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Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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Chapter 7

7. Causative

7.1. Introduction

There are three derivational suffixes used to derive causatives in Citumbuka which are *-ik/ek*[2]- (caus$_1$), *-Y-* (Caus$_2$), and *-isk/esk-* (Caus$_3$). The morphemes *-Y-* and *-ik/ek-* are less productive and are mostly associated with intransitive verb forms. The morpheme *-isk-* is the most productive and can attach to any verb form. The three forms also function as verbalizers. It is common across languages to find morphemes that mark both causatives and intensives (Kulikov 1993; 1999a; 1999b; Comrie 1985; Li 1991). There are two major differences between the intensive and causative in Citumbuka. Firstly, the intensive does not introduce a new argument; and secondly, the penultimate syllable is more stressed in an intensive than a causative. In this thesis, the intensive suffix is therefore, presented as *-ísk/ésk-* and thus distinguished from the causative suffix *-isk/esk-*. Some causatives carry an autobenefactive meaning (cause oneself to do something for some personal benefit), others carry a sociative meaning, while some *-Y-* causatives are conversive. In autobenefactive causatives, the causer is also the causee while in associative causatives the causer is the helper and the causee is the one being assisted. Conversive causatives involve alternation of the stimuli and the experiencer in their syntactic functional roles. Citumbuka also allows double causatives and periphrastic causatives. I start by discussing the three causative derivational suffixes in turn, starting with the form *-ik/ek-*.

7.2. Impositive causative suffix *-ik-*

The *-ik-* causative is the least productive in Citumbuka. The suffix attaches to a few change of state and positional intransitive verbs. The morpheme *-ik-* functions as an impositive extension in many Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003). Schadeberg (2003:74) argues that although this morpheme (*-*k-*) has been understood as a kind of causative, lists of verbs carrying *-ik-* from individual Bantu languages and proto-Bantu reconstructions show that the meaning associated with this morpheme should be defined more precisely as 'to put (sth.) into some position.' The impositive causative does not always involve physically putting something in a particular position, it can also involve instructing or ordering an individual to be in a certain position in Citumbuka. As Simango (2009) argues, the *-ik-* morpheme should be classified as the causative morpheme based on its syntax and semantics. The impositive causative introduces a causer and the causer surfaces as the subject of the derived construction. Below are Citumbuka examples of impositive causatives:

Table 7.1: examples of impositive causative

[2] *-ik-* causative is glossed as Caus$_1$; *-Y-* as Caus$_2$ while *-isk* as Caus$_3$

Causative

base	**English**	**impositive**	**English**
gona	sleep	goneka	lay someone/thing down
khala	sit	khalika	put someone/thing down or on some place
sindama	bend down	sindamika	make someone/thing bend
tupa	swell	tupika	soak something'
vunda	rot	vundika	ripen fruits, ferment something
ima	stand/stop moving	imika	make someone/thing stand up or stop moving
vwala	wear	vwalika	dress someone
zizima	be cold	zizimika	cool someone/thing, make someone feel cold
pingama	lie across	pingamika	make someone/thing lie across
womba	be soaked	wombeka	soak/stip something in a liquid
pusa	be stupid	pusika	fool someone
pendama	be slanted	pendamika	make someone/thing slant

1. a Viŵisi wa-ku-gon-a.
   1.Viŵisi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
   'Viŵisi is sleeping/ lying down.'
   b Masozi wa-ku-gon-ek-a Viŵisi.
   1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-$Caus_1$-FV 1.Viŵisi
   (i) 'Masozi is laying down/or putting Viŵisi to bed.'
   (ii) 'Masozi is making Viŵisi lie down (by instruction or command).'
2. a Galimoto y-a-im-a.
   9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-stop-FV
   'The vehicle has stopped.'
   b Mateyu w-a-yi-im-ik-a galimoto.
   1.Mateyu 1.SM-Perf-9.OM-stop-$Caus_1$-FV 9.vehicle
   (i) 'Mateyu has stopped the vehicle.'
   (ii) 'Mateyu has made the driver stop the vehicle (by command, signal or request).'

3. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-sindam-a.
   2.person 2.SM-Perf-bend.down-FV
   'People are bending down.'
   b Muliska w-a-sindam-ik-a ŵanthu.
   1.pastor 1.SM-Perf-bend.down-Caus$_1$-FV 2.person
   'The pastor made people bend down.'

The examples above show that *-ik-* attaches to intransitive action and/or change of state verb stems. We can also see that suffixation of *-ik-* introduces the causer argument which becomes the new subject while the former subject becomes the new object. In example (1b) there are two possibilities by which the causer makes the causee to lie down. Firstly, by physically putting the causee in a lying position and secondly, by commanding the causee to lie down. Similarly in example (2b), the causer might have commanded the driver to stop the car by word of mouth. The causer might have physically stopped the car from moving usually in a case where he/she is the driver.

As already stated elsewhere (see chapter 4), the morpheme *-ik-* also derives valency-reducing constructions in Citumbuka, namely: passive, anti-causative/stative/neuter-passive, and potentives. This is not unique to Citumbuka. In Chichewa and Kiswahili, the suffix *-ik-* has both valency-reducing (stative/middle and potential) and valency-increasing (causative) effects (Simango 2009). Nedjalkov (1970:96) in his survey of polysemy of causative affixes also reports about the ability of causative suffixes to either maintain, increase or reduce the verb valency in several languages of the world. This is also the case in Korean and Sonrai (Songhai) according to Dixon (2000). In Sonrai the verb can take two tokens of the suffix *-ndi*, one for causative and another for passive (Dixon 2000). In Citumbuka, the passive suffix *-ik-* and the causative *-ik-* are not historically related. The *-ik-* passive and *-ik-* causative are homophonous morphemes which can occur consecutively on a verb. Below are examples below from Citumbuka:

4. a Mwana w-a-gon-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-FV
   'A child has slept.'
   b Maria w-a-gon-ek-a mwana.
   1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child
   'Maria has put the child to bed.'
   c Mwana w-a-gon-ek-ek-a na Maria.
   1.child 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV with 1.Maria
   'A child has been put to bed by Maria.'
5. a Mwana wa-ku-vwal-a Malaya.
   1.child 1.SM-Pres-wear-FV 6.clothes
   'A child is wearing clothes.'

b Msungwana wa-ku-vwal-ik-a mwana malaya.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child 6.clothes
'A girl is dressing a child with clothes.'

c Mwana wa-ku-vwal-ik-ik-a malaya
1.child 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-Pass-FV 6.clothes
na msungwana.
with 1.girl
'A child is being dressed with clothes by a girl.'

Examples (4b) and (5b) show *-ik-* being used to derive an impositive causative while examples (4c) and (5c) show that the impositive *-ik-* and passive *-ik-* can occur consecutively on a verb. Examples (4c) and (5c) are passives of examples (4b) and (5b).

7.2.1. Semantics of *-ik-* causative

As already stated elsewhere, the *-ik-* causative is particularly associated with physically positioning something. In addition to the physical positioning, the suffix may also be used to express commands or requests that result in the causee being in a certain position. The causative *-ik-* can also carry assistive meaning in Citumbuka. Below are some examples from Citumbuka demonstrating that the causative suffix *-ik-* is associated with causing things to be in a certain position.

6. a Muphika u-li pa-moto.
3.pot 3.SM-be 16-3.fire
'The pot is on the cooking fire.'

b Jala w-a-khal-ik-a muphika pa-moto.
1.Jala 1.SM-Perf-sit-Caus$_1$-FV 3.pot 16-3.fire
'Jala has set the pot on the cooking fire.'

7. a Gondwe wa-ku-vwal-a skapato.
1.Gondwe 1.SM-Pres-wear-FV 10.shoes
'Mr. Gondwe wears shoes.'

b Muliska wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Gondwe
1.shepherd 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.Gondwe
skapato.
10.shoe
(i) 'The pastor provides shoes for Mr. Gondwe.'
(ii) 'The pastor helps Mr. Gondwe putting on shoes.'

8. a Basi y-a-im-a.
9.bus 9.SM-Perf-stop-FV
'The bus has stopped.'

b Matiyasi w-a-im-ik-a basi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-stop-Caus$_1$-FV 9.bus
'Matiyasi has stopped a bus.'

c Matiyasi w-a-im-isk-a basi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-stop-Caus$_3$-FV 9.bus
'Matiyasi has stopped the bus.'

9. a Madoda gh-a-sindam-a na soni.
6.man 6.SM-Perf-stoop-FV with shame
'Men are looking down with embarrassment.'

b Mwana w-a-sindam-ik-a madoda na
1.child 1.SM-Perf-stoop-Caus$_1$-FV 6.men with
soni.
10.shame
'The child made men to look down with embarrassment.'

In example (6b) the causee has been physically put on fire. In example (7b) there are two ways. Firstly, the causer makes the causee to be in a position to wear shoes by providing the shoes. Secondly, the causer physically takes the shoes and puts them on the feet of the causee. In both (7bii) and (7bii), the causative has assistive meaning. In example (8b and 8c) the causer may have physically stopped the bus, being the driver. Another possibility is that the causer is someone, for example, a traffic officer who commanded the driver to stop the bus. In example (9b) the causer psychologically influences the causee to bend down in embarrassment through some shameful behaviour. Thus, the example show that the positioning by the causer may be physical by taking something and putting it in a certain position, or may be abstract by giving instructions or commands and inducing some psychological influence.

In terms of direct and indirect causation, the *-ik-* causative tends to be linked to direct causation in Citumbuka as rightly put by Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980). However, there are some *-ik-* causatives that do not show a direct link to direct causation. Below are some examples:

10. a Tomato wa-ka-vund-a.
1.tomato 1.SM-Pst-rot-FV
'Tomatoes got rotten.'

b Tawonga wa-ka-vund-ik-a tomato.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_1$-FV 1.tomato
'Tawonga ripened tomatoes.'

c Tawonga wa-ka-vund-isk-a tomato.
1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tomato
'Tawonga made tomatoes to go bad.'

11. a Lundi li-ka-tup-a.
5.leg 5.SM-Pst-swell-FV
'The leg got swollen.'

b *Msungwana wa-ka-tup-ik-a lundi l-ake.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_3$-FV 5.leg 5-3SG.Poss
'A girl made her leg swell.'

c Msungwana wa-ka-tup-ik-a nchunga.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_1$-FV 10.bean
'A girl soaked beans.'

d Msungwana wa-ka-tup-isk-a lundi l-ake.
1.girl 1.SM-Pst-swell-Caus$_3$-FV 5.leg 5.3SG.Poss
'A girl made her leg swell.'

There are two basic semantic types of causatives, direct and indirect causatives, also termed directive versus manipulative, contact vs distant, and immediate versus mediated (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 2001). The major distinction between the two lies in whether the causative situation is controlled by the causer or the causee (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 1999; Li 1991). In example (6b) the causative situation is fully under the control of the causer since the causee, *muphika*, is inanimate and cannot control whether it should be set on the cooking fire or not. Similarly in (7b), the causative implies direct causation if the causer is directly providing the shoes for Mr Gondwe who may not be able to buy shoes for himself. Alternatively, the causative construction can also be interpreted as directly assisting Mr Gondwe to put on shoes, possibly because for some reason or another, he cannot put on the shoes by himself. In both cases the agent is directly involved by helping out Mr. Gondwe. Thus, the two examples indicate that the causative form *-ik-* derives direct causatives. The two examples also show that *-ik-* causatives can have assistive meaning. In an unmarked form, the verb *vwala* is an autobenefactive in the sense that normally one dresses themselves. The causative form *-ik-* in example (7b) also serves to express de-reflexivity, that is, that the act of dressing is not being performed on oneself, but another individual. Nedjakov (1970) describes de-reflexivity as involving a situation in which one does not perform some action upon oneself.

Examples (10b), (9b), (10c) and (11c) are best described as being manipulative where the causer does something that influences the caused situation. In example (10b) the causer acts intentionally while in (10c) the causer may either be intentional or not. In (10b) the causer is only in control of the situation up to the extent of putting the tomatoes in a place where they will ripen, but not in control of the ripening processes itself. It is possible to have put the tomatoes somewhere with the intention of ripening them but end up with rotten tomatoes in which case (10c) applies. This means that the causer is not completely in control of the ripening process just as he is not in control of the rotting process. However, he can only go as far as manipulating the situation by putting tomatoes in a place where they will ripen quickly or where they will definitely come out rotten. Similarly, in example

(8b), the causer is fully in control of the causative situation of stopping the car if he is driving it. If the causer is someone by the roadside, he can stop the car by a hand signal, but still more, the causee, who is the driver decides on his own whether to stop for the person giving a stop signal or not. Yet, the same causative form *-ik-* is being used for both interpretations, (i), where the causer is the driver and (ii) where the causer is the person by the roadside. It can also have the driver as the one stopping the car or someone by the roadside giving a stop signal in which the driver can choose to stop or not. In examples (11c) and (11d), the agent does not directly cause the act of swelling up, but can only manipulate the situation of causation by doing something that will lead to the swelling of beans in (11c) by putting them in water or the leg in (11d), but he cannot control whether or not the beans will swell up after soaking them, or whether the leg will swell up after injuring it. Thus, it is not always the case that the *-ik-* causative implies direct causation. Rather, the *-ik-* causative can also be manipulative, despite its tendency to be direct.

7.2.2. Summary of *-ik-* causative

To summarize, the *-ik-* causative suffix is the least productive in Citumbuka. It attaches to intransitive change of state and positional verb stems. The *-ik-* causative suffix derives both direct and indirect (manipulative) causative situations. Causatives derived through *-ik-* suffixation may carry assistive, impositive, manipulative and de-reflexive meaning. In the next section, I discuss the second causative suffix in Citumbuka, *-Y-*.

7.3. The *-Y-* causative

The second causative suffix in Citumbuka is *-Y-*. In Bantu literature, the *-Y-* causative is also referred to as the transitive suffix. In Citumbuka, it is more productive than the *-ik-* form, but less productive compared to the *-isk-* causative morpheme. It changes the phonological form of the base verb. The *-Y-* has more lexicalized forms than the regular causative *-isk-* in Citumbuka which suggests that it might have been the most productive form at some point in the past. Below are some examples of *-Y-* causatives:

12. a Hlezipe wa-ku-pul-a.
    1.Hlezipe 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV
    'Hlezipe is pounding.'
  b Alesi wa-ku-puzg-a Hlezipe.
    1.Alesi 1.SM-Pres-pound.$Caus_2$-FV 1.Hlezipe
    'Alesi is assisting Hlezipe with pounding.'
13. a Ŵana ŵa-ku-sambil-a.
    2.child 2.SM-Pres-learn-FV
    'Children are learning.'

Causative

b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a ŵana.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child
'A teacher is teaching children.'

Suffixation of the -*Y*- causative suffix imposes changes on the root final consonants *l, -w-, p, t, and k* in Citumbuka as illustrated in table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Examples of –Y- causatives

base	**English**	**Causative**	**English**
kula	be big	kuzga	make something big, raise someone
khala	sit	khazga	wait on someone
longola	show	longozga	direct/instruct
sambila	learn	sambizga	teach
lila	cry	lizga	make someone cry
kola	touch	kozga	resemble
vuka	tire	vuska	tire someone
wuka	rise	wuska	wake someone up
fika	arrive	fiska	achieve something
wuluka	fly	wuluska	make/cause to fly away
mbininika	scatter	mbininiska	make some people/things to scatter
kumbuka	remember	kumbuska	remind
luta	go	luska	outdo
nunkha	stink	nuska	sniff
nyeka	burn	nyeska	cause to burn
duka	jump/fly	duska	make to jump/fly
towa	be beautiful	tozga	make beautiful
tengwa	be married	tezga	let someone get married
opa	fear	ofya	scare/frighten
cepa	be small	cefya	demean
fuma	get out	fumya	let out
timbana	fight	timbanya	make people fight
wungana	gather	wunganya	make people gather or gather things
kumana	meet	kumanya	make people/things meet

Contrary to Vail (1972), Phiri (1982) and Mphande (1989) who treat -zg- and -sk- as separate causative morphemes, *-sk-* and *-zg-* are phonological variants of the causative *-Y-*.

7.3.1. Transitivity of the base

The *-Y-* form attaches to both intransitive and mono-transitive bases. Below are examples to illustrate this:

14. a Nkhondo yi-ka-mal-a.
    9.war 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
    'The war ended.'
    b Mawupu gha-ka-mazg-a nkhondo.
    6.organisation 6.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 9.war
    'Organizations ended the war.'
15. a Bala l-a-pol-a.
    5.porridge 5.SM-Perf-be_cold-FV
    'The porridge has cooled.'
    b Tembo w-a-pozg-a bala.
    1.Tembo 1.SM-Perf-be_cold.Caus$_2$-FV 5.porridge
    'Tembo has cooled the porridge.'
16. a Masida wa-ka-wer-a.
    1.Masida 1.SM-Pst-return-FV.
    'Masida returned.'
    b Hedimasitala wa-ka-mu-wezg-a
    1.headmaster 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-return.Caus$_2$-FV
    Masida.
    1.Masida
    'The headmaster sent Masida back.'
17. a Mbuzi zi-ku-lil-a.
    10.goat 10.SM-Pres-cry-FV
    'Goats are bleating.'
    b Cimbwe wa-ku-lizg-a mbuzi.
    1.hyena 1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 10.goat
    A hyena is making goats to bleat.'
18. a Mtengo wa feteleza wu-ka-khil-a.
    3.price of 1.fertiliser 3.SM-Pst-descend-FV
    'The price of fertilizer went down.'
    b Pulezidenti wa-ka-khizg-a mtengo wa
    1.president 1.SM-Pst-descend.Caus$_2$-FV 3.price of
    feteleza.
    1.fertiliser
    'The president lowered fertilizer prices.'

In the examples above, the non-causative forms are intransitive while their causative counterparts have an extra argument being introduced in the subject position. There are a few monotransitive verb stems that allow suffixation of the form *-Y-*. In some cases, suffixation of *-Y-* causative to monotransitive bases does not lead to introduction of a new argument. Examples (19) and (20) below show that a new argument is introduced when *-Y-* is attached to monotransitive bases, while (21-23) show cases in which no argument is introduced.

19. a Tomasi wa-ku-kwel-a njinga.
    1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-climb-FV 9.bicycle
    'Tomasi is riding a bicyle.'
  b Miko w-a-kwezg-a Tomasi
    1.Miko 1.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Tomasi
    njinga.
    9.bicycle
    'Miko has carried Tomasi on the bicycle.'
20. a Twana tu-ku-sambil-a Citumbuka.
    13.child 13.SM-Pres-learn-FV 7.Citumbuka
    'Small children are learning Citumbuka.'
  b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a twana
    1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 13.child
    Citumbuka.
    7.Citumbuka
    'A teacher is teaching small children Citumbuka.'

While example (19a) is monotransitive, suffixation of the suffix *-Y-* introduces a new subject argument in (19b) making it ditransitive. This is also the case in (20b) in which a new argument, *msambizgi*, is introduced in the subject position through *-Y-* suffixation. Examples below however, show that not all instances of *-Y-* suffixation introduce a new argument.

21. a Mwana wa-ku-yi-op-a nchewe.
    1.child 1.SM-Pres-9.OM-fear-FV 9.dog
    'A child is afraid of a dog.'
  b Nchewe yi-ku-mu-ofy-a mwana.
    9.dog 9.SM-Pres-1.OM-fear.Caus$_2$-FV 1.child
    'A dog is scaring a child.'
22. a Wanthu wa-ku-cimbil-a wapolisi.
    2.person 2.SM-Pres-run-FV 2.police
    'People are running away from policemen/women.'
  b Wapolisi wa-ku-cimbizg-a wanthu.
    2.police 2.SM-Pres-run.Caus$_2$-FV 2.person
    'Policemen/women are chasing people.'

23. a Mama wa-ku-lil-a mwana uyo
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-cry-FV 1.child 1.Rel
w-a-kak-ik-a.
1.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-FV
A woman is crying for her child who has been arrested.'
b Mwana uyo w-a-kak-ik-a
1.child 1.Rel 1.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-FV
wa-ku-liz-g-a nyina.
1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 3SG.mother
'The child who has been arrested is making his/her mother cry.'

Affixation of *-Y-* does not always increase the verb valency. When the causative suffix is attached to the base stem, the stimulus becomes the subject of the derived causative construction while the experiencer becomes the causee and the object. In both cases, the stimulus triggers the experience experienced by the experiencer. Thus, there is no new argument introduced, but rather the alternation of syntactic roles of the experiencer and the stimulus.

7.3.2. Lexicalised *-Y-* causatives

Almost all lexicalized causatives in Citumbuka have the *-Y-* form. This suggests that at a certain point in the language, the suffix *-Y-* might have been the most regular causative form. Below are some examples of lexicalized causatives in Citumbuka.

24. a	pembuzga	console someone	*pembula
b	sambazga	become rich	*sambala
c	gomezga	believe /trust	*gomela
d	cezga	chat	*cela
e	tawuzga	greet	*tawula
f	sunkhunya	shake something	*sunkhuna
g	banya	combine	*bana

These forms do not have corresponding non-causative stems in Citumbuka hence the term lexicalized causatives.

7.4. The *-isk* causative suffix

This is the most productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. It can attach to any verb, intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. The regular form can also derive causatives that behave semantically like those derived by *-ik-* and *-Y-* forms. Below are examples to illustrate that the form *-isk-* can attach to any verb: intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs.

Table 7.3:examples showing that *-isk- can attach to any verb*

base	**English**	**Causative**	**English**
iwa	fall	wiska	drop something/ cause someone to fall
ilya	eat	lyeska	feed some-one/coerce someone to eat
imwa	drink	mweska	assist/force/cause someone to drink
funda	be warm	fundiska	warm something
gula	buy	guliska	sell/ cause someone to buy
pona	be saved	poneska	save someone/thing
manya	know	manyiska	inform
thera	surrender	thereska	make someone sur-render
kholwa	be satisfied	kholweska	make someone be satisfied
gona	sleep/lie down	goneska	make someone lie down/or sleep
vwala	wear	vwaliska	make someone wear something
phika	cook	phikiska	cause to cook
kana	refuse	kaniska	cause to refuse
yenda	walk/move	yendeska	cause to walk/move
fika	arrive	fikiska	cause to reach/bring to destination
suka	clean/wash utensils	sukiska	cause to clean
imba	sing	imbiska	cause to sing
ipa	give	piska	cause to give
luka	knit	lukiska	cause to knit
luma	bite	lumiska	cause to bite
vina	dance	viniska	cause to dance

25. a Temwani w-a-fik-a.
1.Temwani 1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Temwani has arrived.'

b Temwani w-a-fisk-a khumbiro
1.Temwani 1.SM-Perf-achieve.Caus$_2$-FV 5.desire
l-ake.
5-3SG.Poss
'Temwani has achieved the desire of his heart.'
c Temwani w-a-fik-isk-a buku.
1.Temwani 1.SM-arrive-Caus$_3$-FV 5.book
'Temwani has brought the book.'

While examples (25b) and (25c) are both derived from the same base *-fik-a*, they do not mean exactly the same. Example (25b) means to achieve something or to bring something to fruition. Example (25c) on the other hand means to make something be it a message or an object reach a destination.

7.5. Periphrastic causatives

Periphrastic causatives involve two verbs in separate clauses, with the causative verb appearing in the main clause while the lexical verb is in a complement or some other kind of subordinate clause. In Citumbuka, causative constructions can also be derived periphrastically by having the causative suffix on the main verb while the lexical verb is in the infinitive or complement clause. The main verb is either *panga* 'make' or *cita* 'do', to which causative *-isk-* is suffixed to derive the causative verbs *pangiska* 'make/or cause to' or *citiska* 'make/or cause to'. Without the causative suffix, the periphrastic causatives are not possible. Thus, with *panga* and *cita* plus the causative *-isk-* causation is marked twice in such causative constructions. The causee maintains its function as the subject of the subordinate infinitival clause. Examples below illustrate this.

26. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-gul-a futi.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-buy-FV 9.gun
'People are buying guns.'
b Ŵankhungu ŵa-ku-pang-isk-a ŵanthu
2.thief 2.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 2.person
ku-gul-a futi.
Infin-buy-FV 9.gun
'Thieves/robbers make people to buy guns.'
c Ŵankhungu ŵa-ku-pang-isk-a kuti ŵanthu
2.thief 2.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 2.person
ŵ-a-gul-e futi.
2.SM-Perf-buy-FV 9.gun
'Thieves/robbers make people to buy guns.'

27. a Ukavu u-ku-pang-isk-a munthu
14.poverty 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 1.person
ku-gwir-a nchito.
Infin-work- FV 9.work
'Poverty makes people to work.'
b Ukavu u-ku-pang-isk-a kuti munthu
14.poverty 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 1.person
w-a-gwir-e nchito.
1.SM-Perf- work-FV 9.work
'Poverty makes people to work.'

28. a Maria wa-ka-cit-isk-a kuti mubwezi
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-do-Caus$_3$-FV Comp 1.friend
w-ake wa-tengw-e.
1.3SG.Poss 1.SM-be_married-Asp
'Maria caused her friend to get married.'
b Maria wa-ka-cit-isk-a mubwezi w-ake
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-do-Caus$_3$-FV 1.friend 1.3SG.Poss
ku-tengw-a.
Infin-be_married-FV
'Maria caused her friend to get married.'

29. a Ucanda u-ku-pang-isk-a kuti
14.cleanliness 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV Comp
ŵanthu ŵa-gul-eng-e malonda.
2.people 2.SM-buy-Imperf -FV goods_for_sale
'Cleanliness makes people to buy (your) goods.'
b Ucanda u-ku-pang-isk-a ŵanthu
14.cleanliness 14.SM-Pres-make-Caus$_3$-FV 2.person
ku-gul-ang-a malonda.
Infin-buy-Imperf-FV 6.goods_for_sale
'Cleanliness makes people to buy (your) goods.'

The examples also indicate that when the subordinate clause is an infinitival complement, it is introduced by an infinitival phrase (see 26b, 27b, 28b and 29b). When the subordinate clause is a subjunctive complement, it is introduced by a complementizer *kuti* (see 26c, 27b, 28a and 29a). However, these alternations do not change the meaning expressed by the causative constructions.

7.6. Transitivity of the base versus *-Y-* and *-isk*/*esk*-forms

Languages differ in the way they derive morphological causatives. In some languages only intransitive bases can causativize, in others, only intransitives and monotransitives but not ditransitives, yet in other languages, all

verbs can causativise (Dixon 2000:43). According to Nedjalkov (1969), in some languages, a transitive has to be detransitivised first before a causative suffix can be suffixed. In Citumbuka all verbs, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive causativize. Suffixation of a causative suffix introduces a causer argument such that an initially intransitive base becomes transitive while the monotransitive may become ditransitive or remain monotransitive with the causee in oblique position. Some ditransitive bases derive tritransitive causative constructions. In this section I discuss regular causatives derived from each of the three bases in Citumbuka, starting with intransitive bases.

7.6.1. Intransitive

Suffixation of a causative morpheme to an intransitive base introduces a new argument. The new argument bears the role of a causer and functions as the subject of a causative construction. The subject of the base sentence becomes the causee and functions as the object of the causative construction. In Citumbuka, almost all intransitive verbs allow causativization. Examples below illustrate this.

Unaccusative

30. a Masozi w-a-w-a.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Perf-fall-FV
'Masozi has fallen down.'
b Matiyasi w-a-w-isk-a Masozi.
1.Matiyasi 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Masozi
'Matiyasi has dropped/or made Masozi fall down.'

31. a Nkhondo yi-ka-mal-a.
9.war 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
'The war ended.'
b Mawupu gha-ka-mazg-a nkhondo.
6.organisation 6.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 9.war
'Organizations ended the war.'

32. a Nyama yi-ku-sow̑-a madazi ghano.
9.meat 9.SM-Pres-be_scarce-FV 6.days 6.this
'Meat is scarce these days.'
b Matenda gha-ku-sow̑-esk-a nyama madazi
6.disease 6.SM-Pres-be_scarce-Caus$_3$-FV 9.meat 6.day
ghano.
6.this
'Diseases are making meat scarce these days.'

In the preceding examples, subject NPs in the base ((a) examples) are unaccusatives. Their (b) counterparts show that these unaccusative predicates

can derive causative constructions in Citumbuka. This is also the case with unergative intransitive bases as shown in the following examples.

Unergative bases

33. a Zovu yi-ka-thel-a.
9.elephant 9.SM-Pst-surrender-FV.
'The elephant surrendered.'
b Cipolopolo ci-ka-thel-esk-a zovu.
7.bullet 7.SM-Pst-surrender-Caus$_3$-FV 9.elephant
'A bullet overcame the elephant/ or made the elephant to surrender.'

34. a Mwana wa-ku-gon-a.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
'A child is sleeping.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-gon-esk-a mwana.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-sleep-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'A woman is making a child sleep.'

35. a Doda li-ku-vin-a.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-dance-FV
'A man is dancing.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-vin-isk-a doda.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-dance-Caus$_3$-FV 5.man
'A woman is making a man dance.'

36. a Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-sek-a.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-laugh-FV
'Girls are laughing.'
b Mucekulu wa-ku-sek-esk-a
1.old_person 1.SM-Pres-laugh-Caus$_3$-FV
ŵasungwana.
2.girl
An oldman/woman is making girls laugh.'

Examples above demonstrate that causativization of unergative intransitive bases is also possible in Citumbuka. Thus, we can conclude that in Citumbuka, almost all intransitive verbs can causativize.

7.6.2. Monotransitive

In Citumbuka, causativization of monotransitive bases can either derive a ditransitive causative construction or a monotransitive causative construction. Cross-linguistically, the causative of a transitive clause is less straightforward and more varied than that of an intransitive clause (Dixon 2000). According to Dixon (2000:48), there are five main possibilities of morphological causatives of transitives. These are presented in the following table (based on Dixon 2000:48):

Type	**Causer**	**original A (causee)**	**Original O**
(i)	A	special marking	O
(ii)	A	retains A-marking	O
(iii)	A	has O-marking	has O-marking
(iv)	A	O	non-core
(v)	A	non-core	O

In the first type, the causee gets some special marking while the original object remains in the object position. Since Citumbuka does not get overt case marking, this is not a possibility. In the type (ii), the causee has subject marking while the original object receives object marking. In Citumbuka, only the causer gets subject marking. So this is not a possibility as well. In type (iii), both the causee and the original object have object marking. In Citumbuka, only one non-subject NP can have object marking (see chapter 2). Thus, either the causee or the original object can have object marking but not both. In type (iv) languages, the causee becomes an object while the original object becomes a non-core argument. In type (v), the causee becomes a non-core argument while the original object remains in the object position. Citumbuka has these two main possibilities, (a) type (iv) and (b) type (v). In Citumbuka, another possibility is that the causee can optionally be left unspecified. These possibilities for Citumbuka are discussed in the following subsections.

Causee becomes the object (type iv)

The causee becomes the object and takes over the object properties of the base object. This is supported by the fact that only the causee can passivize and take object marking. See examples below.

37. a Mavenda gha-ka-mw-a phele li-nandi.
6.vendor 6.SM-Pst-drink-FV 5.beer 5-many
'Vendors drunk lots of beer.'

b Pulezidenti wa-ka-mw-esk-a mavenda phele
1.president 1.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 6.vendor 5.beer
li-nandi.
5-many
'The president made the vendors drink lots of beer.'

c Mavenda gha-ka-mw-esk-ek-a phele na
6.vendor 6.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.beer with
pulezidenti.
1.president
'Vendors were made to drink beer by the president.'

d *Phele li-ka-mw-esk-ek-a mavenda
5.beer 5.SM-Pst-drink-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 6.vendor
na pulezidenti.
with 1.presidenti
'Beer was made to be drunk by vendors by the president.'

38. a Tomasi w-a-kumbuk-a ku-mwa munkhwala
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-remember-FV Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine
'Tomasi has remembered to take his medication.'

b Amama ŵ-a-mu-kumbusk-a
2.mother 2.SM-Perf-1.OM-remember.Caus$_2$-FV
Tomasi ku-mwa munkhwala.
1.Tomasi Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine.
'My mother has reminded Tomasi to take his medication.'

c Tomasi w-a-kumbusk-ik-a
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-remember.Caus$_2$-Pass-FV
ku-mw-a munkhwala na amama.
Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine with 2.mother
'Tomasi has been reminded to take medication by my mother.'

d *Kumwa munkhwala
Infin-drink-FV 3.medicine
kwa-kumbusk-ik-a Tomasi na
Infin-remember.Caus$_2$-Pass-FV 1.Tomasi with
amama.
2.mother
'Taking medication was reminded of Tomasi by my mother.'

39. a Ŵasambizgi ŵ-a-lemb-a buku.
2.teachers 2.SM-Perf-write-FV 5.book
'Teachers have written a book.'

b Mulongozgi w-a-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi
1.leader 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
buku.
5.book
'A leader has made teachers write a book.'

c Ŵasambizgi ŵa-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a buku
2.teacher 2.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.book
na mulongozgi.
with 1.leader
'Teachers were made to write a book by a leader.'

d *Buku li-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a ŵasambizgi
5.book 5.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 2.teacher
na mulongozgi.
with 1.leader
'A book was made to be written teachers by a leader.'

40. a Doda li-ku-phik-a cakulya.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-FV 7.food
'A man is cooking food.'
b Mwana wa-ku-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making a man cook food.'
c Doda li-ku-phik-isk-ik-a cakulya na
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 7.food with
mwana.
1.child
'A man is being made to cook food by a child.'
d *Cakulya ci-ku-phik-isk-ik-a doda na
7.food 7.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 5.man with
mwana.
1.child
'*Food is being made to be cooked a man by a child.'

In example (40b), we have the causer introduced through suffixation of the causative suffix *-isk-* The original subject, *doda* is now a non-subject NP bearing the semantic role of causee. In example (40c) the causee is the subject of the passive construction and the result is grammatical unlike in (40d) where subjectivization of the base object results into an ungrammatical sentence. One of the properties of objects is their ability to become the subject of a passive construction. Examples above show that only the causee can become the subject of the passive construction and not the base object. Examples below show that only the causee can take OM.

41. a Mwana wa-ku-li-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-cook-5.OM-Caus-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making a man cook food
b *Mwana wa-ku-**ci**-phik-isk-a doda cakulya.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-7.OM-cook-Caus-FV 5.man 7.food
'A child is making the man cook food.'
42. a Mulongozgi w-a-**ŵa**-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi buku.
1.leader 1.SM-Perf-write-Caus-FV 2.teacher 5.book
'A leader has made the teachers to write a book.'
b *Mulongozgi wa-ka-**li**-lemb-esk-a ŵasambizgi
1.leader 1.SM-Pst-5.OM-write-Caus-FV 2.teacher
buku.
5.book
'A leader made teachers write the book.'

43. a Pulezidenti wa-ka-**gha**-mw-esk-a mavenda phele linandi.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-6.OM-drink-FV 6.vendor 5.beer 5.many
'The president made (supplied) the vendors drink lots of beer.'

b *Pulezidenti wa-ka-li-mw-esk-a mavenda phele li-nandi.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-5.OM-drink-Caus-FV 6.vendor 5-beer 5-many
'The president made vendors drink a lot of beer.'

Only the causee can take OM while object marking the base object results in constructions that are not grammatical. One of the properties of objecthood is its ability to take OM (see chapter 2). Thus, we can conclude that the causee has object properties, and not the base object. Passivization and object marking confirm that the causee in Citumbuka takes over the object properties of the base object, making the base object lose its object properties. Thus, the causee becomes the core argument while the base object becomes a non-core argument. Another possibility, as we shall see in section 7.6.4 below, is that the causee can become a non-core argument while the base object retains its object properties. When the causee appears in non-core argument, it can optionally be dropped.

(a) Causee becomes non-core argument while original object retains object properties (type v)

Another possibility for Citumbuka monotransitive causativization is in line with Dixon's (2000) type (v) causative constructions in which the causee appears in non-core argument position. In Citumbuka, the causee appears in oblique and is introduced by a locative preposition, *kwa*/*ku* 'at'. Since the causee appears in oblique, it does not passivize and cannot take OM. The base object maintains its object properties, and can therefore passivize and take OM. Examples below illustrate this.

44. a Doda li-ku-phik-a cakulya.
5.man 5.SM-Pres-cook-FV 7.food
'A man is cooking food.'

b Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa doda.
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at 5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

c Cakulya ci-ku-phik-isk-ik-a na ŵalendo
7.food 7.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-FV with 2.visitor
kwa doda.
at 5.man
'Food is being made to be cooked by visitors by (lit. at) a man.'

d Kwa doda ku-ku-phik-isk-ik-a cakulya
17.at 5.man 17.SM-Pres-cook-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV 7.food
na ŵalendo.
with 2.visitor
(i) Food is being made to be cooked at the man's place.
(ii) *Food is being made to be cooked by a man.'

45. a Changa wa-ka-lemb-a kalata.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-write-FV 9.letter
'Changa wrote a letter.'

b Yeremiya wa-ka-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa Changa.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at 1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

c Kalata yi-ka-lemb-esk-ek-a na Yeremiya
9.letter 9.SM-Pst-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV with 1.Yeremiya
kwa Changa.
at 1.Changa
'The letter was made to be written by Yeremiya by (lit. at) Changa.'

d Kwa Changa ku-ku-lemb-esk-ek-a
17.at 1.Changa 17.SM-Pres-write-Caus$_3$-Pass-FV
kalata na Yeremiya.
9.letter with 1.Yeremiya
(i) A letter is being made to be written at Changa's place by Yeremi ya.
(ii) *Changa is being made to write a letter by Yeremiya.

In the preceding examples, passivization of the original object is possible (see 44c) but not the causee (44d(ii)) and (45d(ii)). Examples (46b) and (47b) below show that object marking the causee when it occurs in oblique position is not allowed in Citumbuka. Examples (46a) and 47a) show that object marking the original object is possible in Citumbuka.

46. a Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-**ci**-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-7.OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at
doda.
5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

b *Ŵalendo ŵa-ku-**li**-phik-isk-a cakulya kwa
2.visitor 2.SM-Pres-5.OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food at
doda.
5.man
(i) 'Visitors are having food cooked by (Lit. 'at') a man.'
(ii) 'Visitors are making a man cook food.'

47. a Yeremiya wa-ka-**yi**-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at
Changa.
1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

b *Yeremiya wa-ka-**mu**-lemb-esk-a kalata kwa
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-write-Caus$_3$-FV 9.letter at
Changa.
1.Changa
(i) 'Yeremiya had a letter written by (Lit. at) Changa.'
(ii) 'Yeremiya made Changa write a letter.'

In Citumbuka, when the causee appears as an oblique, the causative construction is ambiguous in such a way that it can either be interpreted that it is not necessarily the causee who undertook the action (see (b.i) translations) or that it is actually the causee who undertook the action enforced by the causer (see (b.ii) translations). Where the causee is not necessarily the one who undertook the action, it is possible that the causer may have commanded or requested the causee to make sure the activity is done whether by the causee him/herself or someone else. Thus, what matters to the causer is that the causee should make sure that the activity takes place, whether by the causee or through a third party. With (b.ii) interpretations, it is the causee who undertakes the activity of meeting the causer's demand or request. In the (c) examples, we can actually see that when the causee is in a non-core argument position, the base object maintains its object properties, and can therefore become the subject of a passive construction.

(c) Causee is left unspecified

Another possibility in Citumbuka is that the causee can be left unspecified. This is illustrated in the examples below.

48. a Tione wa-ka-phik-a somba.
1.Tione 1.SM-Pst-cook-FV 10.fish
'Tione cooked fish.'

b Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a Tione somba.
1SG 1Sg-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Tione 10.fish
'I made Tione cook fish.'

c Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a somba kwa Tione.
1SG 1Sg-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 10.fish at 1.Tione
'I had fish cooked at/by Tione/or I made Tione cook fish.'

d Ine n-ka-phik-isk-a somba.
1SG 1SG-Pst-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 10.fish
'I had fish cooked.'

49. a Telala wa-ku-son-a madilesi lero.
1.tailor 1.SM-Pres-sew-FV 6.dress nowadays
'The tailor makes dresses these days.'

b Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a telala
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tailor
madilesi lero.
6.dress nowadays
'Young ladies make the tailor make dresses these days.'

c Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a madiresi
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 6.dress
kwa telala lero.
at 1.tailor nowadays
'Young ladies are having dresses made at/by the tailor these days.'

d Tusungwana tu-ku-son-esk-a madiresi
13.girl 13.SM-Pres-sew-Caus$_3$-FV 6.dress
lero.
nowadays
'Young ladies are having dresses made these days.'

50. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child
'A teacher hits children.'

b Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a msambizgi ŵana.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher 2.child
'A parent causes the teacher to hit children.'

c Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a ŵana kwa msambizgi.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 2.child at 1.teacher
'A parent causes children to be hit by the teacher.'

d Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a ŵana.
1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus$_3$-FV 2.child.
'A parent causes children to be hit.'

51. a Talitha wa-ku-cap-a vyakuvwala ku
1.Talitha 1.SM-Pres-wash-FV 8.clothes to
msika.
3.market
'Talitha washes clothes at the market.'

b Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a Talitha vyakuvwala
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Talitha 8.clothes
ku msika.
to 3.market
'We make Talitha wash our clothes at the market.'

c Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a vyakuvwala kwa
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 8.clothes at
Talitha ku msika.
1.Talitha to msika
'We have our clothes washed at/by Talitha at the market.'

d Ise ti-ku-cap-isk-a vyakuvwala ku
1PL 1PL-Pres-wash-Caus$_3$-FV 8.clothes to
msika.
3.market
'We have our clothes washed at the market.'

The preceding examples show that it is possible to drop the causee (see (d) examples). It is therefore concluded that there are three possibilities for a causative derived from a monotransitive base in Citumbuka. Either the causee becomes the object and takes over the object properties of the base object or the causee appears as an oblique, or the causee is left unspecified. In the next section, I discuss causatives derived from a ditransitive base.

7.6.3. Ditransitive

There are two possibilities; either we get a tritransitive causative construction or a ditransitive causative construction. In both cases, the causee becomes the object. In a ditransitive causative construction, the base object is realized as an oblique. Examples below illustrate this.

52. a Ŵana ŵa-ku-sambil-a masamu.
2.child 2.SM-Pres-learn-FV 6.mathematics.
'Children are learning mathematics.'

b Msambizgi wa-ku-sambizg-a ŵana
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child
masamu.
6.mathematics
'A teacher is teaching children mathematics.'

c Mwanakazi wa-ku-sambizg-isk-a msambizgi
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-learn.Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
ŵana masamu.
2.child 6.mathematics
'A woman is making a teacher teach children mathematics.'

d Mwanakazi wa-ku-sambizg-isk-a msambizgi
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-learn-Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.teacher
masamu ku ŵana.
5.math to 2.child
'A woman is making a teacher teach mathematics to children.'

53. a Mliska wa-ku-longol-a ŵalendo chalichi.
1.pastor 1.SM-Pres-show-FV 2.visitor 5.church
'A pastor is showing visitors a church.

b Mwana wa-ku-longol-esk-a mliska
1.child 1.SM-Pres-show-Caus$_3$-FV 1.pastor
ŵalendo chalichi.'
2.visitor 5.church
'A child is making a pastor show visitors a church.'

c Mwana wa-ku-longol-esk-a mliska
1.child 1.SM-Pres-show-Caus$_3$-FV 1.pastor
chalichi ku ŵalendo.
5.church to 2.visitor
'A child is making a pastor to show visitors a church.'

54. a Temwani wa-ku-p-a Mailesi buku.
1.Temwani 1.SM-Pres-give-FV 1.Mailesi 5.book
'Temwani is giving Mailesi a book.'

b Yowoyani wa-ku-p-isk-a Temwani buku
1.Yowoyani 1.SM-Pres-give-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani 5.book
Mailesi.
1.Mailesi
'Yowoyani is making Temwani give Mailesi a book.'

c Yowoyani wa-ku-p-isk-a Temwani buku
1.Yowoyani 1.SM-Pres-give-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani 5.book
kwa Mailesi.
at 1.Mailesi
'Yowoyani is making Temwani give a book to Mailesi.'

From the preceding examples we can see that when a causative suffix is attached to a ditransitive base, the causee becomes the object (see examples 52c, 53b, and 54b). The object of the base sentence can also appear as an

oblique while the causee appears as an object (see examples 52d, 53c and 54b). Thus, the base object becomes a non-core argument. With ditransitive bases it is not possible for the causee to become an adjunct. This is probably because all ditransitive bases have a human object. If the causee of the causative derivation would be left unmarked the original direct object which would remain object is human and interpretable as a causee.

7.7. Autobenefactive Causatives

Citumbuka has a causative construction in which the causer is also the causee and I term these causatives 'autobenefactive causatives'. Verbs that allow derivation of autobenefactive causative constructions are mostly those that can optionally drop the object or are labile (that is, they can be used both transitively and intransitively). In autobenefactive causatives the causer/causee does some work to enable him/herself earn some kind of benefit. Examples below illustrate this.

55. a Tiwonge wa-ku-lim-a mpunga ku
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV 3.rice at
munda.
3.farm
'Tiwonge is cultivating rice in the farm.'
b Tiwonge wa-ku-lim-isk-a diresi
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 5.dress
ku-munda.
17-3.farm
'Tiwonge is cultivating in the farm for a dress.'

56. a Tiwonge wa-ku-pul-a ngoma.
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV 9.maize
'Tiwonge is pounding maize.'
b Tiwonge wa-ku-pul-isk-a makopala
1.Tiwonge 1.SM-Pres-pound-Caus$_3$-FV 6.money
'Tiwonge is pounding for money.'

57. a Msepuka wa-ku-vun-a malezi.
1.boy 1.SM-Pres-harvest-FV 6.millet
'A boy is harvesting millet.'
b Msepuka wa-ku-vun-isk-a skapato.
1.boy 1.SM-Pres-harvest-Caus$_3$-FV 10.shoe
'A boy is harvesting (millet) for shoes.'

58. a Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-kolop-a nyumba.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-mop-FV 9.house
'Girls are mopping a house.'

b Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-kolop-esk-a cakulya.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-mop-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food
'Girls are mopping for food.'

The preceding examples also indicate that the base object is deleted in an autobenefactive causative construction (see examples 55-58). Literal translations of these causatives would be 'cause oneself to work for something.' The causer makes a decision to do some kind of work for some benefit, or he makes him/herself to work in order to earn something beneficial to him/herself. The introduced argument is a goal that motivates him/herself to make themselves do some kind of work. For instance, in example (55b) the goal of the causer/causee is to earn a dress, while in (56b) the goal is to earn money. Since the base object is deleted while a new argument is introduced, it can be argued that this type of causative construction is valency preserving.

7.8. Conversive causatives

In a conversive construction, the initial subject may become an indirect or oblique object of relatively high rank (Kulikov 2011). Kulikov (2011) reports that this is often the case with verbs of perception and emotional states constructed with two main arguments, stimulus and experiencer. He goes on to say, "In some cases, it is even possible that the Stimulus and Experiencer roles switch their syntactic positions, which results into a symmetric conversive" (Kulikov 2011:380). This is the case in Citumbuka where the *-Y-* causative form derives conversive constructions in which the Stimulus and the experiencer change their syntactic positions. In the causative derivation, the stimulus becomes the subject while the experiencer becomes the object. In the non-derived form, the experiencer is the subject while the stimulus is the object. Thus, no argument is introduced. Below are examples showing this alternation.

59. a Mwana wa-ku-op-a nchewe.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-fear-FV 9.dog
'A child is afraid of a dog.'
b Nchewe yi-ku-ofy-a mwana.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-fear.Caus$_2$-FV 1.child
'A dog is scaring a child.'

60. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-cimbil-a ŵapolisi.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-run-FV 2.police
'People are running away from policemen/women.'
b Ŵapolisi ŵa-ku-cimbizg-a ŵanthu.
2.police 2.SM-Pres-run.Caus$_2$-FV 2.person
'Policemen/women are chasing people.'

The preceding Citumbuka examples are a clear case of symmetric conversive constructions as the (b) sets are converses of (a) sets and vice versa.

7.9. Associative causatives

In Citumbuka some causatives carry the meaning of companionship between the causer and the causee. In such situations, each of the participants is involved individually in the event. Inherent in associative causative is the element of assistive, companionship, and plurality of events through repetition. Nedjalkov (1970) describes such derivations in which the causer performs an activity together with the causee as causatives with commitativity meaning. Thus, Citumbuka associative causatives have a comitative meaning, which falls short of the canonical causative meaning. However, associative causatives are not completely devoid of causative meaning. The comitative meaning in these causatives is likely to underlie the causative/comitative polysemy in the language. Consider the following examples:

61. a Abuya ŵa-ku-lim-a ku munda.
    2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV to 3.farm
    'My grandmother is working in the farm.'
  b Ndindase wa-ku-lim-isk-a abuya
    1.Ndindase 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 2.grandmother
    ku-munda.
    17-3.farm
    (i) 'Ndindase is helping grandmother to cultivate in the farm.'
    (ii) 'Ndindase is making grandmother to cultivate in the farm.'
62. a NyaNhlane wa-ku-vun-a mpunga.
    1.Ms.Nhlane 1.SM-Pres-harvest-FV 3.rice
    'Ms. Nhlane is harvesting rice.'
  b Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-vun-isk-a nyaNhlane
    2.youth 2.SM-Pres-harvest-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Ms.Nhlane
    mpunga.
    3.rice
    (i) 'Youths are helping Ms Nhlane to harvest rice.'
    (ii) 'Youths are making Ms. Nhlane to harvest rice.'
63. a Temwani wa-ku-yowoy-a.
    1.Temwani 1.SM-Pres-speak-FV
    'Temwani is speaking.'
  b Kondwani wa-ku-yowoy-esk-a Temwani.
    1.Kondwani 1.SM-Pres-speak-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani
    'Kondwani is speaking with Temwani. (Lit. Kondwani is making Temwani speak.)'

64. a Msungwana wa-ku-chokol-a.
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-pound-FV
'A girl is pounding.'
b Mabuci wa-ku-chokozg-a msungwana.
1.Mabuci 1.SM-Pres-pound.Caus$_2$-FV 1.girl
'Mabuci is assisting a girl to pound.'

65. a Mulendo wa-ku-cezg-a.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pres-chat-FV
'A visitor is chatting.'
b Amama wa-ku-cezg-esk-a mulendo.
2.mother 2.SM-Pres-chat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.visitor
'My mother is chatting with a visitor.'

66. a Mulendo wa-ka-nyamul-a katundu.
1.visitor 1.SM-Pst-lift-FV 1.luggage
'A visitor carried some luggage.'
b Msepuka wa-ka-nyamuzg-a mulendo katundu.
1.boy 1.SM-Pst-lift.Caus$_2$-FV 1.visitor 1.luggage
'A boy assisted a visitor carrying some luggage.'

As the preceding examples show, each participant is individually participating in the event while also being a helper and a companion. In example (61b) for instance, both 'grandmother' and Ndindase are individually working in the farm at the same time, Ndindase, the causer, is a helper. It is possible that Ndindase could be construed as the causer here in the sense that the one being helped is being motivated to continue working as long as the helper is still working. In this case, the helper is the causer (motivator) while the one being helped is the causee, the one being motivated/or made to keep working. This also applies to (62b), (63b) and (66b). Similarly, examples (63b) and (64b) also show companionship, each individual participates in the talking. Perhaps causation comes in because it is unexpected to see someone talking by themselves. So by talking to someone, you make them talk as well. These examples depict characteristics of associative situations, where each of the co-participants is involved in the same activity individually while keeping each other company. They still have an element of causation in them since the causer acts as a motivator while the causee is the one being motivated/or made to keep going while benefiting from the companionship and acts of the helper. Hence, the term associative causative. Like all other associative situations, iterativity and plurality of participants and situations are also characteristic of these associative causatives as they involve more than one participant doing something together.

7.10. Double Causatives

Some causative derivations allow suffixation of other causative suffixes thereby deriving double causatives in Citumbuka. Addition of a second causative morpheme introduces a new argument. Double causativization is not unique to Citumbuka. In fact, according to Kulikov (1993; 2001) double causatives are derived from what he terms 'first causative' by adding a second causative morpheme (see also Dixon 2000). He further observes that this is common in agglutinating languages where affixes easily combine with each other and reiterate. In Citumbuka, double causatives are mostly derived from intransitive roots. Double causatives express chain causation where someone/thing influences someone/thing to cause something to happen. Examples below show double causation in Citumbuka:

67. a Ciwangwa c-a-w-a.
7.bone 7.SM-Perf-fall-FV
'A bone has fallen down.'
b Nchewe y-a-w-isk-a ciwangwa.
9.dog 9.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 7.bone
'A dog has dropped a bone down'
c Yesaya w-a-w-isk-isk-a nchewe
1.Yesaya 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 9.dog
ciwanga.
7.bone
'Yesaya has made a dog drop down a bone.'

68. a Maria w-a-w-a pasi.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-fall-FV 16.down
'Maria has fallen down.'
b Musepuka w-a-w-isk-a Maria pasi.
1.boy 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Maria 16.down
'A boy has made Maria fall down.'
c Musepuka w-a-w-isk-isk-a Maria
1.boy 1.SM-Perf-fall-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Maria
pasi.
Down
'A boy has caused Maria to fall down.'

69. a Tomasi w-a-kwel-a njinga.
1.Tomasi 1.SM-Perf-climb-FV 9.bicycle
'Tomasi is riding a bicyle.'
b Miko w-a-kwezg-a Tomasi
1.Miko 1.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Tomasi
njinga.
9.bicycle
'Miko is carrying Tomasi on the bicycle.'

c Amama ŵ-a-kwezg-esk-a Miko
2.mother 2.SM-Perf-climb.Caus$_2$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Miko
Tomasi njinga.
1.Tomasi 9.bicycle
'My mother has made Miko to carry Tomasi on the bicycle.'

70. a Mwana w-a-gez-a.
1.child 1.SM-Perf-bathe-FV
'A child has bathed (himself)'

b Masida w-a-gez-isk-a mwana.
1.Masida 1.SM-Perf-bathe-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'Masida has bathed a child.'

c Mwanakazi w-a-gez-isk-isk-a Masida
1.woman 1.SM-Perf-bathe-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Masida
mwana.
1.child
'A woman has made Masida to bathe a child.'

71. a Dilayivala w-a-jul-a windo.
1.driver 1.SM-Perf-open-FV 5.window
'The driver has opened a window.'

b Bwana w-a-jul-isk-a dilayivala windo.
1.boss 1.SM-Perf-open-Caus$_3$-FV 1.driver 5.window
'The boss has made the driver to open a window.'

c Bwana w-a-jul-isk-isk-a dilayivala
1.boss 1.SM-Perf-open-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.driver
windo.
5.window
'The boss has made (someone) to have the driver open a window.'

72. a Vigeŵenga vy-a-timb-a mwanakazi.
8.bandit 8.SM-Perf-hit/beat-FV woman
'Bandits have beaten up a woman.'

b Doda l-a-timb-isk-a mwanakazi
5.man 5.SM-Perf-hit/beat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.woman
ku vigeŵenga.
to 8.bandit
'A man has caused a woman to be beaten by bandits.'

c Doda l-a-timb-isk-isk-a mwanakazi
5.man 5.SM-Perf-hit/beat-Caus$_3$-Caus$_3$-FV 1.woman
ku vigeŵenga.
to 8.bandit
'A man has caused a woman to be beaten up by bandits.' (unintentional or accidental)

As the examples above show, suffixation of a second causative morpheme introduces a new causer such that we have two causers, which indicates that there is indeed double causativization. Double causativization occurs with

intransitive roots, the first causative suffix derives a monotransitive construction and the next causative suffix derives a ditransitive causative construction from a monotransitive causative construction. Double causativization is sometimes associated with meanings such as 'force to do,' plurality of participants of the causative situation, intensivity, iterativity, or distant causation in some languages (Dixon 2000; Kulikov 1993, 2001). In Citumbuka, double causatives are associated with coercion (71c) or influencing someone to do something (67c, 68c, 69c, 70c, 71c, 72c), and distant/or indirect causation (71c, 72c). Examples (67c, 68c, 69c, 70c and 71c) can be associated with either coercion or influencing someone or something to do something. Example (68c and 69c) can only be associated with influencing someone to do something. Double causatives may express accidental causation (see example 72c and 68c), and in some cases, a chain of causation (71c).

7.11. Causative suffixes as verbalisers

Fufa (2009) observes that in Oromo, the causative suffix *-is-* also functions as de-ideophonic verbalizer. He argues that in this language, the causative suffix *-is-* does not always add a new argument since suffixation of *-is-* verbaliser derives intransitive verbs from ideophones. He further observes that in Oromo semantically, the derived intransitive causatives are of two types: motion verbs and sound emission verbs. In Citumbuka causative suffixes *-isk-* and *-ik-* also function as verbalizers. However, in Citumbuka it is not only ideophones, but also nominals and certain expressions such as interjections that can be verbalized by causative suffixes *-isk-* and *-ik-*. The derived verb has causative semantics. Examples in the table below illustrate this:

Table 7.4: Examples of -isk and -ik verbalisers

Verbalised item	**English**	**Verb**	**English**
phepa	expression for saying 'sorry'	phepiska	say sorry/apologise
odi	excuse me	odiska	say *odi*
coka	get lost	cokeska	say get lost
mbinini	ideophone for scatter	mbininiska	scatter
cikhakhali	shrieking laughter	khakhaliska	make shrieking laughter
kho kho kho	ideophone for hitting a hard surface with something hard such as a hammer	khokhoska	make kho kho sound
me me me	bleating of goats	memeska	bleat
tandala	afternoon greeting	tandalika	greet someone in the afternoon
monile	greetings	moniska	greet someone
gu gu gu	of a brooding chicken	guguska	make gu gu gu sound
kwali	expression for 'I don't know, or am not sure'	kwaliska	say *kwali*

73. a Pulezidenti wa-ka-yowoy-a kuti phepani.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-speak-FV Comp sorry
'The president said sorry.'
b Pulezidenti wa-ka-phep-isk-a.
1.president 1.SM-Pst-sorry-$Caus_3$-FV
'The president apologized (lit. said sorry).

74. a Maria wa-ka-ti kwali.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-say doubt/lack.of.knowledge
'Maria said she does not now/or she doubts.'
b Maria wa-ka-kwali-ik-a.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-doubt-Caus3-FV.
'Maria expressed doubt/or lack of knowledge.'

Examples in table 7.4 above show that suffixation of causative suffixes to ideophones derives verbs from the ideophones. The examples in the table also show that even nominals such as nouns, adjectives and one word sen-

tences can also derive verbs through suffixation of causative suffixes *-ik-* or *-isk-*. The examples also show that the verbalisers allow for derivation of intransitive causatives. For instance, examples (75b), (76b) are intransitive causatives.

7.12. Semantics of causatives (*-Y-* and *-isk-*)

The description of causative constructions cannot be complete without discussing their semantics (Dixon 2000). Kulikov (2001) identifies five semantic types of causatives: direct vs. indirect causatives, permissive vs. coercive, assistive, declarative and deliberate vs. accidental causation. I will not include the declarative type in the discussion since I have not observed any causative that behaves that way in Citumbuka.

There are two basic semantic types of causatives, direct and indirect causatives, also termed directive versus manipulative causatives, contact vs distant, and immediate versus mediated (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 2001). The major distinction between the two major semantic types of causatives lies in whether the causative situation is controlled by the causer or the causee (Shibatani 1975; Kulikov 1993, 1999; Li 1991). According to Shibatani (1975, 1976), these differences also parallel the type of causative formation in that lexical causatives tend to be more direct while morphological (the productive causative) tend to be indirect. Shibatani (2000:33) argues that where there are two or more causative mechanisms in a language, they always have different meanings. Some Bantu languages make a formal distinction between direct and indirect causation in that where a language has more than one causative forms, one form derives indirect causatives while other forms derive direct causatives (Good 2005). The less productive causative morphemes are associated with direct causation in many Bantu languages, for instance, in Chichewa (Simango 2009), Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), Kihema (Mugisa 2009). In Nkore and Nyoro, the *-Y-* causative form marks direct causation while the *-is-* form marks indirect causation (Good 2005). Simango (1999, 2008) observes that in Chichewa, the less productive forms are associated with direct causation while the most productive form *-its-* is associated with indirect causation. In Citumbuka, Vail (1972) and Phiri (1980) differentiate the *-isk-* causative from the other two causative forms *-Y-* and *-ik-* by arguing that the former is linked to indirect causation while the latter imply physical intervention or direct causation. However, a closer examination of the data involving all the three causative suffixes indicates that there is no clear distinction among the three forms regarding whether *-ik-* and *-Y-* represent direct causation while *-isk-* represents indirect causation. In fact *-isk-* also derives causatives that are better construed as direct and intentional while *-ik-* and *-Y-* also derive causatives that are better construed as indirect and unintentional. Based on this, I argue

that Citumbuka does not make a formal distinction between direct and indirect causation in terms of its three causative forms. However, double causatives and periphrastic causatives are mostly associated with indirect and distant causation.

7.12.1. The *-Y-* form

In Citumbuka, as examples below illustrate, the *-Y-* causatives derives both direct and indirect causatives.

75. a Tuyuni tu-ka-duk-a.
13.bird 13.SM-Pst-jump/fly-FV
'Small birds flew away.'
b Yeremiya wa-ka-dusk-a tuyuni.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-jump/fly.Caus$_2$-FV 13.bird
'Yeremiya made small birds fly away.'
c Yeremiya wa-ka-duk-isk-a tuyuni.
1.Yeremiya 1.SM-Pst-jump/fly-Caus$_3$-FV 13.bird
'Yeremiya made small birds fly away.'

76. a Nyumba y-a-tow-a.
9.house 9.SM-Perf-be.beautiful-FV
'The house has become beautiful.'
b Mulendo w-a-tozg-a nyumba.
1.visitor 1.SM-Perf-be.beautiful.Caus$_2$-FV 9.house
'The visitor has made the house look beautiful.'
c Mulendo w-a-tow-esk-a nyumba.
1.visitor 1.SM-Perf-be.beautiful-Caus$_3$-FV 9.house
'The visitor has made the house look beautiful.'

77. a Mulwali wa-ku-bokol-a.
1.patient 1.SM-Pres-vomit-FV
'The patient is vomiting.'
b Nyama y-a-bokozg-a mulwali.
9.animal 9.SM-Perf-vomit.Caus$_2$-FV 1.patient
'The meat has made the patient to vomit.'
c Nyama y-a-bokol-esk-a mulwali.
9.animal 9.SM-Perf-vomit-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient
'The meat has made the patient to vomit.'

78. a Mbembe yi-ka-mal-a
9.fight 9.SM-Pst-finish-FV
'The fight ended.'
b Abuya ŵa-ka-mazg-a mbembe.
2.grandmother 2.SM-Pst-finish.Caus$_2$-FV 3.fight
'Gradmother ended the fight.'

79. a Nthengwa yi-ka-khol-a.
9.marriage 9.SM-Pst-be.strong-FV
'The marriage became strong.'
b Muliska wa-ka-khozg-a nthengwa.
1.shepherd 1.SM-Pst-be.strong.Caus$_2$-FV 9.marriage
'The pastor strengthened the marriage.'

80. a Munkhungu wa-ka-njir-a mu-nyumba.
1.thief 1.SM-Pst-enter-FV 18-9.house
'A thief entered the house.'
b Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a munkhungu mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 1.thief 18-9.house
(i) 'Marrieta let a thief into the house.'
(ii) 'Marrieta caused the thief to enter into the house.'
c Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a ŵalendo mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.visitor 18-9.house
'Marrietta let the visitor into the house.'
d Amama ŵa-kuti ti-kiy-eng-e
2.mother 2.SM-Pres-say 1PL-lock-Imperf-FV
nyumba ti-nga-njizg-a-mo ŵankhungu.
9.house 1PL-Mod-enter.Caus$_2$-FV-18.Loc 2.thief
'My mother says that we should be locking the house lest we let in thieves.'
e Marrietta wa-ka-njizg-a jembe mu-nyumba.
1.Marrieta 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.hoe 18-9.house
'Marrietta took the hoe into the house.'

81. a Changa wa-ka-lil-a.
1.Changa 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV
'Changa cried.'
b Msambizgi wa-ka-lizg-a Changa.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-cry-FV 1.Changa
'A teacher made Changa cry.'
c Msambizgi wa-ka-lil-isk-a Changa.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-cry-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Changa
'A teacher made Changa cry.'
d Chikanga wa-ku-lizg-a ng'oma.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-cry.Caus$_2$-FV 9.drum
'Changa is beating a drum.'

82. a Biyeni wa-li-ku-tengw-a.
1.Biyeni 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married-FV
'Biyeni got married.'

b Mziya wa-li-ku-tezg-a Biyeni.
1.Mziya 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Biyeni
'Mziya let Biyeni get married.'
c Mziya wa-li-ku-tengw-esk-a Biyeni.
1.Mziya 1.SM-be-Infin-be.married-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Biyeni
'Mziya made Biyeni get married.'

The examples above show that while it is true that the *-Y-* form derives direct causatives, there are also cases in which the causative derivations are better interpreted as being indirect. Some cases are ambiguous as both direct and indirect causation are possible. In example (75b), *duska* may be interpreted as direct causation in the sense that Yeremiya sees the small birds and intentionally throws a stone to make them fly away. Or he had the birds in his hands and releases them thereby making them fly away. Thus, he physically makes them to fly. It may also be indirect in the sense that when the birds see him, they instantly fly away without his knowledge. Thus, his presence makes them fly away, but he does not have full control over the situation. In the same way, the causative form *-isk-* can be used to mean he accidentally made them fly away or intentionally by physically throwing a stone at them. In example (76b and c), it could be that the causer made the house look beautiful by directly working on it or through hiring someone to do the job. But, note that either *-Y-* (76b) or *-isk-* form can be used in both cases. In (77 b and c) the patient vomits after eating meat. Whether one uses the *-Y-* form (77b) or the *-isk-* one (77c), the vomiting is induced by the meat. Examples in (80) also show various possibilities with the use of the *-Y-* form. In (80b) there are two possibilities, one is where Marrietta directly lets in the thief by opening for the thief and asking the thief to come in (80b(i)). Another possibility is that Marrietta left the door open, thereby making the thief have a chance to enter the house in order to steal (80b(ii)). By leaving the door open, Marrietta allows the thief to enter the house, but she does not necessarily control the causative situation because it is possible for the thief to see that the door is open but decide not to go inside. Examples (80c) and (80e) are direct causatives since the control lies in the hands of the causer, the causative situation depends on the person letting in the visitors in (80c) and the person physically taking the hoe into the house. In example (81b), the causer, the teacher may not have full control over the causee regarding crying. He can only cause the crying by doing something and as a result, Changa cries, for instance beating him or bullying him. However, Changa can still choose not to cry. In (81c) the teacher may coerce Changa to cry, or the teacher can make Changa cry by doing something that hurts him making him cry. Thus, both (81b and c) are arguably indirect causatives. Compare that with (81d) which is a direct causative, the causer beats the drum and the drum produces some sound. All these examples show that much as *-Y-* is associated with direct causation, there are other cases that suggest that it can equally derive indirect

causatives just like the most regular form, *-isk-*. In fact, even the most productive causative suffix, *-isk-* can derive indirect causatives.

7.12.2. The *-isk-* form

As already observed, *-isk-* is the most productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. Vail (1972), Phiri (1980) and Mphande (1989), associate this form with indirect and intentional causatives. However, they do not take into account the fact this form can also be used to derive causatives in which the causer has full control over the causative situation. The following examples show some *-isk-* causatives in which the causer has direct control over the situation.

83. a Buku li-ka-w-a.
5.book 5.SM-Pst-fall-FV
'A book fell.'
b Takondwa wa-ka-w-isk-a buku.
1.Takondwa 1.SM-Pst-fall-Caus$_3$-FV 5.book
(i) 'Takondwa dropped a book.'
(ii) Takondwa made the book to fall.'
b Nesi wa-ku-ly-esk-a mulwali cakulya.
1.nurse 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient 7.food
'A nurse is feeding a patient.'

84. a NyaJere wa-ku-bem-a hona.
1.Ms.Jere 1.SM-Pres-sniff/smoke.FV 1.tobacco
'Ms. Jere is sniffing/smoking tobacco.'
b Tembo wa-ku-bem-isk-a hona
1.Tembo 1.SM-Pres-smoke/sniff-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tobacco
NyaJere.
1.Ms.Jere
(i) 'Tembo makes Ms Jere smoke/sniff tobacco.'
(ii) 'Tembo provides Ms Jere with sniffing/smoking tobacco.'

85. a Bonda wa-ku-mw-a mkaka.
1.baby 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV 3.milk
'A baby is drinking milk.'
b Suzgo wa-ku-mw-esk-a bonda mkaka.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 1.baby 1.milk
(i) 'Suzgo is feeding a baby milk.'
(ii) 'Suzgo is making a baby drink milk.'
c Suzgo wa-ku-mw-esk-a mbuzi ku-dambo.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-FV 9.goat 16-5.river
(i) 'Suzgo takes the goats to the river for them to drink water.'
(ii) Suzgo makes the goats drink water in the river.'

86. a Ŵalimi ŵa-ku-gul-a mbewu.
2.farmer 2.SM-Pres-guy-FV 10.seed
'Farmers buy seeds.'
b Admarc yi-ku-gul-isk-a ŵalimi mbewu.
9.Admarc 9.SM-Pres-buy-Caus$_3$-FV 2.farmer 10.seed
(i) 'Admarc sells seeds to farmers.'
(ii) 'Admarc makes farmers buy seeds.'

87. aTisungane wa-ku-many-a kuti Mwiza
1.Tisungane 1.SM-Pres-know-FV Comp 1.Mwiza
w-a-fik-a.
1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Tisungane knows that Mwiza has arrived.'
b Thembi w-a-mu-many-isk-a Tisungane
1.Thembi 1.SM-Perf-1.OM-know-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Tisungane
kuti Mwiza wafika.
Comp 1.Mwiza 1.SM-Perf-arrive-FV
'Thembi has informed Tisungane that Mwiza has arrived.'

88. a Kasuzi wa-ku-yend-esk-a galimoto.
1.Kasuzi 1.SM-Pres-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 1.car
'Kasuzi is driving a car.'
b Kasuzi w-a-yend-esk-a Temwani
1.Kasuzi 1.SM-Perf-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 1.Temwani
'Kasuzi has made Temwani walk.'

89. a Mwanakazi w-a-phik-a cakulya.
1.woman 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 7.food
'A woman has cooked food.'
b Zitwere w-a-mu-phik-isk-a cakulya
1.Zitwere 1.SM-Perf-OM-cook-Caus$_3$-FV 7.food
mwanakazi.
1.woman
'Zitwere has made the woman cook food.'

90. a Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-lim-a.
2.youth 2.SM-Pres-cultivate-FV
The youths are working in the farm.
b Mulimi wa-ku-lim-isk-a ŵaukilano.
1.farmer 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus$_3$-FV 2.youth
'A farmer is making some youths to work in the farm.'
c Ŵaukilano ŵa-ku-lim-isk-a makopala kwa
1.youth 1.SM-Pres-cultivate-Caus-FV 2.money at
mulimi.
1.farmer
'Some youths are working in the farm for money from the farmer.'

In (83b) the causer can be involved directly by taking the book and dropping in down, thereby making in fall. The involvement of the causer may

also be accidental or indirectly where the causer for example pushes a book standing causing the book to fall. In example (85b), the nurse is directly and physically involved by taking the food and putting it in the mouth of the patient. However, the nurse can only assist in taking and putting the food in the mouth of the patient. Whether the patient will eat or not is beyond the control of the nurse. This is also the case (85b) where the baby has to be fed with milk and it cannot take the bottle of milk and drink from it by itself. Examples which involve direct causative situations include (85b), (87b), and (88a). Example (84b) has two possibilities, firstly, it could be that Tembo, the causer influences the causee, NyaJere to sniff/smoke tobacco, or that Tembo provides the tobacco. The same with (87b) where either the causer feeds the baby which is direct causation or he makes the baby drink milk by doing something to influence it. Examples from all the three forms of causative suffixes in Citumbuka show that the language does not distinguish direct and indirect causatives simply by the use of the causative suffixes. The only clear distinction concerning direct and indirect causatives in the languages is observed in double and periphrastic causatives which tend to be indirect.

7.12.3. Permissive/Coercive meaning

Citumbuka causatives may have permissive or coercive meaning. This is illustrated in the following examples:

91. Msambizgi wa-ka-njizg-a ŵana mukilasi.
    1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-enter.Caus$_2$-FV 2.child 16.class
    (i) 'The teacher let the pupils into the classroom.'
    (ii) 'The teacher forced pupils to go into the classroom.'
92. Themba li-ka-kom-esk-a ng'ombe.
    5.chief 5.SM-Pst-kill-Caus$_3$-FV 9.cattle
    (i) 'The chief had the cow killed.'
    (ii) 'The chief let the cow be killed.'

In the examples above, both the coercive reading and permissive readings are possible. In (91) the teacher may have forced the pupils to go into the classroom or the pupils pleaded with the teacher to let them enter and he let them enter. In both cases, the same causative suffix *-Y-* is used. Similarly, in example (92), the form *-isk* can be used for both coercive and permissive causative meaning. In example (92(ii)) it might the case that some members of his village sort his permission to kill the cow and the chief let do so.

7.12.4. Assistive meaning

Causatives can also have assistive meaning. A good example of causatives with assistive meaning are the associative causatives already discussed in section 7.7.3. It is not only associative causatives that have assistive meaning as examples below illustrate this.

93. Muliska wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Gondwe.
    1.shepherd 1.SM-Pres-wear-Caus$_1$-FV 1.Gondwe
    (i) 'The pastor provides shoes for Mr. Gondwe.'
    (ii) 'The pastor dresses Mr. Gondwe with shoes.'
94. Nesi wa-ku-ly-esk-a mulwali cakulya.
    1.nurse 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.patient 7.food
    'A nurse is feeding a patient.'
95. Maria wa-ka-mu-wusk-a mulwali uyo
    1.Maria 1.SM-Pst-OM-rise.Caus$_2$-FV 1.patient 1.Rel
    wa-ka-tondek-ang-a ku-wuk-a yekha.
    1.SM-Pst-fail-Imperf-FV Infin-rise-FV 1.self
    'Maria helped the patient who was failing to rise up.'
96. Masida wa-ka-chokozg-ang-a abuya.
    1.Masida 1.SM-Pst-pound.Caus$_2$-Imperf-FV 2.grandmother
    'Masida used to assist grandmother with pounding.'

In example (93) the causer assists the causee either by providing shoes for Mr Gondwe or by physically taking the shoes and putting them on the feet of Mr Gondwe. In example (94) the nurse is feeding a patient, being assistive. In example (96), Masida assists grandmother with pounding.

7.12.5. Deliberate vs. accidental or unintentional causation

Causative situations can be deliberate/intentional or accidental/unintentional. Vail (1972) argues that unlike the *-isk-* causative, the *-Y-* causative indicates that the subject is intentionally involved while the *-ik-* indicates that there is no notion of intentionality. However, while I agree with him that the *-Y-* causative tends to express intentionality, -the *-ik-* causative does not always indicate un-intentionality. The following examples actually show that some *-ik-* causatives may also be intentional.

97. a Tawonga wa-ka-vund-ik-a tomato.
    1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_1$-FV 1.tomato
    'Tawonga ripened tomatoes.'
  b Tawonga wa-ka-vund-isk-a tomato.
    1.Tawonga 1.SM-Pst-rot-Caus$_3$-FV 1.tomato
    'Tawonga made tomatoes to go bad.'

98. a Maria w-a-gon-ek-a mwana.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_1$-FV 1.child
'Maria has laid down/taken the child to bed.'

b Maria w-a-gon-esk-a mwana.
1.Maria 1.SM-Perf-sleep-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'Maria has made the child to sleep.'

99. a Moses w-a-kuzg-a nyumba.
1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-be_big.Caus$_2$-FV 9.house
'Moses has enlarged the house.'

b Moses w-a-kul-isk-a nyumba.
1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-be_big-Caus$_3$-FV 9.house
'Moses has made the house become big.'

100. a Mama wa-ku-ly-esk-a mwana.
1.mother 1.SM-Pres-eat-Caus$_3$-FV 1.child
'A woman is feeding a child.'

Example (97a and b) differ in that (a) is by any means intentional while (b) is most likely accidental although in some rare cases it may be intentional, in cases where the causer has certain motives for deliberately putting tomatoes in a place where they will go bad. In examples (98a, b), again, the difference is that (a) is intentional while (b) may be intentional or accidental. Examples in (99), both (a) and (b) can be intentional or deliberate.

7.13. Distinguishing the excessive from causative

Vail (1972) and (Phiri 1980) state that the difference between an intensive form and a causative form in Citumbuka is that the intensive form allows doubling unlike the causative form. Contrary to their claim, in the previous chapter, we saw that doubling of the causative forms is possible and that it indicates double causation, chain of causation or distant causation. Thus, we cannot distinguish the can distinguish the excessive from the causative basing on doubling of the causative suffix. The difference between the intensive/excessive and the causative is that the intensive does not introduce a new argument unlike the causative. In my observation, the major difference between the causative morpheme and intensive morpheme in Citumbuka is that an intensive/excessive morpheme has accent on its vowel. Thus, an intensive morpheme should be presented as *-ísk-* while a causative morpheme is written as *-isk-*. The suffixes should thus be treated as distinct morphemes that derive distinct constructions. The difference between the two morphemes is demonstrated in the following examples.

1. a Tinkhani wa-ka-yend-esk-a galimoto.
1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pst-walk-Caus$_3$-FV 5.car
'Tinkhani drove a car.'

b Tinkhani wa-ka-yend-ésk-a.
1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pst-walk-Intens-FV
(i) Tinkhani walked too fast.'
(ii) 'Tinkhani walked too much.'

2. a Pala munthu w-a-phik-isk-a kabici.
when 1.person 1.SM-Perf-Caus$_3$-FV 1.cabbage
'When a person makes cabbage to be cooked…'

b Pala munthu w-a-phik-ísk-a kabici…
when 1.person 1.SM-Perf-Intens-FV 1.cabbage…
'When a person overcooks cabbage…'

In example (1a) the obvious interpretation is causation with the presence of the causee. In (2a) however, how one pronounces the verb may trigger either causative meaning or excessive meaning since the causee in (2a) is unspecified. With the absence of the causee it may appear as though no new argument has been introduced, giving a possibility of excessive meaning (2b). Thus, differentiating how the verb is pronounced will help the hearer to distinguish between causative (2a) and excessive (2b) meaning. The derivational suffix *-ísk-* is mostly associated with excessive meaning, that is, the notion of 'too much' or beyond the norm. For instance, in the table above, *-ísk* derivations have an element of either too much or excessive as seen from their English glosses. I will therefore refer to *-ísk-* as an intensive/or excessive derivational suffix. Suffixation of the morpheme *-ísk-* does not increase or decrease the verb valency. Therefore, *-ísk-* is a valency maintaining morpheme unlike the causative *-isk-* which introduces a new argument. The following examples illustrate this:

3. a Mafera w-a-jul-a windo.
1.Mafera 1.SM-Perf-open-FV 5.window
'Mafera has opened a window'

b Mafera w-a-jul-ísk-a windo.
1.Mafera 1.SM-Perf-Intens-FV 5.window
'Mafera has opened the window too wide.'

c Rute w-a-jul-isk-a Mafera windo.
1.Rute 1.SM-Perf-Caus-FV 1.Mafera 5.window
'Rute has caused Mafera to open a window.'

4. a Ida w-a-phik-a nyama.
1.Ida 1.SM-Perf-cook-FV 9.meat
'Ida has cooked meat.'

b Ida w-a-phik-ísk-a nyama.
1.Ida 1.SM-Perf-cook-Intens-FV 9.meat
'Ida has overcooked meat.'

c Suzgo w-a-phik-isk-a Ida nyama.
1.Suzgo 1.SM-Perf-cook-Caus-FV 1.Ida 9.meat
'Suzgo has made Ida to cook meat.'

5. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana.
   1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child
   'A teacher beats children'
   b Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-ísk-a ŵana.
   1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-Intens-FV 2.child
   'A teacher beats children too much.'
   c Mupapi wa-ku-timb-isk-a msambizgi ŵana.
   1.parent 1.SM-Pres-hit-Caus-FV 1.teacher 2.child
   'A parent causes the teacher to beat children.'
6. a Nchewe yi-ka-mu-lum-a Mary.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pst-1.OM-bite-FV 1.Mary
   'A dog bit Mary.'
   b Nchewe yi-ka-mu-lum-ísk-a Mary.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pst-1.OM-bite-Intens-FV 1.Mary
   'A dog bit Mary very/too much.'
   c Mlonda wa-ka-yi-lum-isk-a nchewe
   1.guard 1.SM-Pst-9.OM-bite-$Caus_3$-FV 9.dog
   Mary.
   1.Mary
   'A guard made the dog to bite Mary.'

The difference between the causative derivation and the intensive derivation in the examples above is the fact that only the causative *-isk-* introduces a new argument. While (3b) with *-ísk-* does not introduce any new argument, *-isk-* in (3c) introduces a causer argument in the subject position. The same applies to the rest of the examples.

7.14. Summary and Conclusion

There are three causative suffixes in Citumbuka: *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The first two are restricted to certain verbs while *-isk-* attaches to any verb form, be it intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive. The *-Y-* causative suffix changes the phonological form of the base verb in certain environments such as when attached to stem-finals like *l, k, p* and *w*. In causatives derived from monotransitive and ditransitive bases, the causee can either take over object properties of the object or appear in non-core position. Some causative derivations are valency-preserving in Citumbuka, for instance, autobenefactive and conversive causatives. The suffixes *-ik-* and *-isk-* can also be used as verbalisers of nominals and ideophones in Citumbuka. In addition to the morphological causatives, we also find periphrastic causatives in Citumbuka which are associated with indirect causation. Furthermore, Citumbuka allows double causativization. Double causatives tend to be indirect, distant and may also indicate a chain of causation. Citumbuka does not distinguish direct and indirect causatives on the basis of the three deriva-

tional suffixes as each of the three suffixes is capable of deriving direct causatives. In this language, the causative may be coercive, assistive, or may indicate accidental causation. Table 7.5 below summarizes the semantics of Citumbuka causatives.

Table 7.5: Summary of Semantics of Causatives in Citumbuka

Semantic parameter	***-ik-* causative**	*-Y-* **causative**	***-isk-* causative**	**Double Causatives**	**Periphrastic causative**
transitivity	intransitive	intransitive and simple transitive	intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive	mostly intransitive	all types
causee control	less control	less control	ranges between less control to more control	less control	more control
causer control	more control	more control	-	may have more control	less control
volition (causee)	-	-	-	not volitional	-
affectedness (causee)	fully affected	-	-		-
direct	direct	direct	possible		possible
indirect	indirect possible	indirect possible	indirect	indirect	indirect
ntentionational/accidental	-	-	-	both are possible	-
naturalness	requires effort	-	-		-
involvevolvement	causer involved	causer involved	causer may be involved	causer not directly involved	causer not involved