

Reciprocity in the North-Mozambican Bantu language Shangaji (P312)

Maud Devos (RMCA) & Rozenn Guérois (UGhent)

This paper studies syntactic and semantic aspects of reciprocal constructions in the North-Mozambican Bantu language Shangaji. As in many (most) Bantu languages, mutual situations in Shangaji are expressed through monoclausal reciprocals marked by a verbal derivational suffix of the shape *-an* (Dammann 1954, Mchombo 1999, Mugane 1999, Maslova 2007). This verbal marker typically figures in a simple (1) or discontinuous (2) construction. In the latter, the second argument is introduced by the associative marker *na* ‘and, with’ and thus functions as an oblique argument although it may sometimes be cross-referenced on the verb by an object marker (3), giving way to transitive reciprocal verbs (cf. below). Interestingly, Shangaji has a cross-linguistically uncommon configuration (cf. Universal 5 in Haspelmath 2007) whereby the noun phrase denoting the set of mutnants is repeated after the reciprocal verb, as seen in (4). The repeated noun phrase always carries a focal enclitic (=ru) and this particular configuration appears to be reserved for unexpected mutual situations.

The derivational suffix **-an* is reconstructed to Proto-Bantu as an associative/reciprocal (ASS/REC) suffix (Meeussen 1967, Schadeberg 2003) ultimately derived from the associative marker *na* ‘with, and’ (Schladt 1998). Although its most productive use is reciprocal, it tends to be a highly polysemic element subsuming sociative, collective, iterative, intensive, habitual, comitative/instrumental, middle and antipassive meanings (Dammann 1954; Maslova 2007; Mugane 1999; Bostoen *et al.* 2015). In Shangaji the productive uses of *-an* include (in order of decreasing frequency): reciprocal, sociative/collective (5), comitative (6), antipassive (7) and chaining (1). Lexicalized uses are mostly reciprocal as well (3). What is more, there appear to be no allelic predicates which do not include a (lexicalized) ASS/REC suffix. Some of the most frequent allelic predicates are transitive verbs (8). Less recurrent lexicalized meanings are middle (9), sociative and antipassive. In line with Bostoen *et al.* 2015, we suggest possible diachronic pathways linking the different meanings of the ASS/REC suffix in Shangaji.

Yet another meaning of the ASS/REC suffix, i.e., instrumental, deserves special attention, as it is only found in combination with the passive extension (10a). This type of passive construction does not have a direct active equivalent. To express the active counterpart the verb followed by the instrument introduced by the associative marker *na* is used (10b). As was seen in (3) associative arguments can sometimes be considered objects. A possible path of change goes as follows: 1) a passive with ‘rope’ functioning as the subject is construed, 2) the free-standing associative marker is cliticized to the verb and 3) in line with the pan-Bantu Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive template (CARP) the suffix subsequently comes to precede the passive suffix. Comparative data from closely related Bantu languages (Cuwabo P34, Ekoti P311 and Makhwa P31) will be considered to check the plausibility of the suggested path of change. In Cuwabo, for example, the associative marker is cliticized to the instrumental passive (11b) thus apparently illustrating the second (hypothesized) stage in the Shangaji pathway.

Selected references:

- Dammann, E. 1954. Reziprok und Assoziativ in Bantusprachen. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29: 163-174.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Further remarks on reciprocal constructions. *Typological Studies in Language*, 71.4: 2087-2125.
- Maslova, E. 2007. Reciprocals and polyadic (Remarkable reciprocals in Bantu). In V.P. Nedjalkov (ed.), *Reciprocal constructions*, vol. 1, 335-352. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mchombo, S.A. 1999. Quantification and verb morphology: The case of reciprocals in African languages. *Linguistic Analysis* 29, 1/2: 182-213.
- Mugane, J.M. 1999. The recalcitrant nature of the Bantu verbal morpheme *-an-*. *Linguistic Analysis* 29, 1/2: 160-181.
- Schladt, M. 1998. Reciprocals in Bantu languages: A case of grammaticalization. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 53. 5-25.

Examples:

- (1) yaa-nttó-fúlatth-an-a shuúi na síimba
SM2.PST-PROG-follow-REC-FI 1a.leopard and 1a.lion
'the leopard and the lion were following each other'
- (2) khoóle khanóonana náa marámára namárokolo
1a.baboon NEG-SM1-PRS-see-REC-FI with=REL directly.RED 1a.hare
'the baboon and the hare do cannot see eye to eye with each other'
- (3) yeéné t' áá-ni-k-uuman-a náa mííyo
she COP SM1-PRS-OM1SG-fight.REC-FI with=REL I
'she is the one that is fighting with me'
- (4) nyaáma zi-ttharúw-é o-ráfún-aán-a nyamaá_ru
10.animal SM10-leave-SBJV 15-chew-REC-INF 10.animal_FOC
'animals should stop eating each other'
- (5) nga-khol-an-ís-á míí-r' ipo zi-khol-án-é saánééne
FOC-hold-ASS-CAUS-FI 4-tree 4.DEMII 4-hold-ASS-SBJV well
'go put those trees together so they are close together'
- (6) ki-singan-a muú-ri o-s-ííy-an-ank-a náa mi-xúúmo
SM1SG-meet.REC-PFV 3-tree 15-NEG-be-ASS-PLUR-FI with=REL 4-fruit
'I have encountered a tree that is not with fruit'
- (7) fulaáno o-ń-túv-eél-a o-xówél-áán-a
1a.someone 15-OM1-please-APPL-FI 15-gossip-ASS-INF
'That one, it pleases him to talk badly (about people)'
- (8) w-ii-ń-síngán-á ń-yó w-áangu aá-t-e
SM2SG-COND-PRS-meet-FI 1-wife 1-POSS.1SG SM1-come-SBJV
'if you meet my wife, tell her to come'
- (9) nyumpá y-áaw' etííle e-théntémaan-a
9.house 9-POSS.1 9.DEMIII 9-incline-PFV
'the very house inclines'
- (10) a. n-khoóyi o-vútth-án-iw-a kaáro
3-rope SM3-pull-ASS-PASS-PFV 9.car
'with the rope is pulled a car (lit. the rope is pulled with a car)'
b. ki-vutth-u kaáro na n-khoóyi
SM1SG-pull-PFV 9.car with 3-rope
'I have pulled the car with a rope'
- (11) a. mú-aná o-hí-j-a na mu-kóri
1-child SM1-PFV.DJ-eat-FI with 4-spoon
'the child ate with a spoon'
b. mu-kóri o-hí-j-iw-á=na na mú-aná
3-spoon SM3-PFV.DJ-eat-PASS-FI=INSTR with 1-child
lit. 'the spoon was eaten with by the child'