

The Morphological Strategies of Causatives in Gichuka

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Abstract

Causation is a valence increasing operation that adds a causer argument, which acts upon a causee to perform an action. It involves internal changes in a word, and delights in attachment of affixes onto a word. This paper looks into specific affixes used in the Gichuka causation and the interactive patterns involved. It establishes that Gichuka utilizes both morphological and analytic means in encoding causation. Morphologically, -i- and -ith- bound morphemes suffix on the verb, while the analytic -tum-a- is used in the analytic method. Causation is highly productive in that it occurs in all the roots; transitive, intransitive and di-transitive. Besides, it occurs in adjectives and nouns, de-adjectivizing and de-nomnalizing into verbs of becoming respectively. The study was conducted in Chuka Division, Tharaka-Nithi County. Gichuka is a Language spoken by Chuka people living on the Eastern slopes of Mt. Kenya in Kenya. The paper asserts that there are two affixes used for causation in Gichuka and establishes the patterns in which they occur and are used. The findings contribute to the scholarly literature in linguistics and especially in morphology of Gichuka as an independent language. Data was collected from a sample of ten (10) Gichuka speaking persons selected purposively and supplemented by the researcher's own intuitive knowledge of the language. It was based on self-generated tests, designed to elicit directed information. It was then analyzed using phrases, clauses and sentences based on theory of Distributed Morphology.

Keywords: Causation, Gichuka, Causer, Causee, Internal Causation.

Introduction

Causation is a process that makes one event to produce another. It is a form attached to the verb to indicate that the subject causes someone or something else to do something or cause a change of state of a non-volitional event. There are many ways in which causation can be realized, among them lexical, analytic and morphological. Although, many scholars have laid a lot of emphasis on the morphological causation, which involves causative morphemes, little has been done with this regard in Gichuka, a Bantu language of the Niger-Congo origin marked E541 according to Guthrie's Bantu Language numbering. Besides, No known study so far has established any facts about how the causative morphemes behave either independently or in the company of each other, thus, in related languages, linguists are faced with the temptation of treating them as a bi-partite. This paper establishes, with evidence how the two causatives should be interpreted when they co-occur and further shows the order in which they should co-occur.

A causative morpheme is a part of a word that refers to a cause relation between two events; causing and caused (Robert, 2008). To create a morphological causative expression in Gichuka, the morpheme **-i-** or **-ith-** is suffixed to the main verb. The morphology of causation in Gichuka is, therefore, such that both the causing and the caused events are encoded in a single verbal complex via the causative morpheme and a morphological marking showing the status of the affected arguments.

This paper looks into the strategies of morphological causation in Gichuka as guided by the following objectives:

- (i) To identify the morphemes used in the Gichuka morphological causation.
- (ii) To explore the patterns of Gichuka causative morpheme co-occurrence

Literature Review

In Quechua the morpheme **-chi-** is suffixed to the verb root and a causer introduced (Robert, 2008).

- (1) Munay hacer quererer (to want)
Muna **-chi-**y hacer quererer (to make want)

Kithaaraka, also genetically related to Gichuka has two causative morphemes, **-i-** and **-ith-** (Muriungi, 2010). **-i-** is a short morpheme and referred to as the internal causer while **-ith-** is the long one and referred to as the synthetic causer.

Oromo, a Cushitic language has three causative morphemes namely cause 1 (**-is-**) Cause 2 (**-sis-**) and cause 3 (**-eess-**) (Lloret, 1987). They may occur independently or co-occur for special effects like chain causation, depending on what is permissible by the different verbs in the language. For instance, some verbs in this language do not allow suffixation of the single causative morpheme **-sis-** and when used the structure is incorrect. Likewise, cause 1 and 2 are not allowed with the adjectival stems hence, cannot be attached to the adjectives. Table 1 shows the causative allomorphs and their types in Oromo.

Table 1: Oromo Causative Morphemes

Label	Form	Type
cause 1	-is-	single
caus 2	-sis-	single/double
cause 3	-eess-	de-adjectival

Source: Lloret (1987)

So far, it has been noted that most languages with morphological causation have two or more causative morphemes, can occur independently or co-occur. In this paper, I show that in the morphology of causation in Gichuka, although the morphemes occur independently, mostly, **-ith-** occurs in the company of **-i-** following a distinct order. If they co-occur it is not a case of a bi-partite but morpheme co-occurrence, just like any other two or more morphemes would co-occur in defined orders.

Comrie (1981) notes that Proto-Bantu had two causative morphemes; the short **-i-** and the long **-ic-i-**. This study shows that Gichuka, to a great extent has adopted this tendency. Most present-day Bantu languages have borrowed the proto situation either wholly or partly. Since Bantu languages are fairly conservative, some present day-daughter languages have maintained the whole proto-situation, **-is-i-**, **-i-**. Others have divided the long causative to remain with a part of it **-is-**, while in contrast others have lost the long causative to remain with only the short one, **-i-**. For instance; Luganda and Kinande have maintained wholly, Chichewa and Shona have lost the short one and retained the long one while Nyamwezi and Nyakyusa have lost the long one and retained the short one (Good, 2003). Table 2 summarizes the causative situation in selected Proto daughter languages.

Table 2: Morphological causative Affixes in Selected Proto Daughters

Language	Cause 1	Cause 2	Combination
Basaa	-is-	—	N/A
Bukusu	-isy-	—	N/A
Ciyao	-is-	-i-	-ic-y-
Chichewa	-its-	—	N/A
Chimwini	-ish-	-i-	-ish-iz-
Emakhuwa	-il-	—	N/A
Ganda	-is-	-i-	-is-iz
Holoholo	-isy-	-i-	
Ikalanga	-is-	—	N/A
Isangu	-is-	—	N/A
Kiitharaka	-ith-	-i-	-ith-i-
Kinande	-is-	-i-	-is-i
Kinyarwanda	-ish-	-i-	-ish-iz
Kirundi	-iish-	-i-	
Kitalinga	-is-	-i-	-is-i-
Kongo	-is-	—	N/A
Korekore	-is-	—	N/A
Lingala	-is-	—	N/A
Lomongo	-ey-	-i-	
Luvale	-is-	—	N/A
Mwera	-ly-	—	N/A
Ndebele	-is-	—	N/A
Nugunu	—	-i-	N/A
Nyakyusa	—	-i-	N/A
Quechua	-chi-	—	N/A
Runyambo	-is-	-i-	-is-iz-
Sesotho	-is-	—	N/A
Shi	-is-	-i-	-is-iz
Swahili	-ish-/iz	—	N/A
Swazi	-is-	—	N/A
Xhosa	-is-	—	N/A

Source: Good (2005)

This study was guided by Distributed Morphology, henceforth DM, formulated by Halle and Marantz (1993) and X-bar theory proposed by Noam Chomsky (1970) and developed by Jay Rackendoff (1977). DM posits that the morphological features undergo operations at different components of grammar before they are realized as vocabulary items for use at the phonological level. The theory was found appropriate for this study as it informs on how the morpho-syntactic features, for instance [cause] in our case becomes a vocabulary item (morpheme) for insertion. The Morpho-syntactic feature [cause] is produced at the syntactic component by such processes as head movement and word formation rules. It is manipulated by syntactic operations like move and merge at the syntactic level, and further acted upon by morphological operations at the morphological level, to bring about its phonological form and then goes to the phonological level. It undergoes more operations such as re-adjustment and phonological rules so as to be rendered a complete vocabulary item (VI) for use. It is after all the mechanisms are done operating on a Morpho-syntactic feature that it can be realized as a

vocabulary item for use in what is called late insertion. This means that the morphemes are completely empty of any phonological information until they are fully operated on by the mechanisms.

On the other hand, X-Bar Theory was devised to eliminate the need for special rules dictating that a noun phrase will always be dominated by a noun and a verb phrase by a verb. This is because there are other categories of phrases that are not headed by these traditional lexical items, noting that there are others like the inflectional phrase, in our case the causative. It therefore, attempts to capture the properties of phrases in all natural languages by determining the structural relations within the perspective of more general principles. According to X-Bar syntax, phrasal categories share certain similarities, like specifiers, heads and complements. It therefore expresses the relationships and interactions between these categories. Figure 1 shows the X-Bar Schema and its constituents with the assumption that all phrases conform to the same configuration.

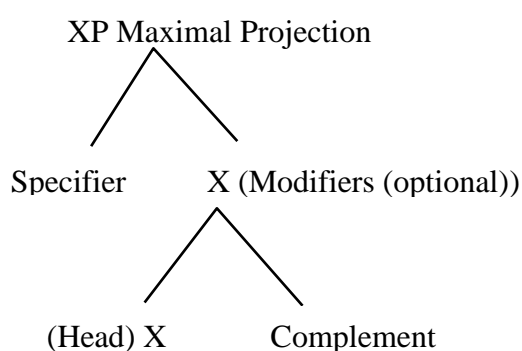


Figure 1: X-Bar Schema

The X level can be expanded further using bars (ˉ) in a process called recursion, which is a process that allows elements to be found within others through embedding. This theory was preferred for this study in addition to DM with the assumption that phrases in all languages conform to the X Bar configuration. The X Bar offers a unified approach to all phrasal structures and simplifies the concept of syntactic categories and their nature.

A causative sentence is defined under X Bar theory as an Inflectional Phrase (IP), since the head (X) of this sentence is the inflection (I) which is occupied by -caus- in our case. It is on this (I) that the lower clause is embedded bringing about recursion. Causation is explained on the ground of movement as a syntactic operation. According to Baker's theory of Incorporation, the embedded V is moved to the matrix V through I. On adjoining the matrix V, it leads to creation of a complex word, introduces more roles and changes the government relations inside the clause bringing about new case assignment relationships. X Bar theory, therefore, determines and expresses these structural relations within the perspective of more general principles.

Methodology

This study was carried out in Chuka Division, Meru-South in Tharaka-Nithi County. This is the area mainly occupied by Gichuka-speaking population. The study utilized descriptive design according to which, a phenomenon, a population or a situation is systematically and accurately described, and presented as it is McCombes (2019). Data was described from the responses in order to reveal the causative morphemes in Gichuka and the ways in which they occur or co- occur. The sample size comprised ten (10) Gichuka native speakers associated with it by birth or whose competence is at a masterly level, and who were selected purposively.

This was the sample used to generalize to over a population of approximately 470,000 Gichuka L1 speakers.

Purposive sampling was considered as the researcher targeted individuals who would give desired structures. In this paper, the target structures were those that are correctly causative coded in the data collection instrument. Structure Generated Tests (SGTs) alongside oral unstructured interviews were employed in data collection. The responses were studied, analyzed and presented using words, phrases, clauses and sentences.

Results and Discussion

Morphology of Causatives in Gichuka

Morphologically, causation is a process involving internal changes in a word through affixation. The inference is that the agent responsible for the action taking place is not the actual doer of the action, though it is felt that if this agent were not there, the event would not have taken place (Kulicov, 2001). As this study investigated the morphology of causation in Gichuka, it describes the structure of *-ith-* and *-i-* causative morphemes in relation to the combining units like the verb and adjective. *-ith-* or *-i-* is suffixed on the verb root and expressed overtly. This is made possible by the rich morphological processes undergone by the verb roots (Good, 2005). This section analyses the data in view of Distributed Morphology. The abbreviations *-ic-*, *crv*, *fv*, *sa* and *tns* have been used. *Ic* represents the internal causer (*-i-*), *crv* the synthetic causer otherwise known as the coercive (*-ith-*), *fv* the final vowel, *sa* the subject agreement and *tns* for tense.

Morphemes used in Morphological Causation in Gichuka

The morphological strategy of causation entails the use of causative morphemes to derive causation. Gichuka has two causative morphemes, *-ith-* and *-i-*, a trend adopted from the Proto-Bantu. This is because Bantu languages are highly conservative. To create a causative expression in Gichuka, the morpheme *-i-* or *-ith-* is attached to the main verb. Here, both the causing and the caused events are encoded in a single verbal complex via a causative morpheme and a morphological marking on the verb showing the nature of the affected arguments. The two morphemes could occur separately or co-occur. Consider the sentences below with the intransitive verbs *rir-a* (cry) (2) and *nyar-a* (dry) (3). In the presentation of data, sentences stated in Gichuka are first glossed word by word and then their English equivalents given. This is the pattern used in linguistics to enable linguists who are not native speakers of the language to understand the data easily.

i- causation

(2a) Mwana a-ku-rir-a
Child sa-tns-cry-fv
'The child has cried'

(2a) contains no causer and the event (crying) is spontaneous. When *-i-* is added, the introduction of an external causer subject is obligatory as illustrated in (b)

(b) Kanana a-ku-rir-i-a mwana
Kanana sa-tns- cry -caus-fv mwana
'Kanana has made the child cry'

The verbal complex "a-ku-rir-i-a" contains the causer subject represented by the subject agreement (*sa*), the caused event (*cry*) and the morphological causative marking *-i-*.

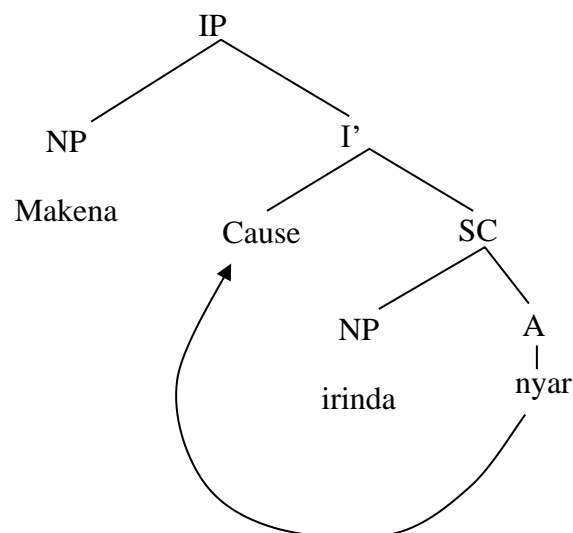
Consider another verb *nyar* (dry) which can take both agentive and natural cause subjects.

(3a) Irinda ri-ku- nyar -a

Dress-sa-tns-dry-fv
 'The dress has dried'

When the causative morpheme *-i-* is introduced, the introduction of the causer is necessary, and this causer can either be agentive as in (3b) or a natural cause as in (3c)

- (b) Makena a-ku- nyar **-i-**a irinda
 Makena sa-tns- dry **-caus-**fv-dress
 'Makena has dried the dress'



- (c) Riua ri-ku- nyar **-i-**a irinda

Sun's heat-sa-tns- dry **-cause-**fv- dress
 'The sun's heat has dried the dress.'

From the examples in (2b, 3b and 3c), the following observations can be made about **-i-** causation;

- (i) An external subject called causer is added. This is why there is *Kanana* (2b), *Makena* (3b) and *riua* (3c) which were not there in (2a) and (3a) respectively.
- (ii) Both verbs *rir-a* (cry) and *nyar-a* (dry) are intransitive but on causation, they take the objects *mwana* (child) and *irinda* (dress) respectively.
- (iii) The NPs (*mwana*) in (2a) and (*irinda*) in (3a) were subjects before causation but become objects after causation. It is therefore, appropriate to say that besides being a causative, **-i-** is also a transitivity marker, making intransitive verbs take objects.

-ith- causation

The behavior of **-ith-** causative is not different from that of its counterpart **-i-** in that both of them introduce a causer subject, transitivity markers and di-transitivity markers. Consider example (4).

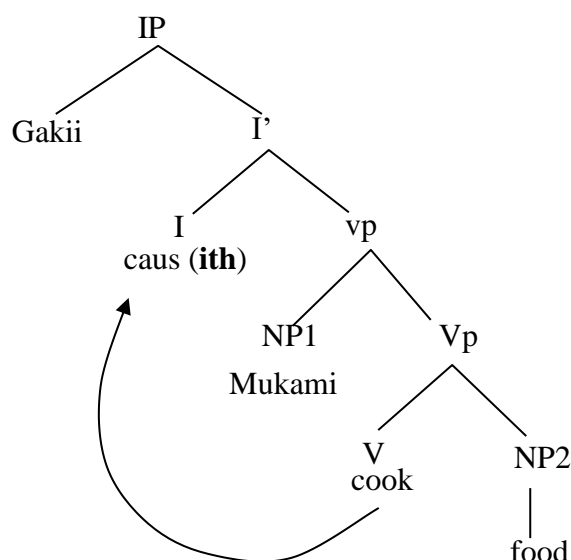
- (4a) Gatwiri a-ku- ob -a- nku
 Gatwiri -sa-tns tie -fv- firewood
 'Gatwiri has tied firewood'
- (b) Kanana a-ku- ob **-ith-i-**a Gatwiri nku

Kanana -sa-tns- tie -**caus-ic**-fv- Gatwiri firewood

'Kanana has **caused** Gatwiri to tie firewood'

-Ith- embeds a clause together with all the arguments the verb introduces, and is suffixed after the verb root. Consider (c);

(c)



Since causative sentences are treated as inflectional phrases (IPs) with the **caus** projection (I) as the head, a rule in **X-Bar** allows the X level to duplicate itself and embed items in a process called recursion, in which items are found within others. This is why it is possible to embed a clause on another. **-caus-** plus V combination together with any other verbal suffixes form a single phonological word which can head a single verb phrase. A complex such as **-rug-ith-i-a** (make to cook) is a complex in a single case marking domain licensing only a single nominative argument such as is illustrated at (c).

There are four properties notable about morphological causation in Gichuka so far;

(i) **-ith** and **-i-** are bound morphemes which cannot stand on their own but rely on the main verb

for causative semantics.

(ii) Both are cases of suffixation

(iii) Together with the main verb, they form a single word which can function as a verb group on its own.

(iv) While **-i-** is strictly an internal causer, **-ith-** is both an internal and synthetic causer. In internal causation, the introduced causer is also the agent of causation, whereas, in synthetic causation, the introduced causer is different since the initial subject becomes the agent of causation. A stronger tendency noted is for **-i-** to attach on intransitives and **-ith-** to transitives. This does not disregard the fact that a few intransitive verbs use **-ith-** for causation. Verbs like *nyar* (dry) and *gw-a* (fall) which are agentive intransitives may use **-ith-** for causation. Table 3 shows causation of intransitives with **-i-** while Table 4 indicates causation of transitives with **-ith-**.

Table 3: Causation of Intransitive Verbs

Plain		Causative	
um-a	(dry)	um- <i>i</i> -a	(make dry)
Ken-a	(be happy)	ken- <i>i</i> -a	(make happy)
kir-a	(be silent)	kir- <i>i</i> -a	(make silent)
tuub-a	(jump)	tuub- <i>i</i> -a	(make jump)
thamb-a	(bathe)	thamb- <i>i</i> -a	(make bathe)
rir-a	(cry)	rir- <i>i</i> -a	(make cry)

As can be noted from table 3, causation is realized with *-i-* only in intransitive verbs. Let us compare table 3 with table 4 that has causation of transitive verbs;

Table 4: Causation of Transitive Verbs

Plain		Causative	
rug-a	(cook)	rug- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to cook)
ob-a	(tie)	ob- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to tie)
tab-a	(fetch)	tab- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to fetch)
oki-a	(roast)	ok- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to roast)
ring-a	(hit)	ring- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to hit)
andik-a	(write)	andik- <i>ith-i</i> -a	(make to write)

When transitive verbs are causativized, *-ith-* is used and occurs in the company of *-i-* as can be seen in table 2. When they are used together, *-ith-* is used for causation while *-i-* is used for transitivity. This is also attested in Muriungi (2008).

Patterns of Morpheme Occurrence

As far as morphology of causation is concerned, two patterns are noted;

X causes Y to V

where, X is the causer or the agent, V is the verb and Y is the patient. We can call the first pattern internal causation, arguing that in internal causation, the introduced causer is also the agent of causation. Consider the following sentences with pattern (i), which can be derived by both *-i-* or *-ith-* as illustrated in (5b) for *-i-* and (6b) for *-ith-* respectively;

- (5a) Mwana a-ku-thek-a
Baby -sa-tns- laugh -fv-
'The baby has laughed'
- (b) Makena a-ku- thek-*i*-a mwana
Makena -sa-tns- laugh -*ic*-fv- baby
'Makena **caused** the baby to laugh'
- (6a) ibiga ri-ku-gw-a
Stone -sa-tns- fall -fv
'The stone has fallen.'
- (b) Gitonga a-ku-gw-*ith-i*-a ibiga
Gitonga -sa-tns- fall -*crv-ic*-fv- stone
'Gitonga has **made** the stone to fall.'

The events in sentences (5a and 6a) have no causers but happen on their own, however, when *-i-* or *-ith-* is added as in sentences in (b) there are internal changes and the following are the observations;

- (i) There is the introduction of external causers.
- (ii) The introduced causers are also the agents of causation.
- (iii) The verb roots change semantics and valence from plain intransitive (5a and 6a) to become transitive in (5b and 6b).

X causes Y to V Z

where, X is the causer, Y is the causee or the agent, V is the verb and Z is the patient (Robert, 2008). In the second pattern the introduced causer is different from the agent since the initial subject becomes the agent. We compare internal causation pattern (i) (sentences 5b and 6b) with synthetic *-ith-* in pattern (ii).

- (7a) Mwana a-ku- nyu -a- ndawa
Child -sa-tns- drink -fv- medicine
'The child has taken medicine.
- (b) Ng'ina -a-ku-nyu **-ith-i-a-** mwana ndawa
Mother -a-tns- drink **-crv-ic-** child medicine
'The mother has **made** the child to take medicine.'

We note the following;

- (i) The suffixation of the causative morpheme introduces an external causer
 - (ii) The subject of the non-causativized sentence is reduced into a causee, which is the agent of the action
 - (iii) The already transitive verb takes two objects (mwana) and (ndawa) to become ditransitive.
- The two morphological patterns can also be observed in some other Bantu languages. For instance, in Nyoro, pattern (i) is referred to as direct causation as shown in (8b) and pattern (ii) as indirect causation as in (8c) (Bastin, 1986) as cited in (Good, 2005).

- (8a) og-a
Bath -fv-
Bath (take a bath)
- (b) og-y-a
Bath **-caus-fv-**
Wash (trans direct causation))
- (c) og-**is-**a
bathe **-caus-fv-**
make wash (indirect causation))

In (8b) (direct causation) the causer is also the agent through which the action takes place, while in the indirect causation (8c) the causer is not the agent, hence the presence of a causee. The presence of two causatives in most Bantu languages follows the proto-Bantu situation **-i-** and **-i-ci-** as discussed in the literature review and most languages with two causatives distinguish them differently. For instance, Muriungi (2010) refers to **-i-** as internal causer glossed **-ic-** and **-ith-** as synthetic causer which he glosses **-crv-** (coercive) due to its dominant coercive reading, while Good (2005) refers to **-i-** and **-i-ci-** in proto-Bantu as transitive and causative or short and long causative respectively due to their phonological sizes. Since Gichuka has two causatives also morphologically realized as **-ith-** and **-i-**, a distinction is necessary for the purpose of clarity in glossing especially when they are both used on the same verb root. For this study, I chose to adopt Muriungi's internal causer (**-ic-**) for **-i-** and synthetic causer (**-crv-**) for **-ith-**. This adoption is preferred due to the genetic relationship between Kiitharaka and Gichuka languages.

-i-, -ith- co-occurrence (One or Two Morphemes?)

For Gichuka that uses two causative morphemes, there are two morphological patterns. One is that the causativized verb appears with only one of the suffixes. Consider the examples (9) for *-i-* and (10) for *-ith-* when they occur independently.

- (9) Gakii -a-ku-rir-**i-**a- mwana
 Gakii -sa- tns- cry -**ic-**fv- baby
 ‘Gakii has caused the child to cry’
- (10) Muthoni -a-a-gwak-**ith-**ik-a- nyomba
 Muthoni-sa-tns-build -**crv-** able -fv- house
 ‘It was easy to make Muthoni to build the house’

In (9) and (10) the morphemes *-i-* and *-ith-* appear independently without the company of each other, and the semantics of causation retained. The other morphological pattern is that both suffixes appear on the same verb root. Mostly, *-i-* appears alone in intransitive verbs but *-ith-* appears in the company of *-i-* regardless of the type of verb onto which it attaches as in (11);

- (11) Kanana a- gwak -**ith-i-**a Muthomi nyomba
 Kanana -sa- build -**crv-ic-**fv- Muthomi house
 ‘Kanana has made Muthomi to build a house’

This co-occurrence makes them appear like one morpheme made up of two parts. With the knowledge that most Bantu causatives are bi-morphemic from the proto-situation (**-i-ci-**), one could be tempted to believe that the morphemes *-ith-* and *-i-* is a case of a bi-partite as a preservation of the pro-situation, since Bantu languages are very conservative (Good, 2005). However, there are two reasons with proofs that each is a distinct morpheme;

- (i) Separate occurrence
 (ii) Separability by other morphemes

Although they may appear as a bi-partite, it is possible for either of the two morphemes to appear independently without the company of the other. For instance, in examples (13 and 14), we had *-i-* and *-ith-* alone and the semantics of causation conveyed. A morpheme cannot be further divisible without losing its functional significance, if *-ith-* and *-i-* were indeed one morpheme made up of two parts, then one part could not derive causation on its own as it happens in the said illustrations.

On the other hand, the two morphemes need not be together even when they co-occur. They can be separated by intervening morphemes. Consider (12);

- (12) Kanana ni-ak-**ith-ir-i-**e Muthomi nyomba
 Kanana f-sa- build -**crv-pfv-ic-**fv- Muthomi house
 ‘Kanana made Muthomi to build a house’

As seen in (12), although the morphemes *-i-* and *-ith-* co-occur, they have been intervened by the perfective morpheme **-ir-**. If once more the definition of a morpheme, as the smallest part of a word that is not further divisible without losing its functional significance holds, then the two parts should practically be inseparable. This argument, however, does not refute the fact that there are discontinuous morphemes, but since *-ith-* and *-i-* have not been known to be discontinuous, this points out that they are distinct morphemes, which can co-occur even with other morphemes in whichever permissible order, or occur separately depending on what is acceptable.

The co-occurrence of these morphemes follows the property of Bantu languages known as agglutativity, which allows many verbal suffixes to attach on the same verb root. When *-ith-* and *-i-* occur on the same root whether or not interrupted by other morphemes, the order is *-ith-*

i- and not the reverse. This is again believed to be a preservation of the proto-Bantu since the long-caus- was always followed by the short -caus- as illustrated in example (13);

- (13) Mati a-ku-gw-**ith-i**-a- mwana
 Mati -sa-tns- fall -**crv-ic**-fv-
 ‘Mati has made the child to fall’

When they occur together with other morphemes, *-ith-* appears as the first suffix while the inner causative *-i-* appears as the last suffix. This, according to Good (2005), is because suffixes that target higher thematic roles should precede suffixes that target roles lower in the hierarchy. Since the causative morpheme *-ith-* introduces an agent, the highest thematic role, it should come first (Hayman and Mchombo, 1992, Hayman, 2003).

Now that many morphemes can attach on a single root, we establish whether there are incidences of causative doubling for double causation in Gichuka. First, going back to Oromo, chain causation is realized by re-causativizing already causativized bases. However, this is made possible because Oromo has allomorphs in caus 1 (**is, sis, eess**) besides caus 2 (**-sis-**) and caus 3 (**-eess-**) (Lloret, 1987). Double causation is possible through the combination of morphemes and not duplication of morphemes. A notable point in Oromo double/chain causation is that it is the allomorphs that combine, for instance in examples (14 and 15)

- (14) dab-**s-is-iis**
 Made make bend

In (14) it is the allomorphs **-s-** **-is-** and **-iis-** in caus 1 that combine for double causation. In (15) caus 2 (**-isiis-**) combine with -caus- 1 (**-is-**) as shown;

- (15) k’occ-**isiis-is**
 Made make till

If it were morpheme duplication or doubling, we would have a morphological structure like (16) for (14) and (17) for (15) which is however not the case.

- (16) dab-**is-is**
 * Made make bend
 (17) k’occ-**sis-sis**
 * made make till

Since the two Gichuka causative morphemes have no allomorphs, doubling the causative morpheme for chain causation is not possible. Morphologically, Gichuka is a case of a single causer single causee. When only the inner causative is used, it shows internal causation, otherwise when both *-ith-* and *-i-* are used, *-i-* only serves to introduce transitivity. However, if one wants to show causation in which a causer makes another causer to act on causee to bring about an event, the analytic **TUM-A** in combination with either *-i-* or *-ith-* is used. In this case **TUM-A** embeds a clause with another causer and an agent that acts on the causee to get the event done. This is a combination of analytic and morphological strategies rather than morpheme duplication as shown in (18c) although we will not go into details on this one.

- (18a) Mutwiri -a- gwak -a- nyomba
 Mutwiri -sa- buid -fv- house
 ‘Mutwiri has built a house.’
 (b) Karimi -a- gwak -**ith-i**-a- Mutwiri nyomba
 Karimi -sa- build -**crv-ic**-fv- Mutwiri house
 Karimi has made Mutwiri build a house.’
 (c) Mugendi -a-gu-**tum-a**- Karimi -a-ak-**ith-i**-a- Mutwiri nyomba
 Mugendi -sa-tns- **TUM-A**- Karimi -sa- build -**crv-ic**-fv- Mutwiri house
 ‘Mugendi has made Karimi to make mutwiri build the house.’

There is no any other way of introducing the second causer if not with another morpheme. However, the fact that the morpheme *-ith-* cannot be duplicated for double causation should

not be mistaken when suffixed on a verb with *-ith-* or *-th-* on its root, as Gichuka has many such verbs. Take for instance verbs like **-rith-i-a** (graze) (19) or **thi-a** (grind) (20).

- (19a) Mutwiri -a-ku- rith -i-a- ng'ombe
Mutwiri -sa-tns- graze cows
'Mutwiri has grazed cows.'
- (b) Mugendi -a-ku- rith **-ith-i-a** Mutwiri ng'ombe.
Mugendi -sa-tns- graze **-crv-ic-fv-** Mutwiri cows.
'Mugendi has caused Mutwiri to graze cows.'
- (20a) Gakii -a- ku- thi-a- mwere
Gakii -sa-tns- grind millet
'Gakii has ground millet.'
- (b) Mubiki -a-ku-thi **-ith-i-a-** Gakii mwere
Mubiki -sa-tns- grind **-crv-ic-fv** Gakii millet
'Mubiki has made Gakii to grind millet'

The presence of **-ith-** or **-th-** in the root should not inhibit causation with **-ith-**. The treatment given to other roots should be the same with these verbs and when causativized, it should not be taken as **-ith-** duplication or double causation. Table 3 shows some Gichuka verbs with *-th-*/*-ith-* in their roots and their causativised forms. The **-ith-** in bold is the causative while the *-ith-*/*-th-* in the root is plain.

Table 3: Causativized Gichuka Verbs with-th/-ith

Verb (plain)	Causativized form
rithia (graze)	Rith ith ia (make graze)
thia (grind)	Thi ith ia (make grind)
kethia (greet)	Keth ith ia (make greet)
rutha (do)	Ruth ith ia (make do s/thing)

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the morphology of causation in Gichuka. Morphologically, causation in Gichuka is realized by use of the morphemes **-i-** or **ith-** which are both cases of suffixation. This study has compared **-ith-** and **-i-** and found that both are bound morphemes and increase the number of arguments by one. Causation in Gichuka is, therefore, a valence increasing operation, meaning that if a causative phrase lacks an additional argument, it is ungrammatical. When they occur together, it does not mean double causation as **-i-** in this instance is used for transitivity. Causation with **-ith-** does not alter the derivation since the item to which it affixes always remains a verb. However, **-i-** can attach to other items like the adjectives making them verbs of becoming. This means that besides being a transivizer, it is also a de-adjectivizer and a verbalizer as shown in examples (21) and (22).

- (21a) irinda -ni-ri-a-eru
Dress -f-sa-tns- white
'The dress is white.'
- (b) Karimi -a-ku-eru -b-**i-**a- irinda
Karimi -sa-tns- white verbalizer **-ic-fv-** dress
Karimi has made the dress white (by blueing/bleaching)
- (22a) Mucurio -uyu-ni- mu-raca
Clothe-line this is -sa-long
This clothe-line is long
- (b) Mugendi a-ku-rac-ib-**i-**a murigi uyu
Mugendi -sat-tns long verbalizer **-ic-fv-** cloth-line this

Mugendi has made this clotheline long
From examples (21 and 22) the adjectives **-eru-** (white) and **-rac-a-** (long) have been de-adjectivized through verbalization of the final consonant into **eru-b-i-a** (whiten) and **rac-ib-i-a** (lengthen) respectively as indicated by /b/ before the causative **-i-**.

Conclusion

Having established the morphology of causatives in Gichuka, this paper concludes that;

- (i) The two causative morphemes in Gichuka **-i-** and **-ith-** are bound derivative suffixes.
- (ii) Mostly the two Gichuka morphological causatives **-ith-** and **-i-** occur in the company of each other in the order **-ith-i-**. This order does not, in any way imply a bi-partite case but a case of morpheme co-occurrence.
- (iii) The short causative otherwise known as internal causer besides causation is also a transitivizer, de-adjectivizer/de-nominalizer and a verbalizer. Attached on adjectives and nouns de-adjectivizes and denominalizes them respectively into verbs of becoming.
- (iv) The morphological causatives in Gichuka are bound derivative suffixes that change the stems from plain to causative semantics. Further, adjectives and nouns are causativized into verbs.

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