NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CAUSATIVES IN BANTU

BY

JOSEPHINE BRIONY MURRELL

A Linguistic Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

December, 2000

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December, 2000

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CAUSATIVES IN BANTU

I declare that this is my original work and has not been
submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical
Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(signed)___*Jo Murrell*___

Josephine Briony Murrell

December, 2000

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TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
FUT	future tense
FV	final vowel
IND	indicative mood
INF	infinitive
IP	initial prefix
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
pl	plural
PERF	perfective tense
PRES	present tense
REL	relative
s	singular
SBJ	subjunctive mood
*	grammatically unacceptable

ABSTRACT

This study will investigate causative formation in three major Bantu languages; KiSwahili, Kikuyu and Lingala. These three languages are from different subgroups of Bantu, and thus one would expect to find differences between them in the ways in which causatives are formed, as well as finding similarities common to all. KiSwahili and Kikuyu are more closely linked to each other than to Lingala, and the author will research whether this is reflected in the similarities and differences in the ways causatives are formed.

Even within the most well-studied of the Bantu languages, KiSwahili, there are some questions regarding causative formation which seem to remain unanswered, such as why one verb root may take more than one type of causative suffix, but others may not. The author will seek to provide explanations for some of these questions, as well as investigating whether they are widespread, and reflected in the other Bantu languages studied here, or restricted to KiSwahili only.

Comparative studies such as these have their place in Bible Translation. With the implementation of the SIL initiative Vision 2025, which seeks to have a Bible translation started in every language of the world which needs one by the year 2025, there is a need for far greater teamwork than has existed before in translation work. Groups are forming which aim to work together on related languages, pool resources, and help each other in their respective translations. One such group is the Bantu Initiative. A current target of this group is to provide a grammar template, helping linguists to know what they can expect from a Bantu language in each area of the grammar whilst at the same time illustrating the types of differences which exist. The author hopes to be able to provide a basis for this Bantu grammar template in the area of causatives, using the three languages studied to provide examples.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims of the Project

This study will investigate and describe causative formation in three major Bantu languages: KiSwahili, Kikuyu and Lingala. These three languages are from different subgroups of Bantu, and thus one would expect to find differences between them in the ways in which causatives are formed, as well as finding similarities common to all. KiSwahili and Kikuyu are more closely related to each other than to Lingala, and the author will research whether this is reflected in the similarities and differences in the ways causatives are formed.

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1.2   Bantu Languages

1.2 1.   Genetic Affiliation and Demography

Bantu is the name of a sub-group of the Niger-Kordofanian family of languages. This sub-group consists of more than 400 languages, 25 of which are spoken by more than a million speakers each. In total, around a third of Africa's population speak a Bantu

language (Wald 1992, 157). Bantu languages are spoken right across Africa, from the west coast to the east. The boundary of Bantu languages to the north lies roughly across Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Uganda and Kenya.

Bantu languages are each given a letter, corresponding to geographical zones. Thus KiSwahili is a Bantu G language, along with other coastal Bantu languages, while Lingala is a Bantu C language, being spoken mostly in DRC. Kikuyu is a Bantu E language. The different Bantu languages are not mutually intelligible, but do tend to form a continuum, whereby two adjacent languages on the continuum are mutually intelligible, but those separated by one or two other languages are not.

1.2.2 Phonology

Bantu languages commonly have an open syllable, CV structure. They tend to have five or seven vowels; if the latter then there is frequently vowel harmony within words. They have voiced and voiceless plosives at the major points of articulation, prenasalised plosives, nasals, fricatives and approximants. Most Bantu languages are tonal, having two distinct tones, which generally are more important for grammatical meaning than for lexical; there are not often many minimal pairs for tone (Kutsch Lojenga 1994, 303).

1.2.3 Morphology and Syntax

Bantu languages are well known for their complex noun class system. There may be as many as twenty different noun classes in a language, and these are generally distinguished by some semantic category. The class to which a noun belongs is marked by the prefixes it takes. There is frequently agreement between nouns,

adjectives and pronouns, and with the verb in the clause. Verbs are agglutinative, having many affixes showing for example subject, object, tense, mood, polarity, causation, passivisation and so on.

1.2.4 Previous Work

Much work has been done on Bantu languages. Among the most famous names in Bantu studies are Malcolm Guthrie (1967), for his early classification of the Bantu languages into zones, which are still used, hence the C, E and G classifications I have used below; Bleek (1862) for his work on noun classification; Meeussen (1967) for his work on Proto-Bantu reconstruction; and Welmers (1973) and Hinnebusch (1989), who both conducted work on comparative Bantu.

1.3 Swahili

1.3.1 Genetic Affiliation and Demography

KiSwahili (or Swahili) is a Bantu language belonging to the Niger-Congo (Niger-Kordofanian) family. Its full classification is: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, G, Swahili. There are fifteen different dialects of KiSwahili (Grimes 1996, 295).

KiSwahili is spoken widely in East Africa. It is a national language of both Tanzania and Kenya, and is spoken in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC. It is spoken as a mother tongue, or first language, along the coast of East Africa from Mogadishu to Mozambique, as well as on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. In Kenya alone, 92,000 to 97,000 people speak it as their first language, and twelve million people speak it as either their first or their second language. In East Africa a total of five

million people speak it as their first language, and thirty million people as their second language (Grimes 1996, 295).

There are records of KiSwahili being spoken on the coast of Kenya from as early as the 10th century. The language was heavily influenced by Muslim traders, and in fact early written forms of the language used an Arabic script (Maw 1994, 4421). It spread inland rapidly along the trade routes, hence its use now as a second language by many people.

1.3.2 Phonology

Swahili has a basic CV structure for syllables, although CVC syllables are also common. It has five vowels, and a range of voiced and voiceless plosives, prenasals, fricatives and nasals. It is not a tonal language (although it may once have been in the past), and stress generally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word.

1.3.3 Morphology and Syntax

As with most Bantu languages, KiSwahili has many noun classes. These force adjectives and other qualifiers to agree with them within a clause. Generally, qualifiers follow the head noun. Verbs are highly agglutinative. They are marked for subject and also for object, when the object is animate, using morphemes which agree with the noun class. Hinnebusch (1992, 105) states that in KiSwahili, 'word order is typically Subject Object Verb', but from my own analysis I would disagree with this statement. I found that KiSwahili is clearly a head-first language; that is, SVO (subject verb object) or AVP (agent verb patient). The language generally uses prepositions rather than postpositions, and adjectives follow the noun they qualify. This makes KiSwahili a Type II, Pr-N language, according to Greenberg's typology

(Greenberg 1966, 77). Locational adpositions are the exception to this typology in KiSwahili, as they can be pre- or postpositions depending on whether they are bound or free. Within a verb, however, the order is subject marker, then object marker, then verb stem, so Hinnebusch's statement would be true for the constituent order of morphemes in a verb, but not for words in a clause.

1.3.4   Language Assistant

The information for this paper was provided mostly by Lillian Awuor, a Luo who has lived in Nairobi all her life. KiSwahili was her first-learned language, and she has subsequently learned Luo and English. She is not sure what dialect of KiSwahili she speaks, but doubtless it has been influenced by the great number of KiSwahili speakers from different parts of Kenya, speaking different dialects, who all live in Nairobi.

1.3.5   Previous Work

There is a great deal of KiSwahili literature published, including dictionaries, grammars, several versions of the Bible, school textbooks, newspapers (for example *Taifa Leo*), and fiction. There are also large numbers of linguistic publications written about many aspects of KiSwahili. Professor Malcolm Guthrie (1967) is well-renowned for his work on the language, as are Joan Maw (1994) and Professor Wilfred Whiteley (1969).

1.4 Kikuyu

1.4.1   Genetic Affiliation and Demography

Like KiSwahili, Kikuyu is also a Central, Narrow Bantu language, but belonging to zone E. It is spoken in the Central Province of Kenya. There are four main dialects:

Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri and Nyandarua, and over five million people, or twenty percent of the population of Kenya, speak it as a first language (Grimes 1996, 290). The Kikuyus are traditionally agriculturists, growing crops and keeping cows and chickens.

1.4.2 Phonology

There are seven vowels in Kikuyu; [i], [e], [ɛ], [u], [o], [ɔ] and [a]. These are generally written as | i, ĩ, e, u, ũ, o a |. There is a restricted range of plosives, but many prenasalised plosives, fricatives and approximants (Hartell 1993, 185). Tone marks both lexical and grammatical meaning.

1.4.3 Morphology and Syntax

Kikuyu also has many noun classes, with concord agreement within a clause. It differs from Swahili in its complex use of tense; it uses present, immediately succeeding present, immediately preceding present, and indefinite. The latter can be either future or past, and the present tense encompasses quite a wide span of time, too (Leakey 1978, 27). The verb stem tends to be a monosyllable, but the verb is highly agglutinative.

1.4.4 Language Assistant

Mary Nduta, who speaks the Kiambu dialect of Kikuyu, was the main source of information for the Kikuyu in this project. Additional information was also provided by Joseph Weru who speaks the Murang'a dialect of Kikuyu. Because of this difference in dialects between my two assistants, I have labelled any examples given by Weru with (W).

1.4.5 Previous Work

Several grammars have been written about Kikuyu, including those by Barlow (1951), Leakey (1978), Gecaga and Kirkaldy-Willis (1955) and Mugane (1977). A Bible was published in 1965, and many Kikuyu novels have been written. Daily Kikuyu newspapers are also published.

1.5 Lingala

1.5.1 Genetic Affiliation and Demography

Lingala is also a Narrow Bantu language, but is Northwest, not Central. It is a Bantu C Language (Grimes 1996, 443). It is spoken by over eight million people (including those who speak it as a second language), mainly in the DRC, in the Bandundu, Equateur and Haut-Zaire regions. In the early parts of the 20th century its use was widely promoted by the colonialists, and learnt even by those they employed from as far afield as Zanzibar and West Africa, as the prime medium of communication with the local population. After independence, because the new prime minister, Mobutu, was from the north-west region of Zaire, its usage spread further across the country. The government used it as the language to talk to the people, whilst they used French amongst themselves. Nowadays, there is still a large group of people for whom it is their mother tongue, especially in the capital, Kinshasa, and in all the urban centres of the western side of the country. It has spread along trade routes into Cameroon, Gabon and the Central African Republic, and is used widely in Congolese expatriate communities (Meeuwis 1998, 4-7).

1.5.2 Phonology

Lingala uses seven vowels; [i], [e], [ɛ], [u], [o], [ɔ] and [a]; these IPA symbols are the ones also used in the orthography. It has a range of plosives, prenasals, nasals,

fricatives and approximants at the major points of articulation. Syllables tend to be open CV structure, but many verb stems use CVC syllables. Tone differentiates both lexical and grammatical meaning (Meeuwis 1998, 9).

1.5.3 Morphology and Syntax

Lingala uses noun classes, and there is some concord agreement with adjectives, but many adjectives are invariable. Verbs are agglutinative, with the bound morphemes showing subject, reflexive, mood, tense, aspect and mode, causation, passivization and so on. Lingala is a head-first, SVO language. The indirect object generally precedes the direct object.

1.5.4 Language Assistant

My Lingala language assistant was Martine Mademogo, from the DRC. She has grown up in the Equateur region of Congo, and although her mother tongue is Ngbaka, she prefers using Lingala in most situations when she is in Congo.

1.5.5 Previous Work

De Boeck (1904) and Stapleton (1903) were among the first to write descriptive grammars of Lingala, and Redden and Bongo (1963) followed them with a more didactic grammar. Guthrie (1955) also carried out some linguistic work on Lingala. The Bible was published in Lingala in 1970. There are many other Lingala books, and popular music often uses Lingala too, maybe because many of the song-writers come from Kinshasa.

1.6 Methodology

Much of my data was elicited from my language assistants. I ensured that my three main assistants were in approximately the same age group, and were of the same sex.

They were also all mothers of school age children, and have all received at least some secondary schooling themselves. When eliciting data, I copied the example of Driever (1976, 19) and tried to do this in various different ways. Sometimes I asked for a direct translation, usually from English, but occasionally from KiSwahili or French. Sometimes I gave an utterance and asked for an opinion as to its validity. Sometimes I gave an element of an utterance, for example a causative or a non-causative verb, and asked for a sentence to be constructed around it.

I also collected natural texts in each language. These weren't often very productive in that causatives were rare, but to have asked for texts containing more causatives would have defeated the object of looking in natural text. I took texts from newspapers and books, and also asked my language assistants to write narrative and procedural texts. Where I have used these as examples, they are labelled (t). Where I have used them to elicit other sentences, these are labelled as text comments, (tc). I have avoided using translated material such as Biblical texts as, due to the fact that they are translated material, and also that older translations were often done by non-mother-tongue speakers, they are not good examples of natural text.

When glossing examples, I have split only the verbs into their constituent morphemes. Nouns and other parts of speech have been left as entire words, to keep the glossing simple.

CHAPTER II

SIMPLE CAUSATIVES

In this chapter I demonstrate how the three types of causatives: lexical, morphological and periphrastic, can be formed in KiSwahili, Kikuyu and Lingala. I describe the syntax of the verb in each case, and discuss different forms of the morphological causative in the two languages in which they occur.

2.1   A Definition of Causatives

According to Payne (1997, 176), a causative is 'a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect'. Palmer's (1994, 218) definition is more precise. He states that a causative involves some kind of marking on the verb, whether periphrastic or morphological, an addition of a causer in the subject position, a demotion of the other arguments, and a causal meaning (Palmer includes lexical causatives under morphological, whereas Payne has three separate classes).

Causative constructions are thus valence increasing, because of the addition of the causer into the sentence. For example, a verb which is intransitive and has one argument in a simple KiSwahili sentence (1) has two arguments when the causative marker is added; these are the causer (the one making the other do something, or the agent of the causative event) and the causee (the one being made to do something, or the agent of the caused event).

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1. *mtoto* *a-me-lal-a*

    child   3s-PERF-sleep-IND   'The child is sleeping.'

Note that the initial person marker in verbs is the subject, and where there is a second, it is the object, in (2) and all following examples.

2. *Jo a-me-m-lal-ish-a*   *mtoto*

    Jo 3s-PERF-3s-sleep-CAUS-IND   child   'Jo made the child sleep.'

As can be seen, the subject in (1), the child, is demoted to the object position, after the verb, in the causative sentence in (2). The subject is likewise demoted, and the valence increased, in a causative based on a transitive sentence.

There are generally three different ways of forming causatives. The first of these is lexical. The cause is not expressed by an additional operator, but by the verb itself. Payne (1997, 177) suggests three different categories of lexical causatives: using exactly the same verb, or the same verb with an idiosyncratic change, or a completely different verb.

The second way is morphological. Morphological causatives are shown by a change in the verb structure itself. In Bantu languages, this morphological change is often realised by inserting a suffix into the verb. It can often carry connotations of helping as well as just causing (Schadeberg unpublished, 5).

The third strategy is periphrastic causation. This is not always regarded as being syntactically valence increasing (although it is, semantically), because it is bi-clausal,

that is, it contains a matrix verb as well as the original event verb (Payne 1997, 181). It is this matrix verb which expresses the causation.

2.2   Formation of Causatives in the Three Languages Studied

Causatives in KiSwahili, Kikuyu and Lingala can be formed lexically, morphologically and periphrastically.

2.2.1   Lexical Causatives

KISWAHILI

Lexical causatives seem to be rare in KiSwahili; the only example I found was the 'standard' one of 'die/kill'. (This occurs as a lexical causative in many different languages.) In KiSwahili, *kuua* means 'to kill' and *kufa* means 'to die'. (3) and (4) demonstrate the use of a completely different verb to show causation. (In these and all following paired examples in this chapter, the first of the pair is non-causative, and the second is the equivalent causative example.)

3. *Mbwa*   *a-li-kuf-a.*

   dog   3s-PAST-die-IND   'The dog died.'

4. *Paulo*   *a-li-m-u-a*   *mbwa.*

   Paul   3s-PAST-3s-kill-IND   dog   'Paul killed the dog.'

This example is an interesting one, because according to the dictionary, there is also a word *kufisha*, the morphological causative form of *kufa*. *Kuua* seems to be more common in spoken Swahili, however. (See page 34 for further discussion of this.)

KIKUYU

Kikuyu also has lexical causatives for 'die' and 'kill'. *Gũkua* is 'to die', and *kũraga* is 'to kill'.

5. *Ng'ombe* *nĩ-r-end-a*   *gũ-kua.*

    cow   IP-PRES-want-IND   to-die   'The cow is about to die.'

6. *nĩ-o-rag-a*   *mbũkũ*

    IP-3s-kill-IND   rabbit   'he killed a rabbit'

Unlike KiSwahili, Kikuyu has other lexical causatives in common use. One of these is when making someone come to you. 'To come' is *gũũka*, but when you make someone come, the verb *gwĩta*, which also means 'to call', is used.

LINGALA

In Lingala, I only found the lexical causative for 'die' and 'kill'; *kufa* is 'to die', and *koboma* is 'to kill'.

2.2.2 Morphological Causatives

KISWAHILI

Morphological causatives are very productive in KiSwahili. According to Ashton (1944, 231) there are two forms of the causative, each having several allomorphs. The first of these is *–y*, and she states that it has the following allomorphs, depending on the last phoneme of the verb stem.

stem   causative
ending allomorph

/w/ :   *-/vy/*

/t/ :   *-/s/* or *-/sh/*

/k/ :   *-/sh/*

/l/ :   *-/z/*

> Ashton's rule: If the stem ends in one of these phonemes, the final phoneme determines which allomorph of the causative should be used, and then drops out.

So, as can be seen in (7) below, the verb stem 'to wake up (intransitive)', *amk*, ends in *k*. According to Ashton's rule, the *k* determines that the appropriate causative ending

should be *–sh*, and so this is attached, and then the *k* drops out, giving *amsha*, 'to wake up (transitive)' (7) and (8).

7. *Ni-me-amk-a.*

    1s-PERF-wake-IND   'I have just woken up.'

8. *Paulo   a-me-ni-am-sh-a.*

    Paul   3s-PERF-1s-wake-CAUS-IND   'Paul has just woken me up.'

If the stem ends in a vowel, *–z* is inserted after the final vowel of the stem, before the indicative end marker (9) and (10).

9. *Ni-me-pote-a.*

    1s-PERF-lose-IND   'I am lost.'

10. *Ni-me-pote-z-a*   *viatu.*

    1s-PERF-lose-CAUS-IND   shoes   'I caused my shoes to be lost.'

                                       i.e. 'I lost my shoes.'

Ashton states that all other consonants take the second form of the causative, *-ish* or *-esh* (the vowel changes according to vowel harmony within the word; if the preceding vowel is *i, u* or *a*, the word takes *–ish*, but if it is *e* or *o* the word takes *-esh*). For reasons that I explain below, she keeps the two forms separate.

I did not find that Ashton's rule was adequate to explain the data I elicited. This may be because of change over time, or dialectal or social differences. For example, according to Ashton's rules, the verb *chelewa* 'to be late' should take a *-vy* form of the causative, because the verb stem ends in *w*, but this was not the case according to the data I received (11) and (12).

11. *ni-me-chelew-a*

    1s-PERF-late-IND   'I am late'

12. ni-me-chele-z-a   *kitabu*

    1s-PERF-late-CAUS-IND   book   'I have kept the book overnight'

I found that the most common form of the causative is the *–ish/-esh* form. This occurs when the verb stem ends in any consonant except *k*. When the verb stem ends in *k*, the causative allomorph is *–sh*, and the *k* drops out of the verb stem. When the verb stem ends in a vowel, the causative allomorph is *–z*. These rules work ninety percent of the time, but there are irregularities, where a different causative suffix is used rather than the expected one. One reason for this is the existence of a word which is very similar to the causative form of another:

13. ni-li-fik-a

    1s-PAST-reach-IND   'I arrived'

14. ni-li-m-fik-ish-a

    1s-PAST-3s-reach-CAUS-IND   'I made him arrive'

The causative form of 'to reach' is not *fisha*, as would be expected for a verb ending its stem with *k*, because there is already a word *fisha*, meaning 'to kill, or cause to die' (see section 2.2.1). Instead, the verb takes the *–ish/-esh* form of the causative and does not drop the *k*.

A second reason for unexpected causative forms is where either form is permissible with a verb stem, and each gives a slightly different nuance. For example, *chelewa*, used in (11) and (12) above, can also take the *-esh* form of the causative, as follows:

15. ni-me-m-chelew-esh-a

    1s-PERF-3s-late-CAUS-IND   'I have made him late'

The verb *kulala*, 'to sleep', ends the stem with *l*, so the expected form of the causative is *kulalisha*, 'to make someone sleep'. However, *kulaza* (the form which would be expected from Ashton's rule) is also found:

16. *ni-me-m-la-z-a*   *mtoto.*

    1s-PERF-3s-sleep-CAUS-IND   child   'I have just put the child to bed.'

In other cases, the *–ish/-esh* form of the causative signifies helping someone to do something, instead of making them do it. It appears to be the context which determines the most appropriate meaning of the two.

17. *Jo a-li-m-jeng-esh-a*   *Paulo nyumba.*

    Jo 3s-PAST-3s-build-CAUS-IND Paul   house

    'Jo helped Paul build a house' or 'Jo made Paul build a house'.

There are also words where the same meaning is retained even with a causative suffix, i.e., there is no causal or helping meaning; for example *furahi* and *furahisha* both mean 'to rejoice', and *chungua* and *chunguza* both mean 'to scrutinize, spy'.

Morphological causatives in KiSwahili can be formed from intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

Intransitive

18. *Kiliku*   *a-li-wasil-i*   *jana.* (tc)

    Kiliku   3s-PAST-arrive-IND   yesterday

    'Kiliku arrived yesterday.'

19. *Kiliku*   *jana*   *a-li-wasil-ish-a*   *ombi mbele*   *ya*

    Kiliku   yesterday   3s-PAST-arrive-CAUS-IND   appeal in.front   of

    Mahakama   *Kuu.* (t)

    court   big

    'Kiliku presented his appeal in front of the High Court yesterday.'

Transitive

20. *Jo*   *a-li-fany-a*   *kazi.*

    Jo   3s-PAST-do-IND   work   'Jo did work.'

21. *Paulo*   *a-li-m-fany-ish-a*   *Jo*   *kazi.*

    Paul   3s-PAST-3s-do-CAUS-IND   Jo   work   'Paul made Jo do work.'

Ditransitive

22. *John*   *a-li-wa-lip-a*   *watoto*   *pesa.*

    John   3s-PAST-3pl-pay-IND children   money

    'John paid the children money.'

23. *Maria*   *a-li-m-lip-ish-a*   *John* *pesa* *kwa*   *watoto.*

    Maria   3s-PAST-3s-pay-CAUS-IND   John   money to   children

    'Maria made John pay the children money.'

As can be seen from the above examples, when the causee is animate, an object marker (*m-* in (21) and (23)) is inserted into the verb when a causative suffix is added. KiSwahili does not permit more than one object marker, and so with ditransitive verbs, as in (23), the 3pl object marker *wa-*, referring to the indirect object, is displaced by the 3s object marker *m-*, referring to the causee.

KIKUYU

Kikuyu has two different causative suffixes which can be attached to the verb. The first is *–i*, which appears immediately before the mood marker at the end of the verb.

24. *nĩ-a-ra-kũr-a* (tc)

    IP-3s-PRES-grow-IND   'he is growing old'

25. *ũria*   *ũ-ngĩ-kũr-i-a*   *mbembe* (t)

    how   2s-would-grow-CAUS-IND   maize   'how to grow maize'

The second causative extension is *–ith*. This is never found on its own, but is always used in conjunction with the other causative ending, *-i*. It occurs immediately after the verb stem and immediately before the causative *–i* ending. It is more common than the *–i* ending on its own.

26. kũ-gũa

   to-fall   'to fall'

27. nĩ-nga-gũ-ith-i-a   *ibuku*

   IP-1sFUT-fall-CAUS-CAUS-IND   book   'I will make the book fall'

                                                   i.e. 'I will drop the book'

Kikuyu shows a marked difference to KiSwahili, however, in the rules for affixing a certain ending to a verb. Whereas KiSwahili seems to rely on phonology, Kikuyu determines the correct ending by the type of verb. Underlyingly intransitive verbs may take either the *–i* or the *–ith+i* ending, but transitives and ditransitives may only take the *–ith+i* ending (there are, however, some exceptions to this rule, as in (32) below).

When either the *–i* causative or the *–ith + -i* causative are possible with the same intransitive verb stem, there is often a difference in meaning between the two, with the latter carrying additional connotations of helping someone:

28. ikara

   sit   'sit'

29. ikar-i-a

   sit-CAUS-IND   'make someone sit'

30. ikar-ith-i-a

   sit-CAUS-CAUS-IND   'make someone sit, help someone sit'

Kikuyu can have morphological causatives with underlyingly intransitive verbs, as in (25), and with transitive and ditransitive verbs:

Transitive

31. nĩ-a-ra-kund-a   *ũcũrũ.*

   IP-3s-PRES-sip-IND   porridge   'He is sipping porridge.'

32. *nĩ-a-ra-kund-i-a*   *mwana*   *ũcũrũ*

    IP-3s-PRES-sip-CAUS-IND   child   porridge

    'He is making the child sip porridge.'

Ditransitive

33. *John*   *nĩ-a-rĩh-e*   *ciana*   *mbeca.* (w)

    John   IP-3s-give-IND children   money

    'John gave the children money.'

34. *Maria*   *nĩ-a-rĩh-ith-i-a*   *John*   *ciana*   *mbeca.* (w)

    Maria   IP-3s-give-CAUS-CAUS-IND   John   children   money.

    'Maria made John give the children money.'

Unlike KiSwahili, Kikuyu only permits object marking on the verb when the object noun phrase is omitted. As Mchombo and Ngunga (1994, 10) state, the object noun phrase and the object marker prefix in the verb are in complementary distribution.

35. *nĩ-a-ra-mũ-kund-i-a*   *ũcũrũ.*

    IP-3s-PRES-3s-sip-CAUS-IND   porridge

    'He is making him sip porridge.'

LINGALA

Lingala appears to be the simplest of the three languages in its morphological construction of the causative. In my research I have found only one causative suffix, *-is*. Meeuwis (1998, 35) states that there is also an *−ol* form, which occurs after verbs ending in *w*, but I have not found any examples of this.

36. *ko-telem-a*

    INF-awake-FV   'to wake up (intransitive)'

37. ko-telem-is-a

INF-awake-CAUS-FV   'to wake up (transitive)'

As in Kikuyu and KiSwahili, the causative also often carries the connotation of helping someone. The causative suffix cannot be used with all words, for example, *kolamba* is 'to cook', but there is no **kolambisa*, 'to make someone cook'. This idea has to be expressed using a periphrastic causative.

The Lingala causative suffix can be attached to intransitive and transitive verbs:

Intransitive

38. Jo a-zali ko-sukul-a.

Jo 3s-be INF-wash-FV   'Jo is washing.'

39. Jo a-zali ko-sukul-is-a   mwana.

Jo 3s-be INF-wash-CAUS-FV   child   'Jo is washing the child.'

Transitive

40. Fabio   a-zali ko-kumb-a   mai.

Fabio   3s-be INF-carry-FV   water   'Fabio is carrying water.'

41. Jo a-zali ko-kumb-is-a   Fabio mai.

Jo 3s-be INF-carry-CAUS-FV   Fabio water

'Jo is helping Fabio to carry water.' (by putting it on her head for her)

I have not as yet found any ditransitive morphological causatives in Lingala. One reason for this may be that many ditransitive verbs already have a *sa* ending, which does not permit a causative ending, for example *kopesa* is 'to give', but there is no **kopesisa*. Even those verbs which do not have a *sa* ending, for example *kopakola*, 'to smear', cannot form ditransitive causatives using *kopakolisa*. This word does

exist, but is used as a normal ditransitive, in place of the non-extended form, to give exactly the same meaning:

42. *Martine*   *a-zali*   *ko-pakol-a*   *bana*   *mafuta.*

    Martine   3s-be   INF-smear-FV   children   oil

    'Martine is smearing the children with oil.'

43. *Martine*   *a-zali*   *ko-pakol-is-a*   *bana*   *mafuta.*

    Martine   3s-be   INF-smear-CAUS-FV   children   oil

    'Martine is smearing the children with oil.'

44. * *Martine a-zali*   *ko-pakol-is-a*   *Jo*   *bana*   *mafuta.*

    Martine   3s-be   INF-smear-CAUS-FV   Jo   children   oil

2.2.3   Periphrastic Causatives

KISWAHILI

Periphrastic causatives are also common in spoken KiSwahili. A matrix verb indicating causation is used at the start of the sentence. When the tense of the matrix verb is either present (*na-*) or perfective (*me-*) the event verb goes into the subjunctive mood, indicated by the *–e* end marker. Verbs in the subjunctive mood do not have a tense marker, but they do have a subject marker. When the matrix verb is in the *li-* past tense, the event verb takes the indicative mood and the *ka-* successive past tense. Vitale (1981, 153) states that the matrix verb in a causative sentence is always transitive. He goes on to say that the original subject of the sentence becomes the object of the matrix verb, but remains in the subject position relative to the event verb. The latter can be either intransitive, transitive or ditransitive.

<u>Intransitive</u>

45. *a-na-endele-a*   *na*   *masomo.*

    3s-PRES-go.on-IND   with   studies   'She is going on with studying.'

46. *Marafiki   wema   ni   wa-na-o-ku-shaur-i   u-endele-e   na*

    friends   good   be   3pl-PRES-REL-2s-advise-IND 2s-go.on-SBJ with

    masomo.   (t)

    studies

    'Good friends are those who advise you to go on with your studies.'

Transitive

47. *Jo   a-na-osh-a   viombo.*

    Jo 3s-PRES-wash-IND   'Jo is washing the dishes.'

48. *Paulo   a-na-m-fany-a   Jo   a-osh-e   viombo.*

    Paul   3s-PRES-3s-make-IND   Jo   3s-wash-SBJ utensils

    'Paul makes Jo wash the dishes.'

Ditransitive

49. *John   a-li-wa-lip-a   watoto   pesa.*

    John   3s-PAST-3pl-pay-IND children   money

    'John paid the children money.'

50. *Maria   a-li-m-fany-a   John   a-lip-e   pesa   kwa   watoto.*

    Maria   3s-PAST-3s-make-IND John 3s-pay-SBJ   money to   children

    'Maria made John pay the children money.'

The most semantically neutral matrix verb in causatives is *kufanya*, 'to make'. Other matrix verbs in causative constructions include *kupa*, 'to give', *kulazimu*, 'to force', *kusaidia*, 'to help' and *kushauri* 'to persuade or advise', as the matrix verb of the sentence. Notice that as in the morphological causatives, the object marker appears in the matrix verb, showing that the original agent of the sentence, now the causee, has become more patient-like.

KIKUYU

Gĩtũma, 'to make', is the most semantically neutral verb in Kikuyu periphrastic causatives. Others are *gũteithia*, 'to help', and *kũĩra*, 'to tell'. The object marker for animate causees is not obligatory, as it is in KiSwahili. The object has to be shown in some way. This is either by an object noun phrase or by an object marker in the verb, but never both. Like KiSwahili, though, the event verb takes the subjunctive mood marker at the end, when the matrix verb is *kũĩra* or *gĩtũma*. When the matrix verb is *gũteithia*, the event verb goes into the infinitive. This suggests it is not really a true causative matrix verb, but I have mentioned it in this section because of the 'helping' connotation of the *–ith+-i* morphological causatives. Periphrastic causative clauses can be formed from intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

Intransitive

51. *Mbũri*   *nĩ-a-ciar-a*

  goat   IP-3s-give.birth-IND   'The goat gave birth.'

52. *Mũrigitani*   *a-teithi-a*   *mbũri gũ-ciar-a.*

  Doctor   3s-help-IND   goat   to-give.birth-IND

  'The doctor helped the goat to give birth.'

53. *Mwana*   *nĩ-a-kom-a.*

  child   IP-3s-sleep-IND   'The child has slept.'

54. *Nduta*   *a-tũm-a*   *mwana*   *a-kom-e.*

  Nduta   3s-make-IND   child   3s-sleep-SBJ

  'Nduta made the child sleep.'

Transitive

55. *Nduta*   *nĩ-a-ku-a*   *thumu.*

  Nduta   IP-s-carry-IND manure   'Nduta has carried manure.'

56. *Kogi* *er-a* *Nduta* *a-ku-e* *thumu*

 Kogi tell-IND Nduta 3s-carry-SBJ manure

 'Kogi told Nduta to carry manure.'

Ditransitive

57. *John* *nĩ-a-rĩh-a* *ciana* *mbeca.* (w)

 John IP-3s-give-IND children money

 'John gave the children money.'

58. *Maria* *nĩ-a-tũm-a*   *John* *a-rĩh-e* *ciana mbeca.*

 Maria IP-3s-make-IND John 3s-give-SBJ children money

 'Maria made John give the children money.'

LINGALA

Lingala commonly uses the verbs *kopusa*, 'to force or push' and *koloba* and *koyebisa*, which both mean 'to tell', in its periphrastic causative clauses. (*Koyebisa* is actually the causative form of *koyeba*, 'to know', so by telling someone you are making them know.) No other words can be used which are more 'semantically neutral' than these. In Lingala grammar, verbs in the present tense are used in the infinitive, after a separate verb for 'to be', which is marked for person. The causee is not marked in the matrix verb. The event verb is in the subjunctive, which is marked by high tone on the subject marker, before the verb stem. Periphrastic causatives can be formed with intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

Intransitive

59. *Mwana* *a-zali ko-sukul-a*

 child 3s-be INF-wash-FV   'The child is washing.'

60. *Mama*   *a-zali*   *ko-lob-a*   *mwana*   *á-sukul-a*

    mother   3s-be   INF-tell-FV   child   3sSBJ-wash-FV

    'Mother is telling the child to wash.'

Transitive

61. *Jo a-zali ko-lamb-a*   *bile.*

    Jo 3s-be INF-cook-FV   food   'Jo is cooking food.'

62. *Paulo*   *a-zali*   *ko-pus-a*   *Jo*   *á-lamb-a*   *bile.*

    Paul   3s-be INF-force-FV Jo   3sSBJ-cook-FV food

    'Paul is forcing Jo to cook food.'

Ditransitive

63. *Martine*   *a-zali*   *ko-pakol-a*   *bana*   *mafuta.*

    Martine   3s-be INF-smear-FV children   oil

    'Martine is smearing the children with oil.'

64. *Jo a-zali* *ko-yeb-is-a*   *Martine*   *á-pakol-a*   *bana*

    Jo 3s-be INF-know-CAUS-FV   Martine   3sSBJ-smear-FV   children

    mafuta.

    oil

    'Jo is telling Martine to smear oil on the children.'

CHAPTER III

MORE COMPLEX ISSUES

In this chapter I shall discuss some of the more complex situations in which causatives can be found, and begin to look at the underlying grammar for certain of these. This shall provide more data to analyse in my comparison of the three languages in chapter IV.

3.1 Double Causatives

KISWAHILI

A clause in KiSwahili may contain two causatives. I have found two different functions for these double causatives. The first of these is to show someone making someone make someone else do something. This can be done using two periphrastic causatives. The same causative verb can be used (65), or two different causative verbs (66). The second is put into the subjunctive but also has an object marker, for the second causee.

65. *Jo a-li-m-fany-a*   *Lilian a-m-fany-e*   *Paulo a-osh-e*

    Jo 3s-PAST-3s-make-IND Lilian 3s-3s-make-SBJ   Paul   3s-wash-SBJ

    viombo.

    utensils

  'Jo made Lilian make Paul wash the dishes.'

66. *Jo a-li-m-shurut-ish-a*   *Lilian a-m-lazim-u*   *Paulo*

     Jo 3s-PAST-3s-persuade-CAUS-IND   Lilian 3s-3s-force-SBJ   Paul

     a-osh-e   *viombo.*

     3s-wash-SBJ   utensils

     'Jo persuaded Lilian to force Paul to wash the dishes.'

Vitale (1981, 166) states that the same function can be achieved using morphological causatives:

67. (?) *Ahmed a-li-wa-saf-ish-ish-a*   *wanawake*   *nyumba.*

     Ahmed 3s-PAST-3pl-clean-CAUS-CAUS-IND   women   house

     'Ahmed made the women clean the house.' (lit. make the house clean)

When I checked this sentence with my language assistant, though, she did not agree that it was grammatically correct. (Vitale's study uses Zanzibari KiSwahili, whereas mine uses Nairobi KiSwahili; this may account for the difference.)

It may be that the repetition of *-ish* makes this unacceptable in Nairobi KiSwahili, because I have found a similar construction using first the *–z* form of the causative, and then the *–ish* form:

68. *chupa*   *i-me-ja-a*

     bottle   it-PERF-full-IND   'the bottle is full'

69. *Paulo*   *a-me-ja-z-a*   *chupa*

     Paul   3s-PERF-full-CAUS-IND   bottle 'Paul filled the bottle'

70. *Jo a-me-ja-z-ish-a*   *Paulo chupa*

     Jo 3s-PERF-full-CAUS-CAUS-IND Paul   bottle

     'Jo made Paul fill the bottle' i.e. 'Jo made Paul make the bottle full'.

Secondly, a double causative can be used to indicate increased intensity of the causative action. For example,

71. *ku-on-a*

    INF-see-IND   'to see'

72. *ku-on-y-a*

    INF-see-CAUS-IND   'to warn' (to make someone see (danger))

73. *ku-on-y-esh-a*

    INF-see-CAUS-CAUS-IND   'to show' (to really make someone see)

Some verbs used as matrix verbs in periphrastic causatives are morphological causatives in themselves, as can be seen with *alimshurutisha*, 'to persuade or force', in (66) above. This seems to make no difference in meaning, however; *alimshurutu* can be used interchangeably with *alimshurutisha*.

I have not found that it is possible to add another causative extension on verbs which are given a new meaning by the addition of a first causative extension in KiSwahili. For example, *soma* is 'to read', and *somesha* is 'to teach'. It is not possible to have *someshesha*, to make someone teach, in KiSwahili.

KIKUYU

Kikuyu frequently has what one could call double causatives, because of the way in which the *–ith* causative ending has to be used with the *–i* ending. It may use these to show someone making someone make someone else do something.

74. *Maria*   *nĩ-a-rĩh-ith-i-a*   *John ciana mbeca.*

    Maria   IP-3s-give-CAUS-CAUS-IND   John   children   money

    'Maria makes John make the children pay money.'

It can also use two matrix verbs of causation.

75. *Jo a-tũm-a   Paul   a-tũm-e   Lillian a-thambi-e   indo.* (W)

    Jo 3s-make-IND Paul 3s-make-SBJ Lillian 3s-wash-SBJ dishes

    'Jo makes Paul make Lillian wash the dishes.'

Alternatively, the same can be expressed using one periphrastic causative and one morphological causative:

76. *Jo a-tũm-a   Paul   a-thamb-ith-i-e   Lillian indo.* (W)

    Jo 3s-make-IND Paul 3s-wash-CAUS-CAUS-SBJ   Lillian dishes

    'Jo makes Paul make Lillian wash the dishes.'

(This, however, introduces some ambiguity; it is not clear whether Jo is making Paul help Lillian, or whether she is making him make Lillian wash the dishes.)

The use of the *–ith* and the *–i* causative together can indicate increased intensity, for example the difference between *ikaria* and *ikarithia* in (29) and (30); the *–ith + -i* ending can signify that the person is being physically forced to sit, but this is context dependent, as it can also mean that they are being helped to sit.

Because of the co-operation between the *–ith* and the *–i* causative endings in Kikuyu, it is possible to add another causative ending to a verb which is given a new meaning with just one causative ending.

77. *kũ-end-a*

    INF-like-IND   'to like'

78. *kũ-end-i-a*

    INF-like-CAUS-IND   'to sell'

79. *kũ-end-ith-i-a*

    INF-like-CAUS-CAUS-IND   'to make or help sell'

80. *gũ-ak-a* (W)

    INF-build-IND   'to build'

81. *gũ-ak-i-a* (W)

    INF-build-CAUS-IND   'to light'

82. *gũ-ak-ith-i-a* (W)

    INF-build-CAUS-CAUS-IND   'to make/help build' OR 'to make/help light'

LINGALA

In Lingala, it is not possible to put two causative endings on the same verb stem. In order to show someone making someone else make a third party do something, a periphrastic causative must be used. There are two alternatives, (83) and (84):

83. *Paul   a-zali   ko-yebisa Crispin   á-yebisa   Martine   á-zonga.*

    Paul   3s-be   INF-tell   Crispin   3sSBJ-tell   Martine   3sSBJ-go

    'Paul is telling Crispin to tell Martine to go.'

84. *Paul   a-zali   ko-yebisa Crispin   á-zong-is-a   Martine.*

    Paul   3s-be   INF-tell   Crispin   3sSBJ-go-CAUS-FV   Martine

    'Paul is telling Crispin to make Martine go.'

Where adding a causative ending changes the meaning of a verb, it is not possible to add a second causative ending to the new verb.

85. *ko-linga*

    INF-like   'to like'

86. *ko-ling-is-a*

    INF-like-CAUS-FV   'to give permission'

87. **ko-ling-is-is-a*

3.2 Direct and Indirect Causation

Givón (1990, 556) predicts, "If a language has both a periphrastic causative and a morphological causative, the former is more likely to code causation with a human-agentive manipulee, while the latter is more likely to code causation with an inanimate manipulee."

Givón's prediction is based on the coding principle of causatives. This states that more direct causation is shown by closer structural integration. According to Payne (1997, 182), one of the major ways in which closer structural integration is shown is by less structural distance. That is, the fewer the number of syllables involved in the causative construction, the closer the structural integration. When the different types of causatives are compared, it can be seen that there are clear differences in structural distance – morphological causatives are much more closely integrated than periphrastic. These, then, according to Givón, should show more direct causation than periphrastic causatives, and so should be used with inanimate causees, because an inanimate causee has a lesser degree of freedom to refuse to co-operate, while periphrastic causatives should be used with human causees, who have an opportunity to refuse. I tested this by asking for clauses with either an animate or an inanimate causee.

KiSwahili

In KiSwahili, I found that both animate ((88) and (89)) and inanimate ((90) and (91)) causees could take periphrastic and morphological causatives; this is not what Givón predicted.

88. *a-li-m-lal-ish-a*   *mtoto*

   3s-PAST-3s-sleep-CAUS-IND   child   'he made the child sleep'

89. *a-li-m-fany-a*   *mtoto*   *a-lal-e*

    3s-PAST-3s-make-IND   child   3s-sleep-SBJ

    'he made the child sleep'

90. *Mtoto*   *a-me-low-esh-a*   *nguo*   *zangu.*

    child   3s-PERF-wet-CAUS-IND   clothes my

    'The child made my clothes get wet.'

91. *Mtoto*   *a-me-fany-a*   *nguo*   *zangu*   *zi-low-e.*

    child   3s-PERF-make-IND   clothes my   they-wet-SBJ

    'The child made my clothes get wet.'

KIKUYU

The same is true in Kikuyu ((92) and (93) are animate causees; (94) and (95) are inanimate):

92. *nĩ-a-rakund-i-a*   *mwana*   *ũcũrũ* (W)

    IP-3s-sip-CAUS-IND   child   porridge

    'He makes the child sip porridge.'

93. *a-tũm-a*   *mwana*   *a-kund-e*   *ũcũrũ* (W)

    3s-make-IND   child   3s-sip-SBJ   porridge

    'He makes the child sip porridge.'

94. *Werũ*   *nĩ-a-gũ-ith-i-a*   *ibuku.* (W)

    Weru   IP-3s-fall-CAUS-CAUS-IND   book

    'Weru is making the book fall.'

95. *Werũ*   *nĩ-a-tũm-a*   *ibuku*   *rĩ-gwe.* (W)

    Weru   IP-3s-make-IND   book   it-fall

    'Weru is making the book fall.'

LINGALA

It also holds true in Lingala ((96) and (97) have animate causees; (98) and (99) have inanimate causees):

96. *Mama*   *a-zali*   *ko-sukul-is-a*   *mwana.*

     mother   3s-be   INF-wash-CAUS-FV   child

     'Mother is making the child wash.'

97. *Mama*   *a-zali*   *ko-pusa*   *mwana*   *á-sukulu.*

     mother   3s-be   INF-make   child   3sSBJ-wash

     'Mother is making the child wash.'

98. *Fabio*   *a-zali*   *ko-kwe-s-a*   *buku.*

     Fabio   3s-be   INF-fall-CAUS-FV   book

     'Fabio is making the book fall.'

99. *Fabio*   *a-zali*   *ko-pusa*   *buku*   *á-kwea.*

     Fabio   3s-be   INF-make   book   3sSBJ-fall

     'Fabio is making the book fall.'

So it seems that Givón's hypothesis does not hold true for these three Bantu languages. But one major question still remains. If a causal event can be expressed in two ways, morphologically and periphrastically, is there any difference in meaning between the two? It appears that there most definitely is. I have already examined the KiSwahili verb *kulala*, 'to sleep', with different morphological causative suffixes. Now I shall compare the *–ish* causative form with the periphrastic.

KISWAHILI

100.   *a-li-m-lal-ish-a*   *mtoto*

      3s-PAST-3s-sleep-CAUS-IND   child   'he forced the child to sleep'

101. *a-li-m-fany-a*   *mtoto*   *a-lal-e*

3s-PAST-3s-make-IND child   3s-sleep-SBJ

'he made the child sleep' (perhaps by singing her a lullaby, or reading her a story)

As can be seen, the child had more opportunity to refuse to sleep in (101); she was being persuaded by the agent more than being forced. (102) and (103) make the difference even clearer.

102. *a-li-m-l-ish-a*   *mtoto*

3s-PAST-3s-eat-CAUS-IND   child

'he fed the child' (directly, for example using a spoon)

103. *a-li-m-fany-a*   *mtoto a-l-e*

3s-PAST-3s-make-IND child   3s-eat-SBJ

'he made the child eat' (perhaps by bribing her, or tricking her)

As can be seen, the periphrastic has a lighter, less direct meaning, with the causee having a greater opportunity to resist the will of the causer.

Lexical causatives show even more direct causation than morphological causatives. This can be seen when the lexical causative *kuua* is compared with the equivalent morphological causative, *kufisha*, both meaning 'to kill'. The following sentences all mean 'Tes killed the dog'.

104. *Tes*   *a-me-m-u-a*   *mbwa.*

Tes   3s-PERF-3s-kill-IND   dog   'Tes killed the dog.'

105. *Tes*   *a-me-m-kuf-ish-a*   *mbwa.*

Tes   3s-PERF-3s-die-CAUS-IND   dog   'Tes killed the dog.'

106. *Tes*   *a-me-m-fany-a*   *mbwa a-kuf-e.*

Tes   3s-PERF-3s-make-IND dog   3s-die-SBJ   'Tes killed the dog.'

However, in (104), he did it on purpose, for example with a panga; this sentence would not be used if he had poisoned it by accident. If the latter were the case, sentence (105) or (106) would be chosen. This is because the lexical causative indicates more direct causation than the equivalent morphological or periphrastic. For this example, I did not find a difference between the morphological and periphrastic causatives, such as documented above, maybe because of the existence of the lexical causative.

KIKUYU

Kikuyu also makes a distinction between morphological and periphrastic causatives.

107. *nĩ-a-rakund-i-a*   *mwana*   *ũcũrũ* (W)

IP-3s-sip-CAUS-IND   child   porridge

'He makes/helps the child sip porridge' (by physically helping him).

108. *a-tũm-a*   *mwana*   *a-kund-e*   *ũcũrũ* (W)

3s-make-IND   child   3s-sip-SBJ   porridge

'He makes (in the sense of persuades) the child, who had previously been refusing, to sip the porridge.'

The same difference in degree of force of the causer can be seen with other Kikuyu verbs, for example *andika* 'to write'. When in a morphological causative clause, this gives the meaning of holding the person's hand and making them write, whereas in a periphrastic causative clause it means to persuade or permit someone to write.

LINGALA

Lingala also shows a distinction between morphological and periphrastic causatives using the same verb, in the same way as KiSwahili and Kikuyu.

109. *Mama a-zali ko-sukul-is-a*   *mwana.*

   mother 3s-be   INF-wash-CAUS-FV   child

   'Mother is washing the child.'

110. *Mama a-zali ko-pusa*   *mwana*   *á-sukulu.*

   mother 3s-be   INF-make   child   3sSBJ-wash

   'Mother is making the child wash (by telling her to).'

111. *Mama a-zali ko-fand-is-a*   *mwana.*

   mother 3s-be   INF-sit-CAUS-FV   child

   'Mother is sitting the child down.'

112. *Mama a-zali ko-pusa*   *mwana*   *á-fanda.*

   mother 3s-be   INF-make   child   3sSBJ-sit

   'Mother is making the child sit.'

All these examples demonstrate the coding principle of causatives: that morphological causatives demonstrate more direct causation than periphrastic causatives. With inanimate causees, where the issue is not so much whether or not the causee is being forced directly, the difference between periphrastic and morphological causatives can be expressed as being one of deliberateness. When the causer does the action deliberately, a morphological causative is used. When it is an accident, the periphrastic is used.

3.3 Omitting Agent or Patient

KISWAHILI

In KiSwahili it is possible to omit the causee from a morphological causative clause (113)-(114) and from a periphrastic causative clause (115).

113. *Weru   a-me-angu-sh-a.*

    Weru   3s-PERF-fall-CAUS-IND

    'Weru dropped' (something, we don't know what)

114. *Jo   a-me-kat-ish-a   mkate.*

    Jo   3s-PERF-cut-CAUS-IND bread

    'Jo made (someone) cut the bread' or 'Jo had the bread cut'.

115. *Paulo a-me-fany-a   a-osh-e   viombo.*

    Paul   3s-PERF-make-IND   3s-wash-IND   dishes

    'Paul made (someone) wash the dishes' or 'Paul had the dishes washed'.

NB In (115) (and also (120) and (124)) the causee, although omitted as a separate noun phrase, is still marked by the 3s prefix to the verb *aoshe*; this cannot be removed so that the causee is completely unmarked.

The patient can also be omitted from causative clauses (116), but not with all verbs (117).

116. *Jo   a-me-shon-esh-a   Lillian.*

    Jo   3s-PERF-sew-CAUS-IND   Lillian

    'Jo made Lillian sew.'

117. **Jo   a-me-rush-ish-a   Fiona.*

    Jo   3s-PERF-throw-CAUS-IND   Fiona

    'Jo made Fiona throw (something).'

It may be that where the verb is a 'true' transitive, which must take an object, then this object cannot be omitted even in a causative clause, whereas activities such as 'sew' or 'build' can occur without an object. This is complicated, however, by the acceptance of the equivalent periphrastic causative clauses without the patient:

118. *Jo*   *a-me-m-fany-a*   *Fiona*   *a-rush-e.*

      Jo   3s-PERF-3s-make-IND Fiona   3s-throw-SBJ

      'Jo made Fiona throw (something).'

KIKUYU

In Kikuyu it is possible to omit either the causee or the patient in both morphological (119), (121) and periphrastic causatives (120), (122).

119. *nda-rĩm-ith-i-a*   *mũgũnda*   *wothe.* (W)

      1sPAST-weed-CAUS-CAUS-IND   garden   whole

      'I caused (someone) to weed the whole garden.'

(If, however, you want to use the *–ith* + *i* ending to show that you helped someone, you may not omit the causee.)

120. *Jo*   *a-tũm-a*   *a-kom-e.* (W)

      Jo   3s-make-IND 3s-sleep-SBJ

      'Jo made (someone) sleep.'

121. *Jo*   *nĩ-a-kund-i-a*   *mwana.* (W)

      Jo   IP-3s-sip-CAUS-IND   child

      'Jo made the child sip (something).

122. *Kogi*   *era*   *Nduta a-kuu-e.* (W)

      Kogi   told   Nduta 3s-carry-SBJ

      'Kogi told Nduta to carry (something).'

In both (121) and (122), omitting the patient is only permissible where the patient is already known from the context.

LINGALA

In Lingala it is likewise possible to omit the causee or the patient from morphological (123), (125) and periphrastic (124), (126) causative clauses.

123. *Jo*   *a-kwe-s-a.*

     Jo   3s-fall-CAUS-FV   'Jo drops (something).'

124. *Jo*   *a-zali ko-pusa*   *á-kumb-a*   *pondu.*

     Jo   3s-be   INF-push   3sSBJ-carry-FV pondu

     'Jo makes (somebody) carry pondu (leaf sauce).'

125. *Jo*   *a-zali ko-yel-is-a*   *Fabio.*

     Jo   3s-be   INF-bring-CAUS-FV   Fabio

     'Jo is making Fabio bring (something).'

126. *Jo*   *a-zali ko-pusa*   *Paulo á-somb-a.*

     Jo   3s-be   INF-push   Paul   3sSBJ-buy-FV

     'Jo is making Paul buy (something).'

(As with (120), the causee in (124) is still marked in the subject marker of the verb.)

3.4 Inanimate Causers

KiSwahili allows inanimate causers in both morphological (127) and periphrastic (128) causatives.

127. *Jua*   *i-me-fif-ish-a*   *nguo zangu.*

     sun   it-PERF-fade-CAUS-IND   clothes my

     'The sun faded my clothes.'

128. *Jua*   *i-me-m-fany-a*   *mtoto a-lal-e.*

     sun   it-PERF-3s-make-IND   child 3s-sleep-SBJ

     'The sun made the child sleep.'

At first, I made the hypothesis that an inanimate causer could not be found with an animate causee and a morphological causative, because this would imply that it had

control over the animate thing. This hypothesis was supported by the rejection of (129):

129.   *Jua   i-me-m-lal-ish-a   mtoto.

       sun   it-PERF-3s-sleep-CAUS-IND   child

But then I discovered that both (130) and (131) are acceptable, despite having an inanimate causer with an animate causee:

130.   Mvua   i-me-ni-fany-a   ni-low-e.

       rain   it-PERF-1s-make-IND   1s-wet-SBJ   'The rain made me wet.'

131.   Mvua   i-me-ni-low-esh-a.

       rain   it-PERF-1s-wet-CAUS-IND   'The rain made me wet.'

More research is needed to ascertain exactly what rules come into operation here (see residue section in chapter VI).

KIKUYU

Kikuyu can have inanimate causers in both morphological (132) and periphrastic (133) causatives.

132.   Ruhuho   rũa-gũ-ith-i-a   mabati. (W)

       wind   it-fall-CAUS-CAUS-IND   roof

       'The wind made the roof fall.'

133.   Ruhuho   rũa-tũm-a   mabati   ma-gũ-e. (W)

       wind   it-make-IND   roof   it-fall-SBJ

       'The wind made the roof fall.'

LINGALA

Likewise, Lingala permits inanimates to cause an event to happen both morphologically (134) and periphrastically (135).

134. *Mopepe   i-zali   ko-kwe-s-a   bilamba.*

    wind   it-be   INF-fall-CAUS-FV   clothes

    'The wind is making the clothes fall.'

135. *Mopepe   i-zali   ko-pusa   bilamba   é-kwea.*

    wind   it-be   INF-make   clothes   theySBJ-fall

    'The wind is making the clothes fall.'

Example (134) is far more common than (135), but both are acceptable. This distinction also supports the coding principle of causatives; an inanimate object like the wind is more likely to directly cause something to happen than to be involved in more subtle means of causation, such as persuasion, helping or telling, which are usually encoded in periphrastic causatives.

3.5 Passivisation of Components of Morphological Causative Clauses

KISWAHILI

KiSwahili allows the causer (137) and the causee (138) to be passivised in clauses containing transitive (136)-(139) and ditransitive (141)-(143) morphological causatives, but does not allow the patient to be passivised.

136. *Paulo a-me-m-fany-ish-a   Jo   kazi.*

    Paul   3s-PERF-3s-make-CAUS-IND   Jo   work   'Paul made Jo do work.'

137. *Paulo a-me-fany-w-a   a-m-fany-ish-e   Jo   kazi.*

    Paul   3s-PERF-make-PASS-IND   3s-3s-make-CAUS-SBJ Jo   work

    'Paul was made to make Jo do work.'

138. *Jo   a-me-fany-ish-w-a   kazi   na   Paul.*

    Jo   3s-PERF-make-CAUS-PASS-IND   work   by   Paul

    'Jo was made to do work by Paul.'

139. **Kazi i-me-fany-ish-w-a ... ...*

(139) is not permissible unless the causative is dropped, and then it becomes a normal passive (140):

140. *Kazi*   *i-me-fany-w-a*   *na*   *Jo.*

work   it-PERF-make-PASS-IND   by   Jo.   'Work was done by Jo.'

141. *Maria a-me-m-lip-ish-a*   *John*   *pesa*   *kwa*   *watoto.*

Maria 3s-PERF-3s-pay-CAUS-IND   John   money to   children

'Maria made John pay money to the children.'

142. *Maria a-li-fany-w-a*   *a-m-lip-ish-e*   *John*   *pesa*

Maria 3s-PAST-make-PASS-IND   3s-3s-pay-CAUS-SBJ   John   money

kwa   *watoto.*

to   children

'Maria was made to make John pay money to the children.'

143. *John*   *a-me-lip-ish-w-a*   *pesa*   *kwa*   *watoto*   *na*   *Maria.*

John   3s-PERF-pay-CAUS-PASS-IND   money to   children by   Maria

'John was made to pay the children money by Maria.'

If the indirect object, *watoto*, is fronted and passivised using *lipishwa*, the meaning changes to 'the children were made to pay money by John' and *na Maria* has to be dropped from the clause. *Pesa*, the direct object, cannot be fronted unless, like *kazi* in (139), the causative suffix is dropped.

These findings agree with Driever (1976, 47), who states that the only subjectivization process (see page 48) possible with causative constructions is the agent, not the patient or the indirect object. (She does not consider the causer in her examples.)

KIKUYU

In Kikuyu, it is not possible to passivise the causer. In morphological causatives involving transitive verbs, the causee and the patient can be passivised.

144. *Jo   nĩ-a-kund-i-a   mwana   ũcũrũ.*

    Jo   IP-3s-sip-CAUS-IND   child   porridge

    'Jo made the child sip porridge.'

145. *mwana   nĩ-a-kund-i-o   ũcũrũ   nĩ   Jo.* (W)

    child   IP-3s-sip-CAUS-PASS   porridge   by   Jo

    'The child was made to sip porridge by Jo.

146. *ũcũrũ   nĩ-wa-kund-i-o   mwana   nĩ   Jo.* (W)

    porridge   IP-it-sip-CAUS-PASS   child   by   Jo

    'The porridge was made to be sipped by the child by Jo.'

With causatives involving ditransitive verbs, the indirect object is made oblique when the direct object is passivised (149), but not when the causee is passivised (148). Furthermore, the indirect object cannot be passivised in a ditransitive causative clause (150).

147. *Maria nĩ-a-rĩh-ith-i-a   John ciana   mbeca.* (W)

    Maria IP-3s-pay-CAUS-CAUS-IND   John children   money

    'Maria made John pay the children money.'

148. *John nĩ-a-rĩh-ith-i-o   mbeca   nĩ   Maria*

    John   IP-3s-pay-CAUS-CAUS-PASS money   by   Maria

    ciana. (W)

    children

    'John was made by Maria to pay money to the children.'

149. *Mbeca nĩ-cia-rĩh-ith-i-o*   John   nĩ   Maria kori

      money IP-it-pay-CAUS-CAUS-PASS   John   by   Maria to

      ciana. (W)

      children

      'Money was made to be paid by John by Maria to the children.'

150.   **Ciana*   *nĩ-cia-rĩh-ithi-i-o* ... ...

      children   IP-3pl-pay-CAUS-CAUS-PASS

LINGALA

In Lingala, the causer cannot be passivised. The causee may be passivised in clauses with an underlyingly intransitive verb (152), but not with clauses involving a transitive verb (154):

151.   *Mama a-zali ko-zong-is-a*   *bana.*

      Mother3s-be   INF-go-CAUS-FV   children

      'Mother is making the children go.'

152.   *bana*   *ba-zali ko-zong-am-is-a*   *na*   *mama.*

      children   3pl-be INF-go-PASS-CAUS-FV by   mother

      'The children are being made to go by mother.'

153.   *Jo*   *a-zali ko-kumb-is-a*   *Fabio mai.*

      Jo   3s-be   INF-carry-CAUS-FV   Fabio   water

      'Jo is making Fabio carry water.'

154.   **Fabio* ... ...

The patient can also be passivised in an underlyingly transitive causative clause.

155.   *Mai*   *e-zali ko-kumb-am-is-a*   *na*   *Fabio pona Jo.*

      water   it-be   INF-carry-PASS-CAUS-FV   by   Fabio   for   Jo

      'Water is being made to be carried by Fabio by Jo.'

3.6 Changing the Word Order in Ditransitive Clauses

KISWAHILI

In KiSwahili, constituent order in ditransitive clauses can be partly flexible, depending on the nature of the indirect and direct object. If they belong to different noun classes, then they can exchange positions freely:

156.   Jo   a-me-wa-lip-a   watoto   pesa.

       Jo   3s-PERF-3pl-pay-IND   children   money

       'Jo paid the children money.'

157.   Jo   a-me-wa-lip-a   pesa   watoto.

       Jo   3s-PERF-3pl-pay-IND   money children

       'Jo paid the children money.'

If, however, they are of the same noun class, then the indirect object must follow immediately after the verb, with the direct object coming after this.

158.   Jo   a-me-wa-p-a   watoto   walimu.

       Jo   3s-PERF-3pl-give-IND   children   teachers

       'Jo gave the teachers to the children.'

If the order is reversed, then so is the meaning:

159.   Jo   a-me-wa-p-a   walimu   watoto.

       Jo   3s-PERF-3pl-give-IND   teachers   children

       'Jo gave the children to the teachers.'

This rule applies to causatives too: where the causee and the direct object are of the same noun class, the order must be causee then direct object. Where they are of different noun classes, their order may vary. Hence (160) and (161) both have the same meaning, because 'John' and 'money' are of different noun classes, and the object marker m- before the verb stem clearly refers to John.

160.	*Maria*	*a-me-m-lip-ish-a*	*John*	*pesa*	*kwa*	*watoto.*
	Maria	3s-PERF-3s-pay-CAUS-IND	John	money	to	children
161.	*Maria*	*a-me-m-lip-ish-a*	*pesa*	*John*	*kwa*	*watoto.*
	Maria	3s-PERF-3s-pay-CAUS-IND	money	John	to	children

'Maria made John pay money to the children.'

KIKUYU

In Kikuyu, one would expect word order to be quite fixed, because there are no object markers in the verb to help with the correct interpretation, as there are in KiSwahili. This seems, however, not to be the case. In a normal, non-causative ditransitive, the indirect object usually immediately follows the verb, and is followed by the direct object, but the two can be exchanged and the meaning retained.

162.	*John*	*nĩ-a-rĩh-a*	*ciana*	*mbeca.* (W)
	John	IP-3s-pay-IND	children	money

'John paid money to the children.'

163.	*John*	*nĩ-a-rĩh-a*	*mbeca ciana.* (W)
	John	IP-3s-pay-IND	money children

'John paid money to the children.'

This may be permissible because pragmatically it makes sense that the children are the recipients.

The same flexibility also appears in causative clauses, where the intended meaning is made clear by pragmatics. With cases where either option is pragmatically possible, I have encountered a wide range of opinions amongst the Kikuyu speakers I asked. Some said that the word order is inflexible, and the indirect object comes before the direct object, whilst others said that word order is completely flexible, and to make

sure your hearer understands which of the two options you mean, you have to use an entirely different construction, for example, passivisation. This area needs more research (see residue).

LINGALA

In Lingala, word order is likewise flexible, but the preferred order seems to be indirect object, then direct object, in ditransitive non-causative clauses. In causative clauses, the causee usually comes before the patient (164), but not always (165).

164.	*Jo*	*a-zali*	*ko-kumb-is-a*	*Lillian pondu.*
	Jo	3s-be	INF-carry-CAUS-FV	Lillian pondu

165.	*Jo*	*a-zali*	*ko-kumb-is-a*	*pondu Lillian.*
	Jo	3s-be	INF-carry-CAUS-FV	pondu Lillian

'Jo is making Lillian carry pondu.'

3.7 Comrie's Theory and Syntactic Doubling

Comrie (1985, 335) states that very few languages will allow predicates with more than one subject noun phrase. When a causer is added as the subject of a clause, the causee thus has to change its syntactic relation, as it can no longer remain the subject of the clause. He suggests that when the subject of a clause is demoted by a causative construction it goes to the next unoccupied place on the following hierarchy (Comrie 1985, 342):

subject → direct object → indirect object → oblique object

For example, with intransitive verbs, when the causative is added, the subject goes to the direct object position. With transitive verbs, the subject should take the indirect object position, because there is already a direct object in the clause. Palmer (1994, 220), however, expresses some doubt about the truth of this theory. He states that

very few languages work as Comrie suggests. A language may express one basic causative construction in three different ways, none of which conform to Comrie's paradigm. Also, many languages show syntactic doubling, whereby the transitive causative clause has two direct objects.

Rugemalira (1993, 226) suggests that double object constructions do exist in Bantu languages. He includes ditransitive clauses with an indirect object and a direct object under this title, but also states that three post-verbal arguments are possible. He claims that the major issue here is whether the objects are of equal status or not.

Hyman and Duranti (1982, 218ff) agree that the difficulty comes when you try to identify what might be called an indirect object. They go on to suggest three tests which help to discern the degree of 'objectness' of an argument. These tests are:

a)   word order – which object comes nearer the verb

b)   subjectivization (for this I shall use passivisation as a method of bringing an object to a subject position)

c)   cliticization – the ability of the object to be marked in the verb.

I shall use these tests, where possible, with each of the three languages to make some suggestions as to whether or not they fit into Comrie's hierarchy.

KiSwahili

Comrie himself mentions syntactic doubling as an alternative to his theory, and suggests that KiSwahili employs this tactic. So, in (166), he would argue that both *Jo* and *viombo* are direct objects.

166. *Paulo a-li-mw-osh-esh-a*   *Jo*   *viombo.*

    Paul   3s-PAST-3s-wash-CAUS-IND   Jo   utensils

    'Paul made Jo wash the dishes.'

In order to assess Comrie's theory, it is necessary to ascertain whether the word *Jo* in this clause is a direct or indirect object. Generally, with transitive verbs, the direct object follows the verb, and is also marked after the tense marker in the verb, as shown here by *mw-*. This clause, however, has three arguments, *Paulo*, *Jo* and *viombo*. It is better then to compare it with a non-causative clause which also has three arguments; a ditransitive verb clause.

167. *Paulo a-li-m-p-a*   *Jo*   *viombo.*

    Paul   3s-PAST-3s-give-IND   Jo   utensils

    'Paul gave the dishes to Jo.'

Here we find a very similar structure. The **indirect** object is the argument which follows the verb. The marker, *m-*, in the verb likewise denotes the indirect object, *Jo*, not the direct object, *viombo*. If it were to refer to the dishes, the verb would contain the marker *vi-: alivipa*, or no marker at all.

When we passivise the arguments of the causative clause, we find that only the causer and the causee can be passivised, but not the original object (136)-(139). This means that 'Jo', the causee, has different properties to 'dishes', the original direct object, and is not acting in exactly the same way.

We can therefore see that when we have a valency of three in non-causative clauses, the indirect object follows the verb. The object marker in the verb denotes the indirect object (when the object is animate; inanimates are not marked in the verb). With the causative clause in (166), we have a valency of three and a 3s object marker,

just as in (167). Only the causer and the causee can be passivised in a causative clause (although all the arguments may be passivised in a non-causative clause), suggesting again that the causee is not doubling with the patient. An alternative interpretation, then, is that *Jo* is demoted to the indirect object in (166). This supports Comrie's original theory, that when the subject is demoted it goes to the next unoccupied place in the hierarchy.

So, we have two different interpretations of the same clause; either that we have two direct objects or that the original subject is demoted to the indirect object – the next available unoccupied space on Comrie's hierarchy. Perhaps looking at ditransitive verbs will clarify the situation.

Comrie again suggests that KiSwahili departs from his theory, saying that 'languages that permit double direct objects with causatives of monotransitives equally permit them, as might be expected, with causatives of ditransitives, as in Swahili.' (Comrie 1985, 341) He states that other languages may allow doubling of indirect objects.

For his evidence, he uses the following clause:

168. *Maria a-li-m-lip-ish-a*   *John   pesa   kwa   watoto*
      Maria 3s-PAST-3s-pay-CAUS-IND   John   money to   children
      'Maria made John pay money to the children.'

and claims that both *John* and *pesa* are direct objects. He does not explain how he comes to this conclusion, and I would again like to suggest an alternative interpretation. I would suggest that in fact *John* is the indirect object in the clause. If we compare it with the non-causative version (169) we see that, as with the earlier

ditransitive in (168), *pesa* is the direct object and *watoto* is the indirect object, which is marked in the verb:

169. *John* *a-li-wa-lip-a*   *watoto*   *pesa.*

John   3s-PAST-3pl-pay-IND children   money

'John paid the children money.'

Watoto, then, does not remain the indirect object in the causative clause, but is demoted to an oblique position, following a preposition. This leaves the indirect object position vacant, and I suggest that *John* occupies this.

Further evidence for this theory comes from analysis of passivisation of these arguments. If, as Comrie suggests, both 'John' and 'money' are direct objects, then both should be equally able to be passivised. As can be seen in (141)-(143) and the following paragraph, 'John' can be passivised, but neither 'money' nor 'children' can. This again suggests that 'John' is in a different syntactic role to the other two arguments.

Additional support comes from Nicolle (1996, 18), who states that as KiSwahili does not allow multiple object marking, where there are 'double objects', it is the indirect object which is marked on the verb.

My alternative theory supports Comrie's original theory better than his explanation of KiSwahili causatives does, although it does have a slight variation. This is that in ditransitive clauses which are made causative, the original subject displaces the indirect object, and forces it into an oblique role. I find no clear evidence for syntactic doubling, either of direct objects or of indirect objects, in KiSwahili.

KIKUYU

Kikuyu acts very differently. As can be seen in the following example, there can be three arguments following a ditransitive causative verb, none of which have a preposition before them, and thus none of which are obviously oblique objects. Hyman and Duranti (1982, 222), however, suggest that it is possible to have a prepositionless oblique.

170.   *Maria nĩ-a-rĩh-ith-i-a*   *John   ciana   mbeca.* (W)

       Maria IP-3s-pay-CAUS-CAUS-IND   John   children   money

       'Maria made John pay the children money.'

There are thus two options for the situation in Kikuyu: firstly that there is simply an indirect object, a prepositionless oblique object and a direct object, giving a structure similar to that which is found in KiSwahili, or, secondly, that there is some form of syntactic doubling occurring.

The evidence for the former is that when the sentence is passivised, *ciana* **does** take a preposition when the direct object is fronted, as can be seen in (149). Also, if *ciana* were a prepositionless oblique, this would leave the indirect object position open, and *John* takes the position immediately following the verb, which is debatably the indirect object position (see page 46).

Evidence for the second theory is that both the causee, *John* and the former direct object, *mbeca*, can be passivised (148)-(150). They can also both be marked on the verb in exactly the same way, using their noun class marker. Some Kikuyu speakers, in addition, would say that the word order is flexible, and that the objects can exchange places without changing the meaning.

I would suggest, looking at all this evidence, that when a ditransitive Kikuyu verb is made causative, the original agent occupies a second direct object position in the clause, and takes on the same properties as the original direct object. Thus, syntactic doubling does occur in Kikuyu. When the causativised verb is transitive, there are two possibilities; either that the original agent occupies the vacant indirect object position, or that, as with ditransitives, it doubles up with the direct object, thus giving two direct objects. As, unlike in KiSwahili, both 'object' arguments of a transitive causative clause, causee and patient, can be passivised in exactly the same way (144)-(146), I would suggest that syntactic doubling is also occurring here. This area needs further investigation, however, especially as the word order evidence is not conclusive (see residue).

LINGALA

Lingala does not allow morphological causation with ditransitive verbs. This suggests that it only allows up to two arguments after a verb, possibly the direct and the indirect object, because no prepositions are used.

With transitive causatives, the causee takes the position immediately following the verb, which, although sentence order is flexible, is more likely to be the indirect object. It cannot be passivised, even though the original object can (151)-(155). This suggests it is in a different syntactic role to the original object, and that syntactic doubling is not occurring. Causees may be passivised in causative clauses containing underlyingly intransitive verbs (152). I would suggest, therefore, that Lingala employs Comrie's hierarchy rule in a straightforward way. When there is no prior object, the causee takes the first available space, which is the direct object, and may be passivised. When the verb is transitive, the direct object role is already filled, and

thus the causee takes the indirect object role. In this case, the direct object may be passivised, but the causee, in indirect object position, may not (154).

3.8 Causatives in Texts

KISWAHILI

I found that causatives were rarely used in certain genres of texts in KiSwahili. I found no causatives in the narrative I studied, one morphological and one periphrastic in the hortatory text and four morphological causatives in the procedural text (three of which were occurrences of the same word). The expository text, by comparison, had ten morphological causatives and one periphrastic causative. (This text is reproduced in the appendix, with the causatives underlined, as a sample of my text collection.)

It can be seen, then, that in KiSwahili texts, morphological causatives are more common than periphrastic causatives. In both cases where a periphrastic causative was used, the matrix verb was *kushauri*, 'to persuade', so the causative was giving a slightly different nuance to just 'make'. This is probably why the periphrastic construction was chosen; if the desired meaning was simply 'to make', it seems likely that a morphological causative would have been used.

KIKUYU

In Kikuyu, causatives were even scarcer than in the KiSwahili texts. I found three morphological causatives in the narrative, one in the procedural, and one in the poem. I found no periphrastic causatives at all.

LINGALA

In Lingala, as yet I have not managed to find any kind of causative in a natural text.

CHAPTER IV

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES STUDIED

Kikuyu has more lexical causatives than Lingala and KiSwahili. All three languages have a morphological causative morpheme which is clearly related to the proto-Bantu –*i* or –*ici* (Schadeberg unpublished, 4). Lingala has only one form of the causative ending, whereas KiSwahili and Kikuyu have two. They employ different strategies to determine which ending should be used, but both allow either form in some cases, to give a different meaning. KiSwahili and Kikuyu allow intransitive, transitive and ditransitive morphological causatives, but Lingala has only intransitive and transitive. All three languages allow intransitive, transitive and ditransitive periphrastic causatives, and all use the subjunctive mood for the basic form of the event verb in periphrastic constructions. The most semantically neutral matrix verb in KiSwahili and Kikuyu is one meaning 'to make', whereas Lingala commonly uses a verb meaning 'to push' for inanimate causees, and a verb meaning 'to tell' for animate ones.

The three languages can all show double causation using periphrastic clauses, and KiSwahili and Kikuyu can show the same using morphological causative clauses. These two languages also use the morphological double causative to denote increased intensity in certain cases, but only Kikuyu allows a second causative extension to be added when a new verb is formed by the addition of a first causative extension.

All of the languages show a difference in meaning between periphrastic causative clauses and morphological causative clauses using the same verb, but none of them fit Givón's hypothesis exactly.

All of the languages allow the patient to be omitted, although KiSwahili does not allow this morphologically for 'true' transitives. All three languages also allow the agent to be omitted.

All three languages allow inanimate causers, with morphological and periphrastic causative clauses.

KiSwahili allows passivisation of the causer and the causee in causative clauses, but not the direct or indirect object. Kikuyu allows the causee and the direct object to be passivised, but not the causer or the indirect object. Lingala only allows one object to be passivised. This is the direct object in causative clauses involving a transitive verb, but in clauses using a previously intransitive verb, the causee may be passivised. Causers, causees in clauses with transitive verbs, and indirect objects may not be passivised. These differences are due to differences in the way causatives are formed. KiSwahili sends the causee to the indirect object position in transitive and ditransitive clauses, whereas Kikuyu doubles the direct object. This allows both the causee and the original direct object to passivise, because they are equal in role. Lingala allows passivisation of the causee in clauses involving intransitive verbs because it occupies the direct object position in the clause.

KiSwahili is flexible in the order of arguments after the verb, as long as they are of different noun classes, because the meaning is made clear by the presence of object markers in the verb. Kikuyu does not have these markers, and yet word order is not completely rigid. This is an area for further study. Lingala has a preferred order of indirect object followed by direct object, but this is flexible.

KiSwahili and Lingala do not show evidence of syntactic doubling when there are two objects after the verb, but Kikuyu does.

KiSwahili and Kikuyu do not use many causatives in texts, and there were none in the Lingala texts I have gathered thus far. KiSwahili demonstrated the only use of a periphrastic causative in a text, but I suspect that the other languages would as well if enough texts were gathered.

I have displayed the similarities and differences between the languages in the following chart (page 58), to make them easier to compare.

Table 1. Similarities and differences between the languages

	KiSwahili	Kikuyu	Lingala
1. Lexical causatives	✓	✓✓ (more than one found)	✓
2. Morph. causatives	*-ish/-z*	*-ith/-i*	*-is*
Decided by	verb stem ending	valency of verb	-
difference in meaning?	✓	✓	-
Intransitive	✓	✓	✓
Transitive	✓	✓	✓
Ditransitive	✓	✓	x
3. Periphrastic	✓	✓	✓
event verb □ SBJ	✓	✓	✓
Neutral verb	*kufanya*	*gũtũma*	*kopusa/koloba*
Intransitive	✓	✓	✓
Transitive	✓	✓	✓
Ditransitive	✓	✓	✓
4. Double Causatives a) make s'one make s'one - peri	✓	✓	✓
- morph	✓	✓	x
b) increased intensity	✓	✓	x
c) add 2 caus extensions where new verb	x	✓	x
5. Direct and indirect causation - Givón's hypothesis	x	x	x
Diff. in meaning between peri and morph	✓	✓	✓
6. Omitting: a) agent - peri	✓	✓	✓
- morph	✓	✓	✓
b) patient - peri	✓	✓	✓
- morph	(✓) (with some verbs only)	✓	✓
7) Inanimate causers - peri	✓	✓	✓
- morph	✓	✓	✓
8) Passivisation - causer	✓	x	x
- causee	✓	✓	✓ intrans, x trans
- do	x	✓	✓
- io	x	x	x
9) changing sentence order	partly flexible	flexible?	flexible
10) syntactic doubling?	x	✓	x
11) found in texts - morph	✓	✓	x
- peri	✓	x	x

Key to table:

x   not found in language

✓   found in language

-      not applicable

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Conclusions

In this study I have described how causatives are formed in KiSwahili, Kikuyu and Lingala. I have examined the syntax of causatives in different situations and put forward theories about the underlying grammar. My major conclusions are:

- KiSwahili uses phonological rules to determine which causative form should be used.

- Kikuyu uses syntactic/semantic rules to determine which causative form should be used.

- All three languages demonstrate the coding principle of causatives, that is, that the more closely bound the causative is grammatically, the more direct the causation is.

- KiSwahili does not allow doubling of arguments in a clause. When a causer is added, the causee takes the next vacant position on Comrie's hierarchy, except with ditransitive verbs, when the causee takes the indirect object role, and pushes the previous indirect object to the oblique object position.

- Kikuyu does allow syntactic doubling, and thus the causee takes an additional direct object role when a clause's valency is increased by a morphological causative.

- Lingala does not permit more than two arguments after a verb. Thus the causee takes the direct object role with intransitive verbs, and the indirect object role in

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transitive verbs, following Comrie's hierarchy. No morphological ditransitive causatives are permitted.

- KiSwahili and Kikuyu share more in common than either does with Lingala, in the way they form causatives. This is to be expected, as according to Guthrie's classification, they are more closely related. KiSwahili and Kikuyu are both Central Bantu languages, while Lingala is a Northwest Bantu language.

5.2 Application

Comparative studies such as these also have their place in Bible translation. With the implementation of the SIL initiative Vision 2025, which seeks to have a Bible translation started in every language of the world which needs one by the year 2025, there is an opportunity for far greater teamwork than has existed before in translation work. Groups are forming which aim to work together on related languages, pooling resources and helping each other. Studies such as this can help by raising awareness of different structures in languages; what to expect and how to go about finding out about it in any one particular language or group of languages.

5.3 Residue

- Check sentence order and syntactic doubling in Kikuyu – not all informants agreed with the data presented here. I am not sure if this is due to dialectal differences, or just personal use. The Kikuyu data was more influenced by the observer's paradox than the other two languages. Due to its complexity and my lack of knowledge about it, I had to do more elicitation. Further study is necessary to enable more confidence in these conclusions.

- Is the idea of an animacy hierarchy relevant to this study, e.g. in the section about inanimate causers?

- Do Kikuyu and Lingala permit inanimate causers with animate causees?

- Examples (76) and (84) both have a periphrastic causative followed by a morphological causative. Is the reverse order possible?

- Investigate why KiSwahili more readily allows the patient to be omitted from clauses with periphrastic causatives, but not from clauses with morphological causatives, even though the same transitive verb may be used.

As can be seen, much work remains in this area of comparative study of causative formation. Currently, many linguists are researching the issue of double objects in languages, and although this study was only able to skim the surface, it offers potential for others to take up from where I left off in this fascinating area.

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APPENDIX I

SAMPLE KISWAHILI TEXT

Kiliku	*mahakamani*	*kutetea*	*waliofutwa*
Kiliku	courts.in	INF-talk.for	those.who.were.sacked

Kiliku speaks in court on behalf of those who were sacked

1. | *A-li-ye-kuw-a* | | *Mbunge* | *wa* | *Changamwe,* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | 3s-PAST-REL-be-IND | | minister | of | Changamwe |

   The former minister of Changamwe,

2. *Bw.Kennedy Kiliku*
   Mr Kennedy Kiliku
   Mr Kennedy Kiliku,

3. | *jana* | *a-li-wasil-ish-a* | | *ombi* | *mbele* | *ya* | *Mahakama Kuu* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | yesterday | 3s-PAST-arrive-CAUS-IND | | appeal | in.front | of | court | big |

   yesterday presented an appeal in front of the High Courts

4. | *a-ki-kat-a* | *Serikali* | *i-zuili-w-e* | *kuendelea* | *na* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | 3s-COND-cut-IND | government | it-prevent-PASS-SBJ | INF-go.on | with |

   deciding that the government should be prevented from going on with

5. | *mpango* | *wa* | *kustaaf-ish-a* | *watumishi* | *wake.* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | plans | of | INF-retire-CAUS-IND | workers | its |

   plans to retire its workers.

6. | *Bw Kiliku* | *a-na-tak-a* | *Mkuu* | *wa* | *Watumishi* | *wa* | *Serikali,* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | Mr Kiliku | 3s-PRES-want-IND | elder | of | workers | of | government |

   Mr Kiliku wants the chief of staff of the government

7. | *Dkt* | *Richard* | *Leakey* | *na* | *Mkurugenzi* | *wa* | *Uajiri* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | Dr | Richard | Leakey | and | leader | of | hiring |

   Dr Richard Leakey, and the leader of employment

8. | *wa-amri-w-e* | *kusimam-ish-a* | *mpango* | *huo* | *mara* | *moja.* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | 3pl-order-PASS-SBJ | INF-stop-CAUS-IND | plans | these | time | one |

   to be ordered to stop that plan at once.

9. | *Kufikia* | *Ijumaa iliyopita,* | *watumishi* | *19,000* | *wa-li-kuw-a* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | reaching | Friday last | workers | 19,000 | 3pl-PAST-be-IND |

   By last Friday 19,000 workers had

65

10. *tayari*   *wa-me-poke-a*   *barua zao* *za* <u>*kustaaf-ish-w-a,*</u>
    ready   3pl-PERF-receive-IND letters their of INF-retire-CAUS-PASS-IND
already received their letters of retirement,

11. *na*   *kufuatana*   *na*   *mpango*   *wa*   *Serikali,*
    and   INF-follow   with   plans   of   government
and following the Government plans,

12. *jumla*   *ya*   *watumishi*   *25,780 wa-na-pas-a*   *kuwa*
    total   of   workers   25,780 3pl-PRES-suppose-IND INF-be
a total of 25,780 workers are supposed to have been

13. <u>*wa-me-staaf-ish-w-a*</u>   *kufikia*   *Ijumaa wiki* *hii.*
    3pl-PERF-retire-CAUS-PASS-IND   INF-reach   Friday week this
retired by Friday this week.

14. *Serikali*   *i-na-nui-a*   <u>*kustaaf-ish-a*</u>   *watumishi 48,829*
    government   it-PRES-intend-IND   INF-retire-CAUS-IND workers 48,829
The government intends to fire 48,829 workers

15. *kufikia*   *Juni 2002*   *chini* *ya*   *mpango wa kubana*   *matumizi.*
    INF-reach June 2002   under of   plans of pressuring   usage
by June 2002 under the plans for pressuring the usage.

16. *Hata hivyo, Bw Kiliku a-li-kumban-a*   *na*   *matatizo*   *kadha*
    even that, Mr Kiliku 3s-PAST-push-IND   with   problems   several
Even so, Mr Kiliku was pushed with several problems

17. *mahakamani wakati*   *Jaji* *Mary* *Ang'awa,*   *ambaye*   *ndiye*
    courts.in   when   Judge Mary Ang'awa,   who   be
in the courts, when Judge Mary Ang'awa, who was

18. *a-li-ye-kuw-a*   *kazini*   *a-lipo-mw-ambi-a*   *kuwa* *makaratasi*
    3s-PAST-REL-be-IND   work.in   3s-when-3s-tell-IND   that papers
the one at work, told him that his papers

19. *yake*   *yana*   *kasoro.*
    his   they.have   blemishes
had omissions.

20. *"Karatasi ya*   *kuomba*   *mahakama*   *i-sikilize*   *kesi* *yako*
    papers of   INF-ask   courts   it-listen   case your
"The papers asking the court to listen to your case

21. *wakati*   *huu*   *ambapo*   *mahakama*   *iko*   *likizoni*   *haiko*
    when   this   which.where court   it.is   holiday.in   it.not
when the court is on holiday are not

22. *hapa,"*   *Jaji* *Ang'awa*   *a-li-mw-ambi-a*   *Bw* *Kiliku.*
    here   judge Ang'awa   3s-PAST-3s-tell-IND   Mr Kiliku
here," Judge Ang'awa told Mr Kiliku.

23. | Jaji | Ang'awa | *a-li-m-shauri* | wakili | wa | Bw | Kiliku, |
|------|---------|-----------------|--------|-----|-----|---------|
| Judge | Ang'awa | 3s-PAST-3s-advise | agent | of | Mr | Kiliku |

Judge Ang'awa advised Mr Kiliku's agent,

24. | Canicious Kirugara, | ambaye | a-li-fik-a | kortini | kwa |
|----------------------|--------|-----------|---------|-----|
| Canicious Kirugara | who | 3s-PAST-reach-IND | court.in | at |

Canicious Kiruga, who was at the court in

25. | niaba ya | wakili, | Dkt | John | Khaminwa, |
|----------|---------|-----|------|-----------|
| place of | agent, | Dr | John | Khaminwa, |

the place of the agent, Dr John Khaminwa,

26. | *a-rudi* | na | *a-tayar-ish-e* | vizuri | makaratasi | yake |
|----------|-----|-----------------|--------|------------|------|
| 3s-return | and | 3s-prepare-CAUS-SBJ | well | papers | his |

that he should go back and prepare his papers well

27. | na | a-rudi | mayo | kortini | leo | asubuhi. |
|-----|--------|------|---------|-----|----------|
| and | 3s-return | with.them | court.in | today | morning |

and return to court with them this morning.

28. | A-na-sem-a | kuwa | mpango | huo | wa | Serikali | wa |
|------------|------|--------|-----|-----|----------|-----|
| 3s-PRES-say-IND | that | plans | these | of | government | of |

She says that these plans of the Government

29. | *kustaaf-ish-a* | wafanya | kazi | wengi | hivyo, |
|-----------------|---------|------|-------|--------|
| to.retire-CAUS-IND | those.who.do | work | much | so |

to fire the hard workers

30. | u-me-tish-a | umoja | wa | kijamii na | wa | kifamilia |
|-------------|-------|-----|-----------|-----|-----------|
| 2s-REC-frighten-IND | once | of | clan and | of | family |

have at one and the same time frightened the clans and families

31. | hapa | nchini. |
|------|---------|
| here | country.in |

here in our country.

32. | "Hiki | ni | kitendo | ambacho | ha-ki-fai | kabisa |
|-------|-----|---------|---------|-----------|--------|
| *this* | *is* | *act* | *which* | *not-it-worth* | *completely* |

"This is an act which is completely unworthy

33. | kutendwa na | Serikali | ambayo | i-na | jukumala |
|-------------|----------|--------|------|----------|
| to.do-PASS by | government | which | it-has | responsibility |

to be done by a government which is responsible

34. | kutoa | nafasi | za | kazi | kwa | raia | wake." |
|-------|--------|-----|------|-----|------|--------|
| to.remove | turn | of | work | from | people | its |

for removing work from its people."

35. | Mbunge | huyo | wa zamani | wa | chama cha | DP |
|--------|------|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|
| minister | this | of time | of | club of | DP |

That former minster of the DP party

36. *a-na-ele-z-a.*
3s-PRES-understand-CAUS-IND
explains.

37. *Halikadhalika,*   *a-na-sem-a*   *kuwa*   *pesa*   *ambazo*
likewise   3s-PRES-say-IND   that   money   which
Likewise, he says that the money which

38. *zi-na-lip-w-a*   *wale*   *wanaostaafishwa*   *ni*   *kidogo*
it-PRES-pay-PASS-IND   those   who.were.sacked   is   small
is paid to those who have been fired is

39. *kabisa*   *kwa*   *mtu*   *ambaye*   *a-me-fany-a*   *kazi*
completely   for   man   who   3s-PERF-do-IND
    work
far too small for someone who has worked

40. *miaka*   *mingi*   *kuanz-ish-a*   *nayo*   *maisha*   *mapya.*
years   many   INF-start-CAUS-IND   with   life   new
for many years, to start a new life with.