Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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Chapter 9

9. Suffix ordering in Citumbuka

9.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have demonstrated that derivational suffixes in Citumbuka, like other languages, can increase, decrease or maintain the valency of the base verb. Several suffixes can be attached to a single verb root. It is important to investigate how these suffixes interact. Various factors can be involved in ordering affixes, they may be semantic, phonological and morphological/templatic (Rice 2009). Each language needs careful study to determine which factors are involved and how the factors interact in case there are more than one (Rice 2009). In some languages affix order may be templatic by default and appeal to compositionality where necessary, in others it may be governed by compositionality by default and appeal to templatic principles where compositionality cannot account for the attested order (Manova and Aronoff 2010). Such languages then, have a mixed compositonality/template system (Caballero 2010; Paster 2005). Templatic order is fixed while compositionality is variable in such a way that different affix orders produce different meaning (Manova and Aronoff 2010; Rice 2009).

Hyman (2003, 2006) argues that Bantu suffix ordering is driven by a Pan-Bantu default template namely; (C)ausative (A)pplicative (R)eciprocal and (P)assive (CARP) (see also Mcpherson and Paster 2009; Good 2005, 2007; Rice 2009, among others). The different realizations of language-specific suffix ordering systems is as a result of different Bantu languages using different strategies to resolve the tension between adhering to the templatic order or the compositionality order (Hyman 2003). For instance, Chichewa resolves that by using both compositionality and templatic principles with the templatic one overriding compositionality (Hyman 2003). The extended version of CARP, which includes the Causative$_2$, (Caus$_2$ in this thesis), is Causative, Applicative, Reciprocal, Transitive, Passive (CARTP) (Good 2005, 2007:212). CARTP is also abbreviated as CARCP by Hyman (2003:262, 272; McPherson and Paster 2009:57), where the Transitive is Caus$_2$ in this thesis. This chapter investigates how Citumbuka resolves the tension between adhering to the templatic CARCP order and the compositionality order. It is demonstrated in this chapter that Citumbuka favors compositionality.

9.2. Combinations involving C_3 and Applicative

Citumbuka allows both C_3A and AC_3 suffix orders. In C_3A the applicative contributes to the meaning of the derivation and this order conforms to the default order in Bantu of CA.

9.2.1. Causative$_3$ and Applicative

Both Caus$_3$-Appl (C_3A) and Appl-Caus$_3$ (AC_3) are allowed. The following examples illustrate the order (C_3A).

1. a Chimwemwe wa-ku-phik-a nchunga.
   1.Chimwemwe 1.SM-Pres-cook-FV 10.beans
   'Chimwemwe is cooking beans.'
   b Happy wa-ku-phik-isk-a Chimwemwe
   1.Happy 1.SM-Pres-cook-**Caus$_3$**-FV 1.Chimwemwe
   nchunga.
   10.beans
   'Happy is making Chimwemwe to cook beans.'
   c Happy wa-ku-phik-isk-il-a mwana
   1.Happy 1.SM-Pres-cook-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 1.child
   nchunga kwa Chimwemwe.
   10.beans at 1.Chimwemwe
   'Happy is having beans cooked for a child at/by Chimwemwe.'
2. a Mwana wa-ka-wuk-a.
   1.child 1.SM-Pst-rise-FV.
   'A child woke up.'
   b Thembi wa-ka-wuk-isk-a mwana.
   1.Thembi 1.SM-Pst-rise-**Caus$_3$**-FV 1.child
   'Thembi caused the child to wake up.'
   c Thembi wa-ka-wuk-isk-il-a mwana nyina.
   1.Thembi 1.SM-Pst-rise-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 1.child 3SG.mother
   'Thembi made a child to wake up on his mother.'

Suffixation of the causative suffix adds the meaning of causation to the verb. When an applicative suffix is added to the causative verb stem, it adds the meaning of something for or against someone such that we end up with a derivation of cause someone to do something for/on someone. This entails compositionality suffix ordering. At the same time, this also obeys the the proposed pan-Bantu templatic order of CARCP. In the next set of examples, I show that Citumbuka also allows the reverse order, that is, AC_3. The reverse order, AC_3 suggests that actually the order Causative-Applicative and Applicative-Causative is compositional. Below are examples of AC_3 order.

3. a Abuya ŵa-ku-wuk-a.
   2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-rise-FV
   'Grandmother is standing up.'
   b Abuya ŵa-ku-wuk-il-a ndodo.
   2.grandmother 2.SM-Pres-rise-**Appl**-FV 9.stick
   'Grandmother is standing up with the support of a stick.'

c Ucekulu wu-ku-wuk-il-isk-a ndodo
14.old_age 14.SM-Pres-rise-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 9.stick
abuya.
2.grandmother
'Old age is making grandmother use a stick when standing up.'

d Vipani vi-ku-wuk-il-isk-a mawupu
8.party 8.SM-Pres-rise-Appl-Caus$_3$-FV 6.group
boma.
government
'Political parties are making civil society organisations rise against the government.'

4. a Masozi wa-ku-gon-a.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-FV
'Masozi is sleeping.'

b Masozi wa-ku-gon-el-a mphasa.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-sleep-**Appl**-FV 9.mat
'Masozi is sleeping on a mat.'

c Chimwemwe wa-ku-gon-el-esk-a Masozi
1.Chimwemwe 1.SM-Pres-sleep-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 1.Masozi
mphasa.
9.mat
'Chimwemwe is making Masozi sleep on a mat.'

5. a Ŵanthu ŵ-a-pok-el-a makopala.
2.person 1.SM-Perf-receive-**Appl**-FV 6.money
'Cidongo has received some money.'

b Mlimi w-a-pok-el-esk-a ŵanthu
1.farmer 1.SM-Perf-receive-**Appl-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.person
makopala.
6.money
'The farmer has paid people some money (Lit. The farmer has made people receive money).'

Examples (3-5) show that Citumbuka allows the **AC$_3$** order which violates the CARP order. The examples also show that suffixation of a new derivational suffix alters the meaning of the base stem. In CARP template ordering, the reciprocal follows the causative and applicative. Citumbuka further violates the templatic order by allowing the reciprocal to be ordered before the causative. This is discussed in the next section.

9.2.2. Causative$_3$ and Reciprocal

Citumbuka allows both C$_3$R and RC$_3$ orders. While C$_3$R is restricted to mutual causers, which are also mutual causees, the order RC$_3$ is mainly employed when the causer is a third party, but also allows for cases where the

participants are involved in the causative situation. Below are examples to illustrate the order $Caus_3$-Recip (C_3R).

6. a Suzgo wa-ku-timb-a nchewe.
   1.Suzgo 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 9.dog
   'Suzgo hits a dog.'
   b Tinkhani wa-ku-timb-isk-a Suzgo nchewe.
   1.Tinkhani 1.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$**-FV 1.Suzgo 9.dog
   'Tinkhani makes Suzgo hit a dog.'
   c Tinkhani na Suzgo wa-ku-timb-isk-an-a
   1.Tinkhani with 1.Suzgo 2.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV
   nchewe.
   9.dog
   'Tinkhani and Suzgo make each other hit a dog.'
7. a Maria wa-ku-phik-a phele.
   1.Maria 1.SM-Pres-cook-FV 5.beer
   'Maria brews beer.'
   b Joni wa-ku-phik-isk-a Maria phele.
   1.Joni 1.SM-Pres-cook-**$Caus_3$**-FV 1.Maria 5.beer
   'Joni makes Maria brew beer.'
   c Joni na Maria wa-ku-phik-isk-an-a
   1.Joni with 1.Maria 2.SM-Pres-cook-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV
   phele.
   5.beer
   'Yohane and Maria make each other brew beer.'

The preceding set of examples shows that Citumbuka adheres to C_3ARP when the order is $Caus_3$-Recip, and that the order also adheres to compositionality, as adding the R suffix alters the meaning of the causative base stem. Further investigation shows that in Citumbuka, it is also possible to find R being ordered before the C_3. The C_3R ordering is not allowed when the causer is not involved in the causative situation. Below are examples showing Reciprocal-Causative (RC_3) ordering.

8. a Wanalume wa-ku-timb-an-a.
   2.men 2.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip**-FV
   'Men hit each other.'
   b Mphangela wa-ku-timb-an-isk-a wanalume.
   1.Mphangela 1.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip-$Caus_3$**-FV 2.men
   'Mphangela makes men hit one another.'
   c *Mphangela wa-ku-timb-isk-an-a wanalume.
   1.Mphangela 1.SM-Pres-hit-**$Caus_3$-Recip**-FV 2.men
   'Mphangela makes men hit one another.'

d Ŵena Mphangela ŵa-ku-timb-an-isk-an-a.
2.collective 1.Mphangela 2.SM-Pres-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'The Mphangelas make each other to hit each other.'

9. a Ŵankhungu ŵ-a-tem-an-a.
2.thief 2.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip**-FV
'Thieves have stabbed each other.'

b Cholopi w-a-tem-an-isk-a ŵankhungu.
1.Cholopi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.thief.
'Cholopi caused thieves to stab each other.'

c *Cholopi w-a-tem-esk-an-a ŵankhungu.
1.Cholopi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 2.thief
'Cholopi caused thieves to stab each other.'

d Ŵankhungu ŵ-a-tem-an-isk-an-a.
2.thief 2.SM-Perf-cut-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Thieves caused each other to stab each other.'

Examples above (8-9) show that RC_3 order is allowed in Citumbuka whether the causer is involved in the causative situation or not. When the Causer is involved, the R is doubled as in (8d) and (9d). The order CR is not allowed when the causer is external (see 8c and 9c). Thus, there are restrictions on CR but not RC order. The doubling of R in (8d and 9d) confirms that Citumbuka suffix ordering favours compositionality. Example (8d) should be interpreted as involving at least two groups of participants, say A and B, that cause members of each other's group to have internal fighting. Thus, both A and B cause each other's group to fight among themselves. This also applies to (9d). Examples (8b and 9b) on the other hand involve an external causer making participants in the causative situation to do something to one another. Thus, in (8b), two men are hitting each other, and the causer of this fight is not part of the fighting itself. Similarly, in (9b) Cholopi is only a causer, but it is the thieves that are involved in the causative situation of stabbing each other. These examples also show that Citumbuka violates the CARP and favors compositionality when ordering R and C_3 suffixes. In the next section I show how Applicative and Reciprocal derivational suffixes interact in Citumbuka.

9.2.3. Applicative and Reciprocal

Both AR and RA orders are possible in Citumbuka. However, the RA order results in introduction of another R after A such that we end up with RAR. Examples below illustrate the order Applicative-Reciprocal (AR).

10. Ku-ka-ŵavy-a ku-b-il-an-a
17.SM-Pst-not_there-FV Infin-steal-**Appl-Recip**-FV
'There was no stealing from one another.'

11. Sono apo ti-ka-dumb-il-an-a nyengo yitali.
now there 1PL-Pst-talk-**Appl-Recip**-FV 9.time 9.long
'Now, we talked to each other for a long time.'
12. Kasi mu-ka-kuman-il-an-a nkhuni?
Q 2PL-Pst-meet-**Appl-Recip**-FV where
'Where did you meet each other.'
13. Ŵa-ka-longosol-a umo
2.SM-Pst-narrate-FV how
ŵa-ku-sambizg-il-an-a kuphika.
2.SM-Pres-teach.Caus$_2$-**Appl-Recip**-FV 15.cooking
'They narrated how they teach one another to cook.'
14. Phaskani na Masozi
1.Phaskani with 1.Masozi
wa-ka-pok-el-an-a cakulya.
1.SM-Pst-receive-**Appl-Recip**-FV 7.food
'Phaskani and Masozi received food on behalf of each other.'

Examples above show that Citumbuka adheres to compositionality since the R contributes to the semantics of the derived sentences. For instance, in (10) above, without the reciprocal meaning would have the meaning whereby the patient did not suffer from having their property stolen. With the R, it means the event of the patient not having to suffer from having property stolen was reciprocated to the agent in the sens that the agent too did not suffer from his/her property stolen. Thus, addition of R contributes to the semantics of the verb 'steal'. In example (14), we have Phaskani receiving food on behalf of Masozi and Msozi reciprocating the favour by collecting the food on behalf of Phaskani. Thus, addition of R tells us the substitutive applicative in (14) is reciprocated. The order RA is reversed to (RAR), as we can see in the examples below.

15. Apa mu-nga-yamb-an-il-an-ang-a-po
here 2PL-Mod-start-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-Imperf-FV-15.Loc
yayi ŵa-ku-yamb-an-il-an-ang-a-po
neg 2.SM-Pres-start-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-Imperf-FV-15.Loc
ŵena Zgambo na ŵena Njakwa.
2.collective 1.Zgambo with 2.collective 1.Njakwa
'Do not fight over this land, they fight over this land, the Njakwa's and the Zgambo's.
16. Ndi-mo ŵa-ka-pang-an-il-an-a.
Cop-how 2.SM-Pst-make-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
'This is how they agreed.'
17. Ŵa-ka-timb-an-il-an-a pa-munda.
2.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV 16-3.garden
'They hit each other at the farm/crop field.'

18. Ŵa-ku-temw-an-il-an-a phele.
2.SM-Pres-love-**Recip**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV 5.beer
'They love each other because of beer.'

In example (15), first of all the participants fight each other and secondly the reason for hitting each other is land. Thus, Zgambos fight Njakwas for land and Njakwas fight Zgambos for the same land. In example (18) some love one another and the reason each of the loves the other is beer. There is a possibility of these people loving each other but for different reasons. Thus the two Rs in RAR serve different purposes. This suggests that Citumbuka favors compositionality. The doubling of the R is as a result of two reciprocal situations, one concerning the participants themselves, and the other concerning the goal (15), manner (16), location (17), and reason (18) of the mutual activity. Thus, the second R is due to the fact that the Applicative applies to both the participants in the mutual situation. Thus, each R contributes to the meaning of the resulting derivation, which means the order RAR is compositional.

9.3. Causative$_3$, Applicative and Reciprocal

Both C_3RA and RC_3A ordering are also possible in Citumbuka. While the former adheres to the templatic order, the latter violates the templatic order. Below are some examples demonstrating the C_3AR order.

19. a Masozi wa-ka-phik-isk-il-a musweni
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pst-cook-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-FV 1.husband
w-ake makombwe.
1-3SG.Poss 6.banana
'Masozi had bananas cooked for her husband.'
b Masozi na musweni w-ake
1.Masozi with 1.husband 1-poss
ŵa-ka-phik-isk-il-an-a makombwe.
2.SM-Pst-cook-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV 6.banana
'Masozi and her husband had bananas cooked for each other.'

20. a Doda li-ka-ni-w-isk-il-a katundu.
5.man 5.SM-Pst-OM.1SG-fall-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-FV 1.luggage
'A man caused some luggage to fall on me.'
b Ine na doda ti-ka-w-isk-il-an-a
1.SG with 5.man 1PL-Pst-fall-**Caus$_3$**-**Appl**-**Recip**-FV
katundu.
1.luggage
'A man and me caused luggage to fall for/on each other.'

21. a Adada ŵa-ka-kom-esk-el-a ng'ombe
2.father 2.SM-Pst-kill-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 9.cattle
mulendo.
1.visitor
'My father had his cattle killed for a visitor.
b ŴaNgoni ŵa-ku-kom-esk-el-an-a ng'ombe.
2.Ngoni 2.SM-Pres-kill-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.cattle
(i) 'Ngonis like to have cattle killed for/on each other.'
(ii) 'Ngonis like to kill cattle for each other.'

22. a Ŵa-ka-mu-gul-isk-il-a ng'oma.
2.SM-Pst-1.OM-buy-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 9.drum
(i) 'They sold the drum on him.'
(ii) 'They sold the drum for (on behalf of) him.'
b Ŵa-ka-gul-isk-il-an-a ng'oma.
2.SM-Pst-1.OM-buy-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.drum
(i) 'They sold drums on each other.'
(ii) 'They sold drums for (on behalf of) each other.'

23. a Sinya wa-ku-sinth-isk-il-a skapato ŵanthu.
1.Sinya 1.SM-Pres-change-**Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 10.shoes 2.person
'Sinya exchanges shoes for other people.'
b Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-sinth-isk-il-an-a skapato.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-change-**Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.shoes
'People exchange shoes for/on each other.'

Examples (19-23) show that C, A, and R ordering adheres to the templatic order of C_3AR. In the examples below (24-25), we see that the order C_3RA is also possible. However, C_3RA violates the templatic order.

24. a Ŵana ŵ-a-w-isk-an-a.
2.child 2.SM-Perf-fall-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Children have caused each other to fall.'
b Ŵana ŵ-a-w-isk-an-il-an-a
2.child 2.SM-Perf-fall-**Caus$_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
pamphasa.
16-mat
'Children have made each other to fall on a mat.'

25. a Ŵasepuka ŵ-a-pok-esk-an-a.
2.boy 2.SM-Perf-receive-**Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV
'Boys have rescued each other.'
b Ŵasepuka ŵ-a-pok-esk-an-il-an-a
2.boy 2.SM-Perf-receive-**Caus$_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV
citemwa.
7.love
'The boys rescued each other because they love each other.'

Examples below illustrate the **RC$_3$A** order, which violates the templatic order.

26. a Sungani w-a-sinth-an-isk-a skapato.
1.Sungani 1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 10.shoe
'Sungani has exchanged shoes.'
b Sungani w-a-sinth-an-isk-il-a skapato
1.Sungani 1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 10.shoe
'Sungani has exchanged shoes.'
Sungeni.
1.Sungeni
'Sungani has exchanged shoes for/on Sungeni.'
c Ŵ-a-sinth-an-isk-il-an-a skapato.
1.SM-Perf-change-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 10.shoe
'They have exchanged each other's shoes for/on each other.'

27. a Wa-ka-lek-an-isk-a mtolo wa
1.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus$_3$-**FV 3.bundle of
zinde.
9.sugarcane
He separated a bundle of sugarcane.'
b Tina wa-ka-lek-an-isk-il-a mtolo
1.Tina 1.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus3-Appl**-FV 3.bundle
wa zinde Thembi.
of 9.sugar 1.Thembi
'Tina separated a bundle of sugarcane for Thembi.'
c Ŵa-ka-lek-an-isk-il-an-a mitolo ya
2.SM-Pst-leave-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 4.bundle of
zinde.
9.sugarcane
'They separated bundles of sugarcane for each other.'

28. a Wa-ka-timb-an-isk-a ŵana.
1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$**-FV 2.child
'He caused children to hit each other.'
b Suzgo wa-ka-timb-an-isk-il-a ŵana
1.suzgo 1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl**-FV 2.child
msambizgi.
1.teacher
'Suzgo made the teacher's children to hit each other.'
c Ŵa-ka-timb-an-isk-il-an-a ŵana.
1.SM-Pst-hit-**Recip-Caus$_3$-Appl-Recip**-FV 2.children
'They caused children of each other to hit each other.'

In the order RC$_3$RAR, participants of the events cause each other to do things for each other. Thus the causation is reciprocated and the applicative is also reciprocated. For example in (28a) without the applicative, we get

the meaning of 'children' causing each other to be hit. With the introduction of an applicative in (28b), we that see while causative meaning is reciprocated, the applicative meaning is not reciprocated. In (28c) both the causative meaning and the applicative meaning are reciprocal.

Below are examples that show the order AC_3R which is also a violation of the templatic order **C_3AR**.

29. Ŵa-ku-pok-el-esk-an-a makopala.
    2.SM-Pres-receive-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 6.money
    'They give money to each other (Lit. They make each other to receive money.'
30. Ŵa-ku-temw-el-esk-an-a kwa msambizgi.
    2.SM-Pres-love-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV at 1.teacher
    'They cause each other to be favored by the teacher.'
31. Ŵa-ku-phik-il-isk-an-a majungu.
    2.SM-Pres-cook-**Appl-Caus$_3$-Recip**-FV 6.pumpkin
    'They have pumpkins cooked for each other.'

Thus, we can see that Citumbuka allows for various ordering of the derivational suffixes Causative, Applicative and Reciprocal, which are **C_3AR**, **C_3RA**, **AC_3R** and **RC_3A**. We also see that in some cases, the R suffix doubles, which basically indicates that Citumbuka follows both templatic and compositionality when ordering its suffixes. In the next section, we investigate the ordering of the second Causative, *-Y-* in relation to the templatic order.

9.4. Combinations involving C_2

In Citumbuka, C_3 always follows C_2 (see 7.10 for details). Below are examples illustrating the order C_3C_2.

Table 9.1: Caus$_2$Caus$_3$ order

	English	**C_2C_3**	**English**
kuzga	extend	kuzgiska	cause to extend
lizga	cause to cry, sound	lizgiska	cause to cause to cry or sound
sambizga	teach	sambizgiska	cause to teach
cimbizga	chase	cimbizgiska	cause to chase
mazga	end	mazgiska	cause to end

As the examples clearly show, C_2 always precedes C_3, and the meaning of the derivations is compositional, it carries the sense of double causation. This is not restricted to Citumbuka. Simango (1999) observes that in Bantu

languages, only restricted causatives can further be causativized and not the regular causative. This means that, it is not expected for the regular causative to allow further suffixation of causative suffixes in such Bantu languages. However, section 7.8 of chapter 7 shows that it is possible for the regular causative in Citumbuka to allow suffixation of another regular causative.

9.4.1. Combinations involving Reciprocal and Causative$_2$

The order C_2R is common in Citumbuka as we can see in examples below (33a-f) illustrate C_2R ordering in Citumbuka.

32. a	kozg-a	'resemble'	kozg-an-a	'resemble each other'
b	cimbizg-a	'chase'	cimbizg-an-a	'chase each other'
c	sambizg-a	'teach'	sambizg-an-a	'teach each other'
d	cekuzg-a	'make s.o become old'		
	cekuzg-an-a	'make each other become old,' or 'grow old together'		
e	ofy-a	'scare'	ofy-an-a	'scare each other'
f	lusk-a	'outdo'	lusk-an-a	'outdo each other'

As the preceding examples show, it is the norm for C_2 to precede R in Citumbuka. There are restrictions regarding the reverse order. Citumbuka violates the templatic order, RC_2, except for a few reciprocal verbs.

33. a	op-an-a	'fear each other'	*opanya 'scare each other.'	
b	cimbil-an-a	'run from each other'	*cimbilanya	'chase each other'

34. a	dik-an-y-a	'make things (eg. plates, books) be on top of each other'
b	gumany-a	'bring two sides or parts together'
c	pal-an-y-a	'scatter things'
d	sonkh-an-y-a	'bring people or things together'
e	kuman-y-a	'make two things meet'
f	timb-an-y-a	'make people fight'
g	wung-an-y-a	'gather people/things

While examples in (33a-b) are not acceptable, those in (35a-c) are just fine. The differences suggest that different verbs may allow different orders of derivational suffixes in a language.

9.4.2. Combinations involving Causative$_2$ and Applicative

Causative$_2$-Applicative

In the following table we see examples that illustrate that it is possible to have the A follow C_2 in the order C_2A.

Table 9.2: Caus$_2$-Appl order

Caus$_2$	**English**	**Caus$_2$-Appl**	**English**
lizga	sound or make cry	lizgila	sound for or make cry for
cimbizga	chase	cimbizgila	chase for
luska	outdo	luskila	outdo for
ofya	scare	ofyela	scare for, scare with
fumya	let out	fumyila	let out for
kuzga	extend	kuzgila	extend for
wezga	send back	wezgela	send back for, revenge
lekezga	stop doing something	lekezgela	stop doing something for or at some point

It is also possible to have C2 follow A as examples in the following table show. show.

Table 9.3:Appl-Caus$_2$ order

Appl	**English**	**Appl-Caus$_2$**	**English**
nyamulila	carry for	nyamulizga	help to carry
limila	cultivate for	limizga	cause to cultivate for
tumila	send to	tumizga	send something through some medium
fumila	come from	fumizga	let out
julila	open for	julizga	ask someone to open for you

Examples in the table above demonstrate that both AC_2 and C_2A are attested in Citumbuka. The former order adheres to the templatic order while the latter violates it.

9.4.3. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Reciprocal and Applicative

Citumbuka allows several orders when the Reciprocal is combined with Applicative and Causative$_2$. Below are examples of Causative$_2$-Reciprocal-Applicative (C_2RAR) and Applicative-Causative$_2$-Reciprocal (AC_2R) orders.

35. Ŵa-ka-wezg-an-il-an-a ukali.
    2.SM-Pst-return.Caus$_2$**-Recip-Appl-Recip**-FV 14.anger.
    'They sent each other back out of anger.'
36. Ŵa-ku-kozg-an-il-an-a-nga-ci?
    2.SM-Pres-resemble.Caus$_2$**-Recip-Appl-Recip**-ImPerf-FV-Q
    'Why do they resemble each other?'
37. a phal-izg-an-a 'compete against each other'
    b nyamul-izg-an-a 'carry something together.'
    c lim-izg-an-a 'cultivate together.'
    d pokel-ezg-an-a 'take turns'
    e tum-izg-an-a 'send things through each other'

In examples (38-40), two orders are attested: **Caus$_2$-Recip-Appl-Recip (C$_2$RAR),** and **Appl-Caus$_2$-Recip (AC$_2$R)**. Both **C$_2$RAR** and **AC$_2$R** violate the templatic order.

9.4.4. Combinations involving Causative$_2$, Causative$_3$, and Applicative

As already stated elsewhere, C_2 always precedes C_3 in Citumbuka. When C_2 and C_3 are combined with Applicative, two orders are possible, **C$_2$C$_3$A** and **AC$_2$C$_3$.** Examples below illustrate the two orders.

38.	a kuzg-isk-il-a	'make extend for'
	b lizg-isk-il-a	'cause to make cry/sound for/on'
	c sambizg-isk-il-a	'make cause to teach for
	d mazg-isk-il-a	'cause to end for'
	e cimbizg-isk-il-a	'cause to chase for'

In the examples below, A and C_2 have merged as we know from chapter 7 that C_2 induces change on some stem final consonants of the base such as *l*.

39.	a lek-ezg-esk-a	makesomeone stop doing something
	b jul-izg-isk-a	make someone ask someone to open for you
	c tum-izg-isk-a	make someone send something through some means
	d lim-izg-isk-a	'make someone cause people to do communal work for food'
	e nyamul-izg-isk-a	'make someone assist someone to carry something'

Both **C$_2$C$_3$A** (38) and **AC$_2$C$_3$ (**39**)** violate the C$_3$AC$_2$P since C_2 is ordered before C_3 in examples above (38 and 39).

9.5. Combinations involving the passive

9.5.1. Passive and C_3

Either passive or the causative can be ordered after the other. The following examples show the order Pass-Caus$_2$.

40.	a liw-isk-a	'cause to be eaten.'
	b kom-w-esk-a	'cause to be burdened'
	c ku-omil-w-iska	'to cause to be thirsted for'
	d ziz-w-isk-a	'cause to be surprised'
	e tengw-esk-a	'cause to be married'
	f fuful-w-isk-a	'cause to be eaten by weevils.'

g kom-ek-esk-a ‘cause to be killed.’
h timb-iw-isk-a ‘cause to be hit.’

Examples (40a-h) show that it is possible for passive to precede Causative$_3$. Most of the passives that are taking the form *-iw-* in the preceding examples (40a, b, c, d and f) have lexicalized passive meaning. The reverse order **(C_3P)** is also possible as examples below (41a-e) illustrate.

41. a phik-isk-ik-a ‘be made to cook’
b w-isk-isk-ik-a ‘be made to drop’
c gul-isk-ik-a ‘be made to buy’
d yegh-esk-ek-a ‘be made to carry’
e temw-esk-ek-a ‘cause someone to be loved’

Examples (40) and (41) above show that both **C_3P** and **PC_3** are possible in Citumbuka.

9.5.2. Applicative and Passive

Either the passive can precede the applicative or the applicative can precede the passive.

42. a Manesi w-a-phik-**il**-a ŵana cakulya.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cook-**Appl**-FV 2.child 7.food
‘Manesi has cooked food for children.’
b Ŵana ŵ-a-phik-**ik-il**-a cakulya na
2.child 2.SM-Perf-cook-**Pass-Appl**-FV 7.food with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
‘Children have had food cooked for them by Manesi’
c Ŵana ŵ-a-phik-**il-ik**-a cakulya na
2.child 2.SM-Perf-cook-**Appl-Pass**-FV 7.food with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
‘Children have had food cooked for them by Manesi.’
d Cakulya c-a-phik-**ik-il**-a ŵana na
7.food 7.SM-Perf-cook-**Pass-Appl**-FV 2.child with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
The food has been cooked for children by Manesi.
43. a Manesi w-a-yi-cek-**el**-a ci-mayi nyama.
1.Manesi 1.SM-Perf-cut-**Appl**-FV 7.knife 9.meat
Manesi has cut the meat with a knife’

b Nyama y-a-cek-**ek-el**-a cimayi na
9.meat 9.SM-Perf-cut-**Pass-Appl**-FV 7.knife with
Manesi.
1.Manesi
The meat has been cut with a knife by Manesi

44. Cimayi c-a-cek-**ek-el**-a nyama na Manesi.
7.knife 7.SM-cut-**Pass-Appl**-FV 9.meat with 1.Manesi
'The knife has been used to cut meat by Manesi'

As examples (42-44) show, both **AP** and **PA** orders are possible when Applicative and Passive combine. When the Passive combine with C_2, two orders are possible, C_2P and PC_2. See examples below.

While we are aware that passive cannot reciprocalize and reciprocal cannot passivize from chapter 4, we are also aware of derivations that combine morpheme suffixes *-ik-* and *-an-*, for instance, anti-causatives (see 5.4.2 for details). Below are some examples.

45. a mang-a 'tie'
b mang-**ik**-a 'be tied'
c mang-**ik-an**-a 'entangle'
46. a sazg-a 'mix'
b sazg-**ik**-a 'be mixed'
c sazg-**ik-an**-a 'be mixed up'

9.5.3. Combinations involving C_2 and Passive

When C_2 and P interact, two orders are possible, C_2P (47) and PC_2 (48). However, as the preceding examples show, the order PC_2 is attested only in a few lexicalized passives.

47. a lusk-ik-a 'be outdone'
b nusk-ik-a 'be smelled.'
c khazg-ik-a 'be waited for'
d ofy-ek-a 'be made to fear.'
e khozg-ek-a 'be made strong'
f longozg-ek-a 'be made to lead/guide'
48. a towa 'be beautiful'
tozga 'make beautiful.'
b tengwa 'be married'
tezga 'marry off someone.'

9.6. Combinations involving c_1

As discussed in the causative chapter, Citumbuka has three causative morphemes: *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The first one, C_1, is *-ik-* (which is homophonous to the passive, potential, anti-causative and stative, *-ik.* see Chapter 5). It appears that this causative form appears in a fixed position, next to the verb root. In the examples that follow, we look at how C_1 interacts with other derivational morphemes. In the following examples, we see how the Causative$_1$ and Reciprocal are ordered.

49. a Madoda gh-a-sindam-a.
    6.men 6.SM-Perf-stoop-FV
    'Men are have stooped down.'
  b Msepuka w-a-sindam-ik-a madoda.
    1.boy 1.SM-Perf-stoop-**Caus$_1$**-FV 6.men
    'A boy has made men to stoop down.'
  c Madoda gh-a-sindam-ik-an-a.
    6.man 1.SM-Perf-stoop-**Caus$_1$-Recip**-FV
    'Men have made each other to stoop down.'

50. a Chindikani wa-ku-vwal-a.
    1.Chindikani 1.SM-Pres-dress-FV
    'Chindikani is dressing (himself).'
  b Nchindi wa-ku-vwal-ik-a Chindikani.
    1.Chindikani 1.SM-Pres-dress-**Caus$_1$**-FV 1.Chindikani
    'Nchindi is dressing Chindikani.'
  c Chindikani na Nchindi
    1.Chindikani with 1.Nchindi
    ŵa-ku-vwal-ik-an-a.
    2.SM-Pres-dress-**Caus$_1$-Recip**-FV
    'Chindikani and Nchindi are dressing each other.'

The following examples show how the causative$_1$ and applicative are ordered.

51. a Vwal-**ik-il**-a 'dress on behalf of'
  b sindam-**ik-il**-a 'make stoop for'
  c vund-**ik-il**-a 'ripen for/on behalf of'
  d vunam-**ik-il**-a 'make lie on stomach with face down for'
  e tand-**ik-il**-a 'spread mat/or sheet for/on behalf of'

In the interaction between Caus$_1$ and Passive, Caus$_1$ always precedes the passive.

52. a vund-a 'rot'
  b vund-ik-a 'ripen'
  c vund-**ik-ik**-a 'be ripened'

53.	a vwal-a	'dress'
	b vwal-ik-a	'dress someone'
	c vwal-**ik-ik**-a	'be dressed by someone'

In the following examples we see how Causative$_1$ and Causative$_3$ are ordered. We see that Caus$_1$ always precedes Caus$_3$.

54.	a vwal-**ik-isk**-a	'make to dress someone'
	b tand-**ik-isk**-a	'make to spread a mat/sheet
	c vunam-**ik-isk**-a	'cause to make lie on one's stomach'
	d vund-**ik-isk**-a	'make to ripen fruits
	e sindam-**ik-isk**-a	'cause to make someone stoop'

The preceding examples demonstrate that C_1 has a fixed position while the rest of the morphemes show some variable ordering. According to Rice (2009:2) "affixes with a more narrow scope appear in a linear order closer to a root than affixes with a less narrow scope." In other words, less productive affixes appear closer to the root unlike those that are more productive. In the chapter 7, we observed that the *-ik-* causative morpheme is the least productive causative suffix in Citumbuka. This suffix appears next to the verb root.

9.7. Doubling and tripling of some suffixes (*-il-*, *-isk-* and *-ísk-*)

As already discussed in the previous chapters, some of these derivational suffixes can double or triple themselves in some derivations. Examples below illustrate doubling and tripling of some derivational suffixes in Citumbuka.

55.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-il-a	'tie for'
	c mang-**il-il**-a	'hang/ tie something (with sth) to something'
	d mang-**il-il-il**-a	'tie sth to sth on behalf/because of sth'
56.	a lind-a	'wait on s.o./ escort'
	b lind-**il**-a	'wait for s.o/sth'
	c lind-**il-il**-a	'keep waiting for s.o/sth'
	d lind-**il-il-il**-a	'keep waiting for s.o/sth. on behalf of'
57.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-**isk**-a	'cause to arrest/tie someone/thing'
	c mang-**isk-isk**-a	'cause (accidentally) to make someone tie/arrest'
	d mang-**ísk**-a	'tie too much
	e mang-**ísk-ísk**-a	'tie too (too) firmly'(second degree)
	f mang-**ísk-ísk-ísk**-a	'tie too (too too) firmly'(third degree)

Examples (55-57) show repetition of the same morph and can thus be treated as cases of reduplicated morphemes. The examples also show that Menn and MacWhinney's (1984; see also Mathangwane 2001 and Hyman 2003:257-258) Repeated Morph Constraint is violated. Languages like Ikalanga and Xhosa (Satyo 1985 cited by Mathangwane 2001:402) also permit repetition of the same morph within the same verb without an intervening suffix (Mathangwane 2001). In fact, Chichewa also exhibits similar behavior with applicative, causative and intensive suffixes, contra Hyman (2003:257-258). See examples below from Chichewa.

Chichewa

58.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-il-a	'tie for'
	c mang-il-il-a	'tie with something to sth/or hang/peg sth e.g a goat or cattle'
	d mang-il-il-il-a	'tie sth with sth to sth/hang/peg an animal for'
59.	a mang-a	'tie'
	b mang-its-a	'make tie'
	c mang-íts-a	'tie firmly'
	d mang-íts-íts-a	'tie too firmly'
60.	a gwir-a	'catch/touch/hold'
	b gwir-ir-a	'catch/touch/hold for'
	c gwir-ir-ir-a	'hold sth intensely/ rape s.o'
	d gwir-íts-a	'catch/hold firmly'
	e gwir-íts-íts-a	'hold too firmly'

As the preceding examples show, Chichewa also allows repetition of applicative, causative and intensive derivational morphemes without having an intervening derivational suffix, and therefore violates the Repeated Morpheme constraint, contrary to Hyman (2003:258). Thus, Chichewa, Xhosa, Ikalanga and Citumbuka are some of the Bantu languages that indicate that repetition of some morphs is common in Bantu languages.

9.8. Summary and Conclusion

The chapter aimed at investigating suffix ordering in Citumbuka. We started with Hyman's (2003) principle which states that different Bantu languages use different strategies to resolve the tension between adhering to CARP or the compositionality. For instance, Chichewa resolves that by using both compositionality and templatic principles with the templatic one overriding compositionality. Our discussion of Citumbuka shows that both templatic principles and and compositionality are used with compositionality overriding the templatic ordering. The chapter has also shown that Citumbuka does not allow the regular causative to be ordered before the second causative, hence violating the extended pan-Bantu default order,

CARCP. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that Citumbuka violates the Repeated Morph Constraint as it is possible to have the same morpheme doubled or tripled one after another in a row as is the case with applicative morphemes and intensive morphemes. Below is a list of attested suffix order in Citumbuka.

61. a $Caus_3$-Appl
    b Appl-$Caus_3$
    c $Caus_3$-Recip
    d Recip-$Caus_3$
    e Appl-Recip
    f Recip-Appl-Recip
    g $Caus_3$-Appl-Recip
    h $Caus_3$-Recip-Appl-Recip
    i Recip-$Caus_3$-Appl-Recip
    j Appl-$Caus_3$-Recip
    k $Caus_2$-$Caus_3$
    l $Caus_2$-Recip
    m Recip-$Caus_2$
    n $Caus_2$-Appl
    o Appl-$Caus_2$
    q $Caus_2$-Recip-Appl-Recip
    q Appl-$Caus_2$-Recip
    r $Caus_2$-$Caus_3$-Appl
    s Appl-$Caus_2$-$Caus_3$
    u Pass-$Caus_3$
    v $Caus_3$-Pass
    w Appl-Pass
    x Pass-Appl
    y $Caus_2$-Pass
    z Pass-$Caus_2$
62. a $Caus_1$-Recip
    b $Caus_1$-Appl
    c $Caus_1$-$Caus_3$
    d $Caus_1$-Pass
63. a Appl-Appl-
    b Appl-Appl-Appl
    c $Caus_3$-$Caus_3$
    d Intens-Intens
    e Intens-Intens-Intens