HISTORICAL CYCLES OF RECIPROCAL MARKING IN BANTU

AND THE POLYSEMY OF PROTO-BANTU *-AN

Koen Bostoen / Workshop on Cross-Linguistic Semantics of Reciprocals, 7-8 October 2019, Utrecht University
DEFINITIONS

– Prototypical **reciprocal** situation: a **two-participant event** in which A stands in a same relation to B as B to A; A acts on B as B on A: **A>B; B<A** (Lichtenberk 2000, Kemmer 1993, Heine & Miyashita 2008)

– Prototypical **reflexive** situation: a **two-participant event** in which a referential entity is predicated in relation to/acts on itself: **A>A** (Faltz 1985, Kemmer 1993, Heine & Miyashita 2008)
## Reciprocal Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are no non-iconic reciprocal constructions.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All reciprocal constructions are formally distinct from reflexive constructions.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are both reflexive and non-reflexive reciprocal constructions.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reciprocal and reflexive constructions are formally identical.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 175

(Maslova & Nedjalkov 2013 – WALS)
RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS
BANTU

‘[…] some languages are extremely polysemous while others are notoriously ‘monosemous’ in the expression of REFL, RECI, etc. […] examples of the latter type are Bantu languages, where each of the various meanings looked at tends to be expressed by a different grammatical form.’

(Heine 2000: 19)
PROTO-BANTU

- Suffix *-an reconstructed in Proto-Bantu as a marker of reciprocity and associativity (Meeussen 1967: 92; Schadeberg 2003: 72; Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019: 182), a semantic category also known as “sociative-reciprocal” (Nedjalkov 2007) → occurs in same agglutinative slot of the verbal form as other voice-related derivational suffixes

- Prefix *í- (possibly *jí- or *jíi-) reconstructed in Proto-Bantu as a marker of reflexivity (Meeussen 1967, Polak 1983) → occurs in same agglutinative slot of the verbal form as object markers
CHEWA

\[ \text{mi-kángó} \quad i-ku-phwány-an-a \]
4-lions \quad 4SM-PRS-smash-\textsc{RECP}-FV
‘Lions are smashing one another.’

\[ \text{m-kángó} \quad u-na-dzí-súpůl-a \]
3-lion \quad 3SM-PST-\textsc{REFL}-bruise-FV
‘The lion bruised itself.’

(Mchombo 2004: 102-3)
THE BANTU –AN SUFFIX

– Across Bantu languages, reflexes of PB *-an are notoriously polysemous (Dammann 1954; Mugane 1999; Maslova 2007).

– They convey meanings as diverse as sociative/collective, reciprocal, natural collective, natural reciprocal, chaining, antipassive, intensive/extensive, iterative, comitative/instrumental, body action middle, cognition middle, spontaneous event middle, potential, etc. (Bostoen et al. 2015).
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

Reciprocal
Sociative/collective
Natural collective
Natural reciprocal
Chaining
Antipassive
Intensive/extensive
Habitual
Iterative
Comitative/instrumental
Body action middle
Cognition middle
Spontaneous event middle
Mediopassive
Potential

Kiswahili
a. Kofi Annan a-me-kut-an-a na rais u-a Syria
Kofi Annan sc1-PFV-find-RECP-FV with president pc1-CON Syria
‘Kofi Annan has met with the president of Syria.’
b. Kofi Annan na rais u-a Syria wa-me-kut-an-a
Kofi Annan and president pc1-CON Syria sc2-PFV-find-RECP-FV
‘Kofi Annan and the president of Syria have met each other.’
c. Kofi Annan a-me-m-kut-a rais u-a Syria
Kofi Annan sc1-PFV-OG1-find-FV president pc1-CON Syria
‘Kofi Annan has met/found the president of Syria.’

Kisikongo
ó-Nsimbà bà-simb-àn-enè ye ó-Nzúzi
aug1-Nsimba sc2-hold-RECP-PRF with aug1-Nzuzi
‘Nsimba and Nzuzi have held each other.’

(Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 351)
# Bantu-Wide Polysemy of *-aN Reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocal</th>
<th>Sociative/collective</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural collective</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Natural reciprocal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaining</td>
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<td>Cognition middle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spontaneous event middle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fang**

| a. -kə  | ‘to go, leave’ | -kə-a | ‘to go, leave together’ |
| -dzάŋ  | ‘to disappear’ | -dzάŋ-á | ‘to disappear together’ |
| -fam   | ‘to escape’   | -fam-a | ‘to escape together’   |
| -wu    | ‘to die’      | -wu-a  | ‘to die together’      |
| -só    | ‘to come, arrive’ | -só-á | ‘to come, arrive together’ |

| b. dzάŋ-á | ‘disappear’ (2sG) |
| n-dzάŋ-á  | ‘let’s disappear (together)’ (1Pl) |
| dzάŋ-á    | ‘disappear (together)’ (2Pl) |
| zόʔ-ó mvú | ‘search the dog’ (2sG) |
| n-zόʔ-á mvú | ‘let’s search the dog (together)’ (1Pl) |
| zόʔ-á mvú | ‘search the dog (together)’ (2Pl) |

(Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1277)
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

Reciprocal
Sociative/collective
Natural collective
Natural reciprocal
Chaining
Antipassive
Intensive/extensive
Habitual
Iterative
Comitative/instrumental
Body action middle
Cognition middle
Spontaneous event middle
Potential

a. Cilubâ
   -aakana ‘to fit, suit, convene; to encounter, face’
   -fwàngana ‘to discuss’
   -fwàna ‘to resemble’
   -pùùkana ‘to find, meet, bump against; to succeed’
   -sangana ‘to find, meet’

RECP = -angan

(Kabuta 2008)

b. Kikwezo
   guzâna ‘to crush one another’
   guìfwâna ‘to resemble each other’
   gùmâna ‘to disagree’

RECP = -angan

(Forges 1983: 286)

c. Luganda
   -agâlanâ ‘to love one another’
   -awukâna ‘to be different from each other’
   -meggâna ‘to wrestle’
   -faanâna ‘to resemble each other’
   -kontâna ‘to contradict’
   -kulâna ‘to grow up together’
   -liirâna ‘to eat together’
   -lwâna ‘to fight’

RECP = -agan

(UGent Luganda text corpus)
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

Kiswahili (G42)

Natural reciprocal verb stem *tukana* ‘to insult’ takes a direct object and allows for the productive reciprocal derivation *-tukanana* ‘to insult each other’ (Schadeberg 2004; Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003)

*Hatukubali kumtukana Mungu...* ‘We do no accept to insult God...’

ha-tu-kubali  ku-m-tukan-a  Mungu
NEG-SP₁PL-accept  INF-OP₁-insult-FV  God

(Sacleux 1930: 91)
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

Bantu Lexical Reconstructions (Bastin et al. 2002)

a. *-cângan- ‘to meet, assemble’ (< *-câng- ‘to meet, find, assemble’)
b. *-tôkan- ‘to abuse’ (< *- tôk- ‘to abuse’)
c. *-dôngan- ‘to agree’ (< *-dông- ‘to join by tying’)
d. *-gâban- ‘to divide up, share’ (< *-gâb- ‘to divide; give away’)
e. *-dîgan- ‘to be equal; resemble’ (< *-dîng- ‘to measure, try; be equal’)
f. *-bôvdan- ‘to palaver’ (< *-bôvd- ‘to tell’)
g. *-pingan- ‘to exchange’ (< *-ping- ‘to exchange’)
h. *-dêkan- ‘to part company’ (< *-dêk- ‘to let; let go; cease; allow’)
i. *-jâgan- ‘to separate’ (< *-jâng- ‘to say no; refuse; hate’)
j. *-dâgan- ‘promise each other; make agreement’
   (< *-dâg- ‘promise; foretell; say farewell; make testament’)
k. *-pañan- ‘to be border on; to refuse, discuss’
l. *-pâgan- ‘to agree’
m. *-jôman/- *-jôman-
   ‘to quarrel’
n. *-pôman- ‘to meet’
o. *-gîtan- ‘to succeed to’
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

Reciprocal
Sociative/collective
Natural collective
Natural reciprocal

**Chaining**

Antipassive
Intensive/extensive
Habitual
Iterative
Comitative/instrumental
Body action middle
Cognition middle
Spontaneous event middle
Potential

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Lingála

mi-tuka  misátu  e-tūt-án-i

NP₄-car  three  SC₃PL,INAN  hit-RECP-PRF

‘Three cars have bumped into one another.’

(M. Meeuwis, p. c.)

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Luganda

o-sobol-a  o-ku-kozes-a  e-bi-uma  ATM

SC₂⁵G-can-FV  AUG₁₅-NP₁₅-use-FV  AUG₈-NP₈-machine  ATM

e-bi-yung-an-a  mu  ggwanga  li-onna

AUG₈-PC₈-connect-ASSOC-FV  LOC₁₈  NP₅.nation  PC₅-whole

‘You can use ATM machines that are connected to one another in the whole nation.’

(UGent Luganda text corpus)
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Kisongye

a. bà-mpùlushí  abà-yip-an-a  bi-kìle  bu-kìfu

NP₂-police  SC₂-kill-ANTIP-FV  NP₈-much  NP₁₄-night

‘The police often kill at night.’

b. bà-mpùlushí  abà-yip-a  ba-ngifí  bi-kìle  bu-kìfu

NP₂-police  SC₂-kill-FV  NP₂-thief  NP₈-much  NP₁₄-night

‘The police often kill thieves at night’

(L. Kadindula, p. c.)

Kirundi

a-ма-hwá  a-ra-zibur-an-a

AUG₆-NP₆-thorn  SC₆-PRS.DISJ-prick-ANTIP-FV

‘Thorns prick (people)”

(F. Mberamihigo, p. c.)
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Lomongo
-a- ‘to complain’ > -a-an- ‘to complain (intensively)’
-kán- ‘to follow’ > -ká-an- ‘to follow (intensively)’
-bá- ‘to prevent’ > -bá-an- ‘to prevent (intensively)’
-ká-m- ‘to squeeze’ > -ká-an- ‘to squeeze (intensively)’
-súw- ‘to penetrate’ > -súw-an- ‘to intervene’

(Hulstaert 1965: 254)

Lomongo
a. tó-kamb-an-a l’olemo
  sc_t-INT-INT-FV with NP2-work
  ‘We are assiduously dedicated to work.’ (‘Nous sommes assidument
appliqués à travailler.’)

b. á-kot-an-a l’otámbá
  sc2-CUT-INT-FV with NP3-tree
  ‘He is dedicated to the cutting of a tree.’ (‘Il est appliqué à couper un arbre.’)

c. bá-sool-an-a la hi-soló
  sc2-converse-INT-FV with NP3-conversation
  ‘They are deep into a conversation.’ (‘Ils sont enfoncés dans la
conversation.’)

d. á-kîm-an-a la wìbi
  sc2-follow-INT-FV with NP2-thief
  ‘He follows the thief.’ (‘Il poursuit le voleur.’)

(Hulstaert 1965: 253)
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**Ikela**

a. á-kádang-an-a da n-nyama
   \[SC_{1}\text{-fry-INT-FV \ with} \ NP_{2}\text{-meat}\]
   ‘He always fries meat.’

b. a-pó-kádáŋ-an-é da n-nyama
   \[SC_{1}\text{-NEG-fry-INT-NEG \ with} \ NP_{2}\text{-meat}\]
   ‘He never fries meat.’

(Forges 1977: 94–95)

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**Isixhosa**

kwezi lokishi si-phefuml-an-a n’o-moya o-nuka-yo kuba ...
   \[at \ towns\text{ship} \ SC_{1\text{pl}}\text{-breath-HAB-FV \ with} \ NP_{3}\text{-air} \ SC_{3}\text{-stink-REL}_{3} \ because \ ...
   ‘We constantly breathe in bad air in the townships because. ..’

(Satyo 1992)
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Potential

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Ngangela

a. *naná n-a-tük-an-a va-nike*
   my.mother SC₁-PRF-insult-IT-FV NP₂-child
   ‘My mother has repeatedly insulted the children.’

b. *li-nɔká li-a-sūm-an-a ká-nike*
   NP₅-snake SC₅-PRF-bite-IT-FV NP₁₂-child
   ‘The snake has repeatedly bitten the child.’

(Zavoni 2003: 227)
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- Spontaneous event middle
- Potential

Duala
ˈnaka ə ma-bol-an-ɛ mondó ó pang-an-ɛ ngingi
‘The cow uses its tail to chase away mosquitos.’

(Helmlinger 1972: 399)
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**Comitative/instrumental**

Body action middle
Cognition middle
Spontaneous event middle
Potential

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Kinyarwanda

a. *u-mu-góre a-ra-kôr-a akazi n’ ā-mw-eête*

\[\text{AUG}_1\text{-NP}_1\text{-woman SC}_1\text{-PRS-work-FV work with AUG}_3\text{-NP}_3\text{-enthusiasm}\]

‘The woman is working with enthusiasm.’

b. *u-mu-góre a-ra-kôr-an-a akazi ā-mw-eête*

\[\text{AUG}_1\text{-NP}_1\text{-woman SC}_1\text{-PRS-work-COM-FV work AUG}_3\text{-NP}_3\text{-enthusiasm}\]

‘The woman is working with enthusiasm.’

(Kimenyi 1988: 369)

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Kinyarwanda

a. *gu-híng-an-a n’ ā-mw-ána*

\[\text{NP}_1\text{-cultivate-ASSOC-FV with AUG}_1\text{-NP}_1\text{-child}\]

‘To cultivate with a child (who is cultivating too).’

b. *gu-híng-an-a ā-mw-ána*

\[\text{NP}_1\text{-cultivate-COM-FV AUG}_1\text{-NP}_1\text{-child}\]

‘To cultivate with a child (who is not cultivating, e.g., while carrying it on the back).’

(Coupez 1985: 15)
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Fang
a. Body action middles
   -lâb-á ‘to dirty oneself, get dirty’ (< -láp- ‘to spatter’)
   -tsim-á ‘to wipe one’s arse’
   -föl-a ‘to change oneself, to change clothes’
   -weg-a ‘to have a rest, relax’
   -wür-á ‘to huddle up, flinch, wince’
   -wür-á ‘to screw up (eyes), blink, frown (eyebrow), wrinkle (nose)’
   -mọŋ-a ‘to twist, sprain (wrist, ankle)’
   -kr-ọ ‘to fold (arms, hands), cross (legs)’
   -yáŋ-á ‘to crawl (baby), drag oneself along the ground’
   -zil-á ‘to get closer to something, approach’

b. Cognition/emotion middles
   -yá-á ‘to get angry’
   -zôb-a ‘to regret; to be embarrassed by unpleasant news, be sad’
   -sím-á ‘to remember, think’

b. Anticausative verbs
   -vú-a ‘to grow in number, to multiply, to increase’
   -kal-á ‘to spread (intr.)’

(Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1279–1280)
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Iterative
Comitative/instrumental

**Body action middle**

Cognition middle

**Spontaneous event middle**

Potential

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Orungu

-\( \text{βùrànà} \) ‘to bend (intr.)’ < -\( \text{βùrà} \) ‘to bend (tr.)’

-\( \text{βàndyànà} \) ‘to scatter (intr.)’ < -\( \text{βàndyà} \) ‘to scatter (tr.)’

-\( \text{yìrànà} \) ‘to flow’ < -\( \text{yìrà} \) ‘to pour’

-\( \text{wòndyànà} \) ‘to get wounded’ < -\( \text{wòndyà} \) ‘to wound, hurt’

(Ambouroue 2007: 188)
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Potential

a. *-pòman- ‘to be dark’ (cf. *-pòm- ‘to be blind’)
b. *-dàngan- ‘to lie down’
c. *-kànkan- ‘to shake (intr.)’ (< *-kànk- ‘to shake (intr.)’)
d. *-jàkan- ‘to be sufficient’
e. *-cakan- ‘to be restless; shake (intr.)’
f. *-kúman- ‘to be honoured; be(come) rich’ (< *-kùm- ‘to be honored; rich’)
g. *-càn gan- ‘to be(come) mixed’ (< *-càng- ‘to mix’)
h. *-kúman- ‘to be many, enough’ (cf. *-kòm- ‘to heap, gather’)

Ghent University
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Luczazi
a. -túk-an-a ‘be capable of reviling’ < -túka ‘revile’
   -síng-an-a ‘be capable of placing a curse on’ < -sínga ‘place a curse on’
b. -súmang-an-a ‘suffer from rabies’ < -súmanga ‘bite repeatedly’
   -táng-an-a ‘be bewildered, confused’

(Fleisch 2000: 137)
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Semantic map of the middle domain (adapted from Kemmer 1993:202)
BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF *-AN REFLEXES

“There is plurality of relations in an overall situation (event, state, etc.) if what can be considered to be basically one and the same relation holds more than once either between one or more participants and the event/state they are involved in, or between the relevant entities.” (Lichtenberk 2000:34)

- Plurality of participants/Co-participation: reciprocal
- Plurality of events: antipassive + iterative

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**“PLURALITY OF RELATIONS”**

Plurality of participants
- Reciprocal
- Sociative/collective
- Natural collective
- Natural reciprocal

Plurality of events
- Chaining
- Intensive/extensive
- Habitual
- Iterative

Middle
- Antipassive

*-an

low degree of participant/event elaboration
DOUBLE RECIPROCITY MARKING IN BANTU

– Kemmer (1993: 102-108) proposes a typology based on the distinction between prototypical and naturally-reciprocal events;

– **Type 3**: “In a third type of language, a single RCPM [reciprocal marker] is used to express both naturally reciprocal and ordinary reciprocal events. This type might be termed the Changana type as such markers occur in Changana and a number of other Bantu languages.”;

– Several Bantu languages do have two RECP markers, especially within West-Coastal and South-West Bantu;

– They rather correspond to Kemmer’s **Type 2**.
KEMMER’S TYPE 2

- “A second type of language […] has not one, but two overt forms to express reciprocal event types […] which will be referred to as two-form reciprocal languages [bold in original], or Hungarian type languages for convenience.” (Kemmer 1993: 103)

- “[A]s in languages of this type in general, one of the two reciprocal forms is “heavier” than the other in the sense that it has a greater number of phonological segments and/or forms its own lexical root. […] The other reciprocal form in such languages has less phonological weight, in other words it has fewer phonological segments and is cliticized or bound to a lexical root (generally the verb).” (Kemmer 1993: 103)

- “In these languages, the heavy marker is used productively with ordinary transitive verbs to express reciprocal semantics. It is not required with verbs of naturally reciprocal semantics, which characteristically take the light form; where it does appear with such verbs, its function is often emphatic/contrastive.” (Kemmer 1993: 105)
KEMMER’S TYPE 2

a. Herero (R31)
   -mun-asan-a ‘see each other’ $<$ -muna ‘see’
   -zep-asan-a ‘kill each other’ $<$ -zepa ‘kill’

b. Kwanyama (R21)
   -deng-afan-a ‘hit each other’ $<$ -denga ‘hit’
   -umb-afan-a ‘shoot (at) each other’ $<$ -umba ‘shoot (at)’

c. Haya (JE22)
   -bon-angan-a ‘see each other’ $<$ -bona ‘see’

d. Luba (L31a)
   -mon-angan-a ‘see each other’ $<$ -mona ‘see’

(Dammann 1954: 165)

Heavy RECP markers including which are historically compound and include the Proto-Bantu suffix *-an
HEAVY RECP MARKERS IN THE KLC
DOUBLE RECP MARKING IN THE KLC

Kinkanu (H16g) [East]³

*Biboba bibakʰéntu bikunasananga masangũ (bawu ye bawu).
bi-boba bi-ba-N-kentu bi-kun-asan-ang-a ma-sangu bawu ye bawu
8-old.person 8-2-1-woman SP8-plant-RECP-HAB-FV 6-millet they and they
‘The old women often plant millet for each other.’
(KongoKing 2012, fieldwork by S. Dom)

Ciwoyo (H16d) [West]

*Bôbá ba bacyento kunizyana betikunizyana mpyanza.
Ø-boba ba ba-cyento Ø-kun-izyan-a ba-iti-kun-izyan-a
2-old_person CONN2 2-woman 15-plant-RECP-FV SP2-HAB-plant-RECP-FV
N-mpyanza
9-cassava
‘The old women often plant cassava for each other.’
(KongoKing 2012, fieldwork by S. Dom)
DOUBLE RECP MARKING IN THE KLC

Kizombo (H16h) [South]
*Aana amonane vazandu.*
a-ana a-Ø-mon-an-idi va-Ø-zandu
2-child SP2-CPC-see-RECP-CPC 16-9-market
‘The children saw each other at the market.’
(Fernando 2013: 49)

Kimbeko (H16g) [East]
*Bana bakéntu babóli si bamonana kuna nzo nkanda.*
ba-ana ba-kentu ba-boli si ba-mon-an-a kuna N-zo N-kanda
2-child 2-woman 2-two FUT SP2-see-RECP-FV LOC17 9-house 3-book
‘The two girls will meet each other at school.’
(KongoKing 2012, fieldwork by S. Dom)
Corpus-driven multiple logistic regression analysis

the heavy RECP suffix (light grey) is overwhelmingly used for prototypical-reciprocal situations

-an (dark grey) for natural-reciprocal and associative situations

variant ~ variety + function.
### HEAVY RECP MARKER IN PROTO-KIKONGO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGB</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>asan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMB</td>
<td>asan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW-KIKONGO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VL₁</td>
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<tr>
<td>VL₂</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>LNJ₁</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ZB</td>
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<tr>
<td>KC</td>
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<td>HGL</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>asan</td>
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<tr>
<td>DND</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>SND₂</td>
<td>asan</td>
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<td>MNY</td>
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<td>NKN</td>
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HEAVY RECP MARKERS IN SOUTH-WEST BANTU

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kimbundu</td>
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<td>-ażan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luazi</td>
<td>(K13)</td>
<td>-asion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luvale</td>
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<td>Songye</td>
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<td>-een/-ijeen</td>
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<td>(L34)</td>
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<td>Ruund</td>
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<td>-ijaan</td>
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REFL/RECP POLYSEMY IN SW BANTU

Mashi (K34) (Bostoen field notes 2005-2007)

a. ka-tú-ci-mon-íne rero
   NEG-SM1PL-RECP-see-COMPL today
   ‘We have not seen each other today.’

b. tu-a-ci-wan-ang-a mu mota
   SM1PL-PRS-RECP-find-HAB-FV LOC18 car
   ‘We usually meet (i.e. find each other) in the car.’
REFL/RECP POLYSEMY IN SW BANTU

Mashi (K34) (Bostoen field notes 2005-2007)

a. N-vu na N-dambí á-ci-kok-ire
   9-hippo COM 9-elephant SM2-RECP-pull-COMPL
   ‘The hippo and the elephant pulled each other.’

b. tu-ci-mon-e n’ oyu ka-rumba
   SM1PL-RECP-see-SBJV COM DEM1 12-hare
   ‘We should meet with this hare.’

c. na-ní-ci-wan-a n’ enji
   PST-SM1SG-RECP-find-FV COM POSS₁
   ‘I met with him.’

d. na-ní-mú-wan-a
   PST-SM1SG-OM1-find-FV
   ‘I met/found him.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Umbundu</td>
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# Bantu Cycles of Recp Marking Innovation

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stage 1</th>
<th>Stage 2</th>
<th>Stage 3</th>
<th>Stage 4</th>
<th>Stage 5</th>
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<td>-VCan</td>
<td>-VCan</td>
<td>REF'L (C)i-</td>
<td>REF'L (C)i-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural reciprocity</td>
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<td>-an</td>
<td>-VCan</td>
<td>-VCan</td>
<td>-VCan / REF'L (C)i-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other middles (sometimes antipassive)</td>
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<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proto-Bantu | Proto-Kikongo | South-West Bantu
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