo gha-ka-gaŵ-il-ik-a pa
6.place 6.SM-Pst-distribute-Appl-Pass-FV 16.at
Kaphirithemba.
1.Kaphirithemba
'Land was distributed at Kaphirithemba.'

While the (b) examples have the AOs for a subject, the (c) examples have base objects as their subject. Thus, both the base object and the AO display characteristics of a base object in locative applicatives. Thus, locative applicative and instrumental applicative display a similar pattern in terms of object marking and passivization in Citumbuka.

6.4.9. Summary of the section

Applicatives in Citumbuka can be divided into two major categories on the basis of the object properties; symmetrical and asymmetrical ones. Instrumental and locative applicatives are strictly symmetrical since both the AO and the base object display properties of an object. For instance, either the AO or the base object can passivise, and either of them can take object marking in Citumbuka. Benefactive/malefactive, goal/direction, motive and possessor applicative are asymmetrical since only one post-verbal NP in these constructions display properties of an object, the AO in benefactive/malefactive and goal applicatives, and the base object in motive/purpose/reason applicatives. Object properties also reveal that beneficiary/maleficiary, goal, possessor, locative, instrumental and judger NPs are true objects and therefore core arguments in applicative constructions in Citumbuka. Motive and associative applicatives retain the object properties of the base object, and the argument is not a core argument. Locative seems symmetrical because locatives always pass the object criteria. Instruments oscillate between introduced instrument as core argument or manner as non-core argument. Below is a table summarizing object properties of derived applicative ditransitive constructions in Citumbuka.

Table 6.2: Object properties of derived applictive ditransitives

Type of Applicative	**Object Marking**	**Passivization**
Goal/direction	only AO	only AO
Benefactive/malefactive	only AO	only AO
Locative (includes path and source)	either AO or base object	either AO or base object
Judicantis	AO only	no passivization
Motive	only base object	only base object
Sociative	base object only	no passivization
Possessor	only AO	only AO
Manner	no OM	no passivization
Instrument	either AO or base object	Either AO or base object

Applicatives vary both language-internally and cross-linguistically (McGinnis 2008:1231; see also Ngonyani 1998 and Pylkkänen 2000). Benefactives, possessor and directional applicatives allow only the AO to take OM and only the AO can passivize. Motive applicatives allow only the base object to take OM and to passivize. Locative and instrumental applicative allow either the AO or the base object to take OM and to passivize. The sociative applicative allows only the base object to take OM

while passivization is not allowed at all. Judicantis AO allows OM but it does not allow passivization at all. This suggests that only benefactive, goal, instrument and locative applicatives introduce AOs that have objectlike properties. Motive and associative applicatives retain the object properties of the base object.

6.5. The High/Low applicatives dichotomy

Pylkkännen (2000:5 and 2008) argues that there are two types of applicatives, high (H) applicatives and low (L) applicatives. H applicatives denote a relation between an event and an AO, while L applicatives denote a relation between the direct object and the AO. The H applicative simply adds another participant to the event described by the verb while L applicative bears no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever. Thirdly, only the H applicative is expected to combine with unergative verbs, not L applicative. Pylkkänen (2000) further argues that deriving a L applicative from unergative verbs should therefore be impossible since L applicatives relate the direct object and an AO. "High applicatives, on the other hand, should have no problem combining with an unergative since high applicative heads simply relate another participant to the event described by the V/RootP" (Pylkkäanen 2000:6). The H applicative can combine with verbs that are completely static unlike L applicative. Only H applicative is available for depictive modification and not L applicative. Furthermore, resultative secondary predication easily combines with H applicative while it fails to co-occur with L applicative. One of the properties of H applicatives is their ability to derive applicatives from unergative verbs. Citumbuka allows derivation of applicatives from both unergative and unaccusative intransitive verbs (see section 6.2.1). Below are a few examples.

110. Yesu wa-ka-fw-ir-a ŵanthu.
1.Jesus 1.SM-Pst-die-Appl-FV 2.person
'Jesus died for people.'

111. Chidakwa w-a-w-ir-a vingoma.
1.Chidakwa 1.SM-Perf-fall-Appl-FV 8.maize
'Chidakwa fell on some maize.'

112. Kanakazi ka-ku-vin-ir-a themba.
11.woman 11.SM-Pres-dance-Appl-FV 5.chief
'A young lady is dancing for a chief.'

113. Mwana wa-ku-cimbil-il-a mpapi.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-run-Appl-FV 1.parent
'A child is running on behalf of his/her parent.'

Examples (110) and (112) are applicatives derived from unaccussative bases. Examples (113) and (110) show applicatives derived from unergative bases. H applicatives are said to easily combine with verbs that are completely static (Pylkkänen 2008). Citumbuka applicatives easily combine with such verbs as we can see from the example below.

114. Sam wa-ka-kolel-el-a Maria cikwama.
1.Sam 1.SM-Pst-hold-Appl-FV 1.Maria 7.bag.
'Sam held a bag for Maria.'

6.5.1. (A)symmetric vs. H/L applicative typology

According to (Pylkkäanen 2000), H applicatives have been traditionally called symmetric applicatives while L applicatives have been called asymmetric applicatives. With H applicatives, both AO and the direct object (base object) behave as true objects unlike with L applicatives where only the AO show a full range of object properties. Bresnan and Moshi (1993) describe symmetric languages as those in which the AO behaves like an object while asymmetric languages are those in which the AO is syntactically distinct from the base object. Thus, we expect an asymmetric language not to allow applicatives derived from unergative verbs if asymmetric equals L applicatives, and vice versa. This is not the case in Citumbuka, which is an asymmetric language, but allows derivation of applicatives even from unergative intransitive bases. Peterson (2004) makes a similar conclusion for Lai's applicatives which on one hand behave like Pylkkanen's (2000) H applicatives, and on the other hand behave like traditional asymmetrical languages. Thus, Citumbuka confirms Peterson's (2004) conclusion that the H/L applicative typology is not equivalent to the asymmetrical/symmetrical applicative typology. Citumbuka patterns as H applicative but it is asymmetric since only one non-subject NP displays full characteristics of a true object in terms of object marking and passivization.

6.6. Summary of the chapter

The chapter has discussed the applicative derivational suffix in Citumbuka. In Citumbuka an applicative can be derived from any verb 'be' it intransitive, monotransitive, or ditransitive. The suffix *-il/-el* is a transitivising morpheme. The applicative suffix is highly polysemous in Citumbuka. The AO can bear the following semantic roles: beneficiary/maleficiary, goal/direction, external possessor, motive/reason/purpose, locative, instrument, manner, judicantis. Beneficiaries are of three categories: pure beneficiaries, substitutive beneficiary and recipient-beneficiaries. Maleficiaries are of two categories: plain maleficiaries and source maleficiaries. Locatives are also in three categories: location, path and source. Apart from deriving applicative

constructions, the applicative suffix in Citumbuka is also used to derive sociative constructions. Reduplicated forms of the applicative morpheme are used to express multiple applicatives as well as iteration. Locative and instrumental applicatives are symmetric while the rest are strictly asymmetric. In terms of Pylkkänen's (2000) applicative typology, Citumbuka patterns as both high and low. I conclude that Citumbuka confirms that the high/low applicative typology does not parallel the (a)symmetric language typology since Citumbuka is asymmetric in terms of Bresnan and Moshi (1993) but patterns as H applicative.