

# *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

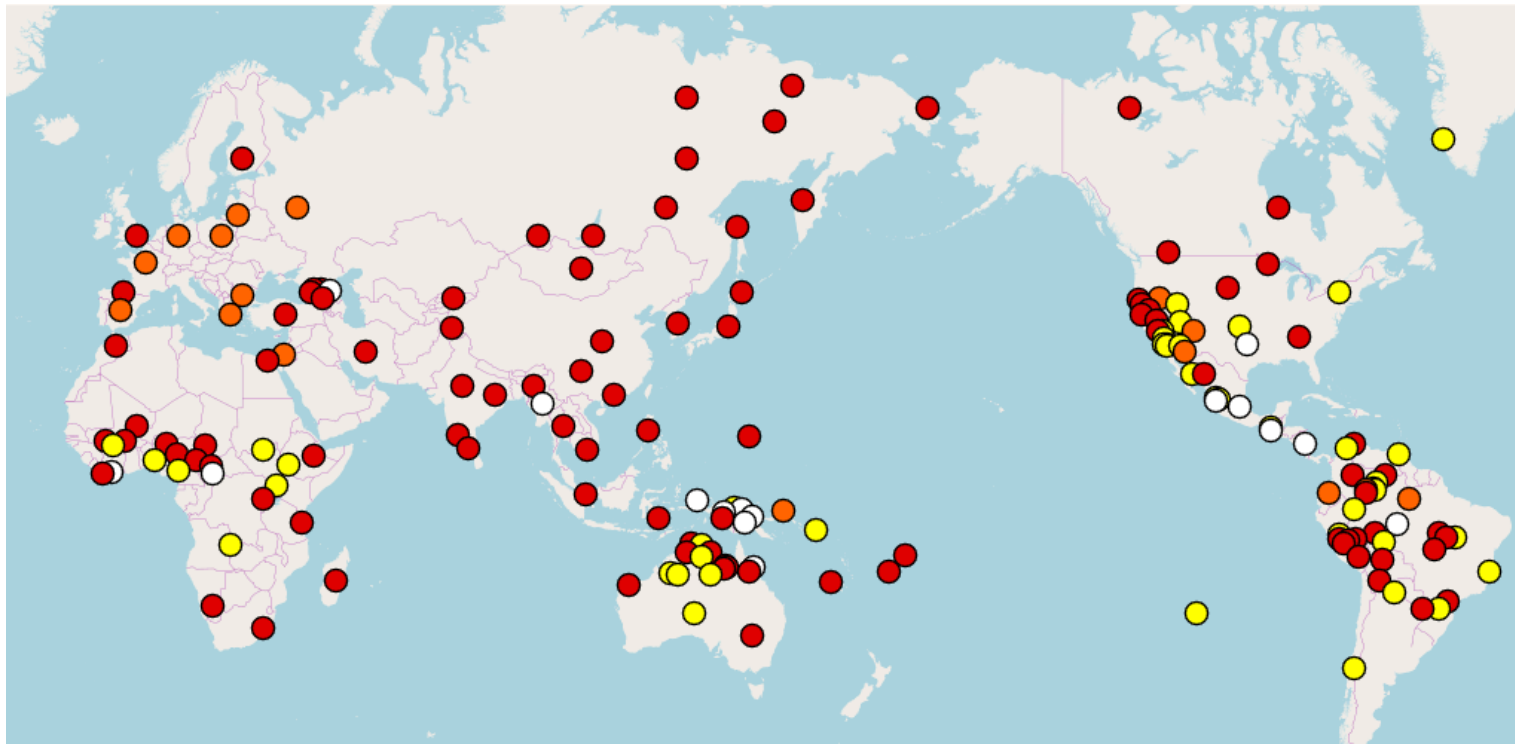
- Prototypical reciprocal situation: **a two-participant event** in which A stands in a same relation to B as B to A; A acts on B as B on A:  **$A > B$ ;  $B < A$**  (Lichtenberk 2000, Kemmer 1993, Heine & Miyashita 2008)
- Prototypical reflexive situation: **a two-participant event** in which a referential entity is predicated in relation to/acts on itself:  **$A > A$**  (Faltz 1985, Kemmer 1993, Heine & Miyashita 2008)

# RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Value	Representation	
<input type="radio"/> There are no non-iconic reciprocal constructions.	16	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> All reciprocal constructions are formally distinct from reflexive constructions.	99	
<input type="radio"/> There are both reflexive and non-reflexive reciprocal constructions.	16	
<input type="radio"/> The reciprocal and reflexive constructions are formally identical.	44	
<b>Total:</b>		175

(Maslova & Nedjalkov 2013 – WALS)

# RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS



○	No reciprocals	16
●	Distinct from reflexive	99
●	Mixed	16
●	Identical to reflexive	44

## 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 **\*jii-**) 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

***mi-kángó      i-ku-phwány-an-a***

4-lions              4SM-PRS-smash-RECP-FV

‘Lions are smashing one another.’

***m-kángó      u-na-dzí-súpŭl-a***

3-lion              3SM-PST-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 SC<sub>1</sub>-PFV-find-RECP-FV with president PC<sub>1</sub>-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 PC<sub>1</sub>-CON Syria SC<sub>2</sub>-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 SC<sub>1</sub>-PFV-OC<sub>1</sub>-find-FV president PC<sub>1</sub>-CON Syria

‘Kofi Annan has met/found the president of Syria.’

## Kisikongo

*ó-Nsimbà bà-simb-àn-énè yè ò-Nzúzi*

AUG<sub>1</sub>-Nsimba SC<sub>2</sub>-hold-RECP-PRF with AUG<sub>1</sub>-Nzuzi

‘Nsimba and Nzuzi have held each other.’

(Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 351)

# 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

Fang

- a. *-kə* 'to go, leave' > *-kə-a* 'to go, leave together'  
*-dzáŋ* 'to disappear' > *-dzáŋ-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. *dzáŋ-ə* 'disappear' (2SG)  
*n-dzáŋ-á* 'let's disappear (together)' (1PL)  
*dzáŋ-á* 'disappear (together)' (2PL)  
*záŋ-ə mvú* 'search the dog' (2SG)  
*n-záŋ-á mvú* 'let's search the dog (together)' (1PL)  
*záŋ-á mvú* 'search the dog (together)' (2PL)

(Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1277)

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**Natural collective**

**Natural reciprocal**

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Body action middle

Cognition middle

Spontaneous event middle

Potential

## a. Cilubà

-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

guzǎna 'to crush one another'

gúfwǎna 'to resemble each other'

gúmǎna 'to disagree'

**RECP = -angan**

(Forges 1983: 286)

## c. Luganda

-agalana 'to love one another'

-awukana 'to be different from each other'

-meggana 'to wrestle'

-faanana 'to resemble each other'

-kontana 'to contradict'

-kulana 'to grow up together'

-liirana 'to eat together'

-lwana 'to fight'

**RECP = -agan**

(UGent Luganda text corpus)<sup>2</sup>

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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 not accept to insult God...’

ha-tu-kubali  
NEG-SP<sub>1PL</sub>-accept

ku-m-tukan-a  
INF-OP<sub>1</sub>-insult-FV

Mungu  
God

(Sacleux 1930: 91)

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## **Bantu Lexical Reconstructions** (Bastin et al. 2002)

- |    |           |                                       |                                                              |
|----|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | *-càngan- | 'to meet, assemble'                   | (< *-càng- 'to meet, find, assemble')                        |
| b. | *-tókán-  | 'to abuse'                            | (< *-tók- 'to abuse')                                        |
| c. | *-dòngan- | 'to agree'                            | (< *-dòng- 'to join by tying')                               |
| d. | *-gàban-  | 'to divide up, share'                 | (< *-gàb- 'to divide; give away')                            |
| e. | *-dìngan- | 'to be equal; resemble'               | (< *-dìng- 'to measure, try; be equal')                      |
| f. | *-búvdan- | 'to palaver'                          | (< *-búvd- 'to tell')                                        |
| g. | *-pìngan- | 'to exchange'                         | (< *-pìng- 'to exchange')                                    |
| h. | *-dèkan-  | 'to part company'                     | (< *-dèk- 'to let; let go; cease; allow')                    |
| i. | *-jángan- | 'to separate'                         | (< *-jáng- 'to say no; refuse; hate')                        |
| j. | *-dàgan-  | 'promise each other; make agreement'  | (< *-dàg- 'promise; foretell; say farewell; make testament') |
| k. | *-pàkan-  | 'to be border on; to refuse, discuss' |                                                              |
| l. | *-pàngan- | 'to agree'                            |                                                              |
| m. | *-jóman-/ | 'to quarrel'                          |                                                              |
|    | *-jũman-  |                                       |                                                              |
| n. | *-pòman-  | 'to meet'                             |                                                              |
| o. | *-gìtan-  | 'to succeed to'                       |                                                              |

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## Lingála

*mí-tuka mísátu e-tút-án-í*

NP<sub>4</sub>-car three SC<sub>3PL.INAN</sub>-hit-RECP-PRF

‘Three cars have bumped into one another.’

(M. Meeuwis, p. c.)

## Luganda

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

SC<sub>2SG</sub>-can-FV AUG<sub>15</sub>-NP<sub>15</sub>-use-FV AUG<sub>8</sub>-NP<sub>8</sub>-machine ATM

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

AUG<sub>8</sub>-PC<sub>8</sub>-connect-ASSOC-FV LOC<sub>18</sub> NP<sub>5</sub>.nation PC<sub>5</sub>-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-mpùlushì*    *abà-yip-an-a*    *bi-kìle*    *bu-kùfu*  
NP<sub>2</sub>-police    SC<sub>2</sub>-kill-ANTIP-FV    NP<sub>8</sub>-much    NP<sub>14</sub>-night

‘The police often kill at night.’

b. *bà-mpùlushì*    *abà-yip-a*    *ba-ngìfi*    *bi-kìle*    *bu-kùfu*  
NP<sub>2</sub>-police    SC<sub>2</sub>-kill-FV    NP<sub>2</sub>-thief    NP<sub>8</sub>-much    NP<sub>14</sub>-night

‘The police often kill thieves at night’

(L. Kadindula, p. c.)

Kirundi

*a-ma-hwá*    *a-ra-zibur-an-a*  
AUG<sub>6</sub>-NP<sub>6</sub>-thorn    SC<sub>6</sub>-PRS.DISJ-prick-ANTIP-FV

‘Thorns prick (people)’

(F. Mberamihigo, p. c.)

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Lomongo

-sá- 'to complain' > -sá-an- 'to complain (intensively)'

-kím- 'to follow' > -kím-an- 'to follow (intensively)'

-bá- 'to prevent' > -bá-an- 'to prevent (intensively)'

-kám- 'to squeeze' > -kám-an- 'to squeeze (intensively)'

-súw- 'to penetrate' > -súw-an- 'to intervene'

(Hulstaert 1965: 254)

Lomongo

a. *tó-kamb-an-a l'olemo*

SC<sub>1PL</sub>-work-INT-FV with.NP<sub>3</sub>.work

'We are assiduously dedicated to work.' (*Nous sommes assidument appliqués à travailler.*)

b. *á-kɔt-an-a l'otámhá*

SC<sub>1</sub>-cut-INT-FV with.NP<sub>3</sub>.tree

'He is dedicated to the cutting of a tree.' (*Il est appliqué à couper un arbre.*)

c. *bá-sool-an-a la li-soló*

SC<sub>2</sub>-converse-INT-FV with NP<sub>5</sub>-conversation

'They are deep into a conversation.' (*Ils sont enfoncés dans la conversation.*)

d. *á-kím-an-a la wĩbi*

SC<sub>1</sub>-follow-INT-FV with NP<sub>1</sub>.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<sub>1</sub>-fry-INT-FV with NP<sub>9</sub>-meat

‘He always fries meat.’

b. *a-pó-kádáng-án-é da n-nyama*

SC<sub>1</sub>-NEG-fry-INT-NEG with NP<sub>9</sub>-meat

‘He never fries meat.’

(Forges 1977: 94–95)

Isixhosa

*kwezi lokishi si-phefuml-an-a n’o-moya o-nuka-yo kuba ...*

at townships SC<sub>1PL</sub>-breath-HAB-FV with.NP<sub>3</sub>-air SC<sub>3</sub>-stink-REL<sub>3</sub> because ...

‘We constantly breathe in bad air in the townships because. ..’

(Satyo 1992)

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Ngangela

- a. *naná*                      *n-a-túk-an-a*                      *va-nike*  
my.mother      SC<sub>1</sub>-PRF-insult-IT-FV      NP<sub>2</sub>-child  
'My mother has repeatedly insulted the children.'
- b. *li-nɔká*                      *li-a-súm-an-a*                      *ká-nike*  
NP<sub>5</sub>-snake      SC<sub>5</sub>-PRF-bite-IT-FV      NP<sub>12</sub>-child  
'The snake has repeatedly bitten the child.'

(Zavoni 2003: 227)

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Potential

Duala

*ńaka e ma-bol-an-ε mondó ó pang-an-ε ngingi*

NP<sub>9</sub>.COW SC<sub>9</sub> PRS-do-INST-FV NP<sub>3</sub>.tail to chase-INST-FV NP<sub>10</sub>.mosquito

‘The cow uses its tail to chase away mosquitos.’

(Helmlinger 1972: 399)

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Body action middle

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Potential

Kinyarwanda

a. *u-mu-góre*      *a-ra-kôr-a*      *akazi n'*      *û-mw-eête*

AUG<sub>1</sub>-NP<sub>1</sub>-woman SC<sub>1</sub>-PRS-work-FV work with AUG<sub>3</sub>-NP<sub>3</sub>-enthusiasm

‘The woman is working with enthusiasm.’

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

AUG<sub>1</sub>-NP<sub>1</sub>-woman SC<sub>1</sub>-PRS-work-COM-FV work AUG<sub>3</sub>-NP<sub>3</sub>-enthusiasm

‘The woman is working with enthusiasm.’

(Kimenyi 1988: 369)

Kinyarwanda

a. *gu-hîng-an-a*      *n'*      *û-mw-ána*

NP<sub>15</sub>-cultivate-ASSOC-FV with AUG<sub>1</sub>- NP<sub>1</sub>-child

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

b. *gu-hîng-an-a*      *û-mw-ána*

NP<sub>15</sub>-cultivate-COM-FV AUG<sub>1</sub>- NP<sub>1</sub>-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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**Body action middle**

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**Spontaneous event middle**

Potential



GHENT  
UNIVERSITY

Fang

a. Body action middles

-*láb-á* 'to dirty oneself, get dirty' (< -*láp-* 'to spatter')

-*tsim-a* 'to wipe one's arse'

-*fol-a* 'to change oneself, to change clothes'

-*weg-a* 'to have a rest, relax'

-*wúr-á* 'to huddle up, flinch, wince'

-*wúr-á* 'to screw up (eyes), blink, frown (eyebrow), wrinkle (nose)'

-*mɔŋ-a* 'to twist, sprain (wrist, ankle)'

-*kɔr-a* 'to fold (arms, hands), cross (legs)'

-*yág-á* 'to crawl (baby), drag oneself along the ground'

-*zil-a* 'to get closer to something, approach'

b. Cognition/emotion middles

-*yá-á* 'to get angry'

-*zob-a* 'to regret; to be embarrassed by unpleasant news, be sad'

-*sím-á* 'to remember, think'

c. Anticausative verbs

-*vu-a* 'to grow in number, to multiply, to increase'

-*kal-a* 'to spread (intr.)'

(Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1279–1280)

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Orungu

-βùràrà	‘to bend (intr.)’	<	-βùrà	‘to bend (tr.)’
-βàndyàrà	‘to scatter (intr.)’	<	-βàndyà	‘to scatter (tr.)’
-yìràrà	‘to flow’	<	-yìrà	‘to pour’
-wòndyàrà	‘to get wounded’	<	-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. | *-kànkān- | ‘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’ | (< *-kúm- ‘to be honored; rich’) |
| g. | *-càngan- | ‘to be(come) mixed’             | (< *-càng- ‘to mix’)             |
| h. | *-kuman-  | ‘to be many, enough’            | (cf. *-kúm- ‘to heap, gather’)   |

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**Potential**

Luczazi

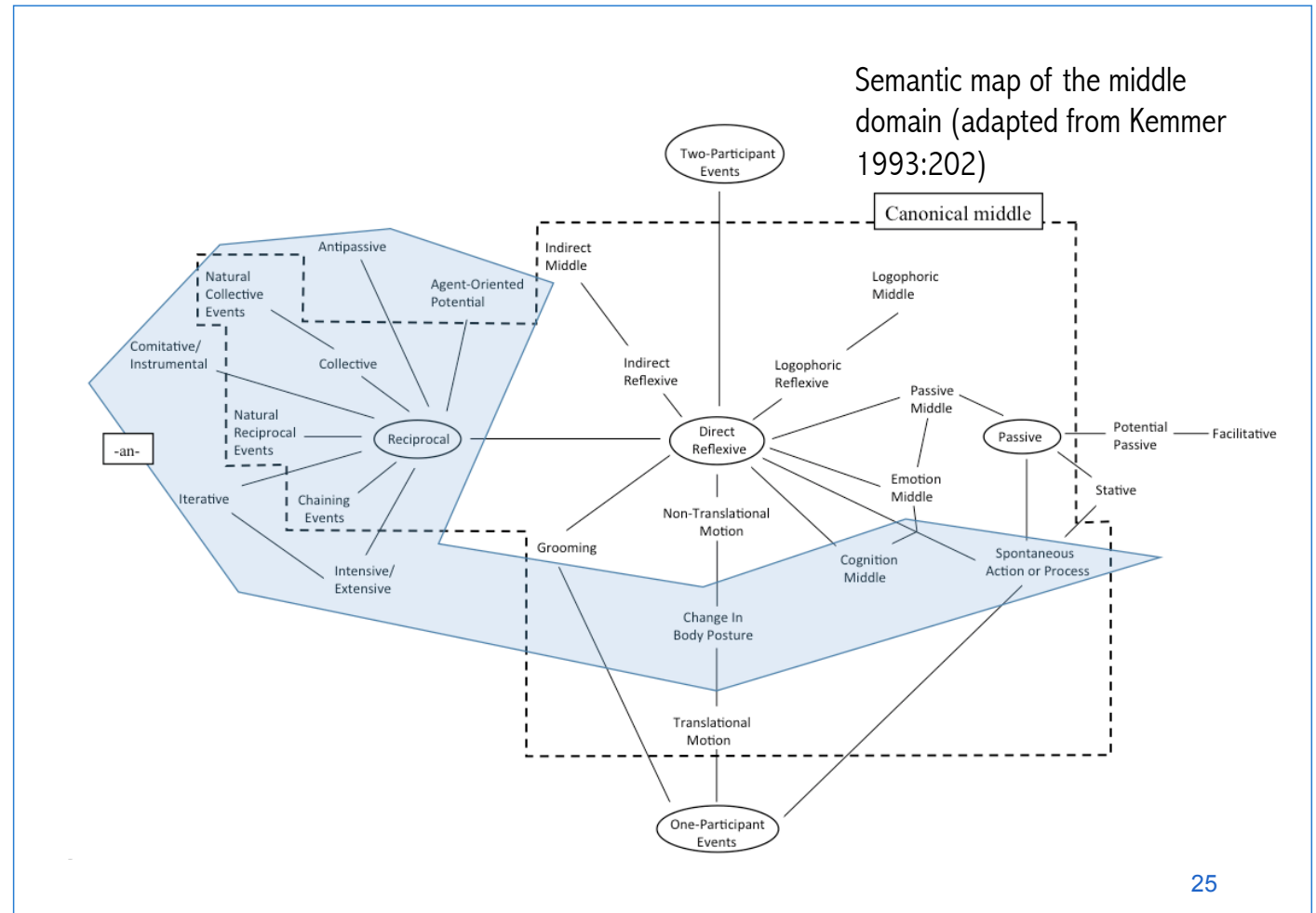
- a. *-túk-an-a* 'be capable of reviling' < *-túka* 'revile'  
    *-sínɡ-an-a* 'be capable of placing a curse on' < *-sínɡa* 'place a curse on'  
b. *-súmang-an-a* 'suffer from rabies' < *-súmanga* 'bite repeatedly'  
    *-táng-an-a* 'be bewildered, confused'

(Fleisch 2000: 137)



# BANTU-WIDE POLYSEMY OF \*-AN REFLEXES

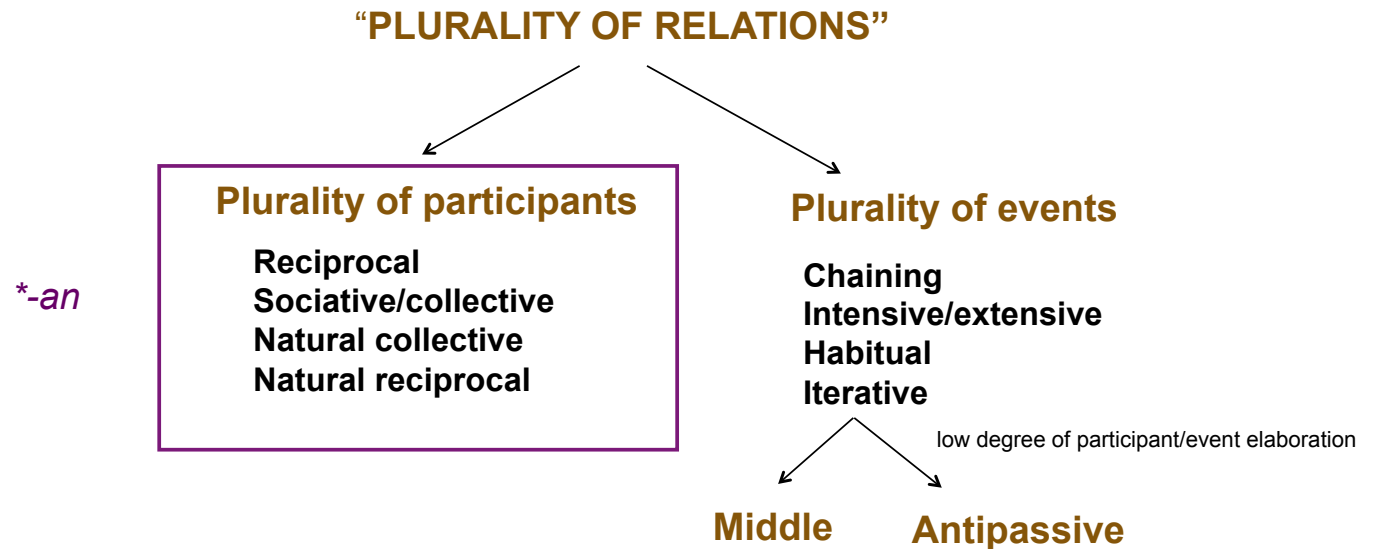
**Reciprocal**  
**Sociative/collective**  
**Natural collective**  
**Natural reciprocal**  
**Chaining**  
**Antipassive**  
**Intensive/extensive**  
**Habitual**  
**Iterative**  
**Comitative/instrumental**  
**Body action middle**  
**Cognition middle**  
**Spontaneous event middle**  
**Potential**



# 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**



# 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)

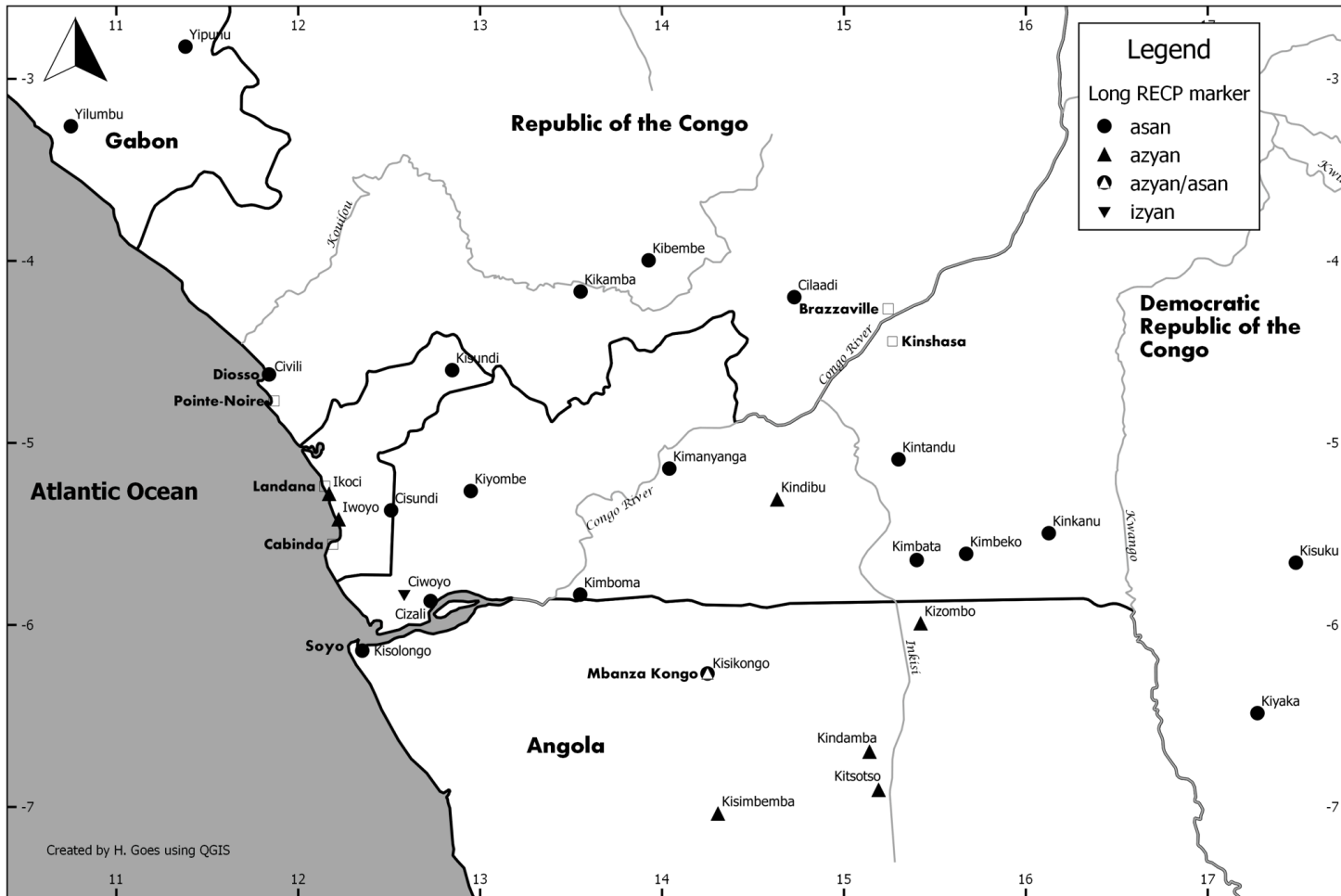
*-bon-**angan**-a* 'see each other' < *-bona* 'see'

d. Luba (L31a)

*-mon-**angan**-a* 'see each other' < *-mona* 'see'

(Dammann 1954: 165)

## HEAVY RECP MARKERS IN THE KLC



# DOUBLE RECP MARKING IN THE KLC

Kinkanu (H16g) [East]<sup>3</sup>

*Biboba bibak<sup>h</sup> éntu **bikunasananga** masangú (bawu ye báwu).*

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 bacyentó **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-pyanza

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 sí **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)



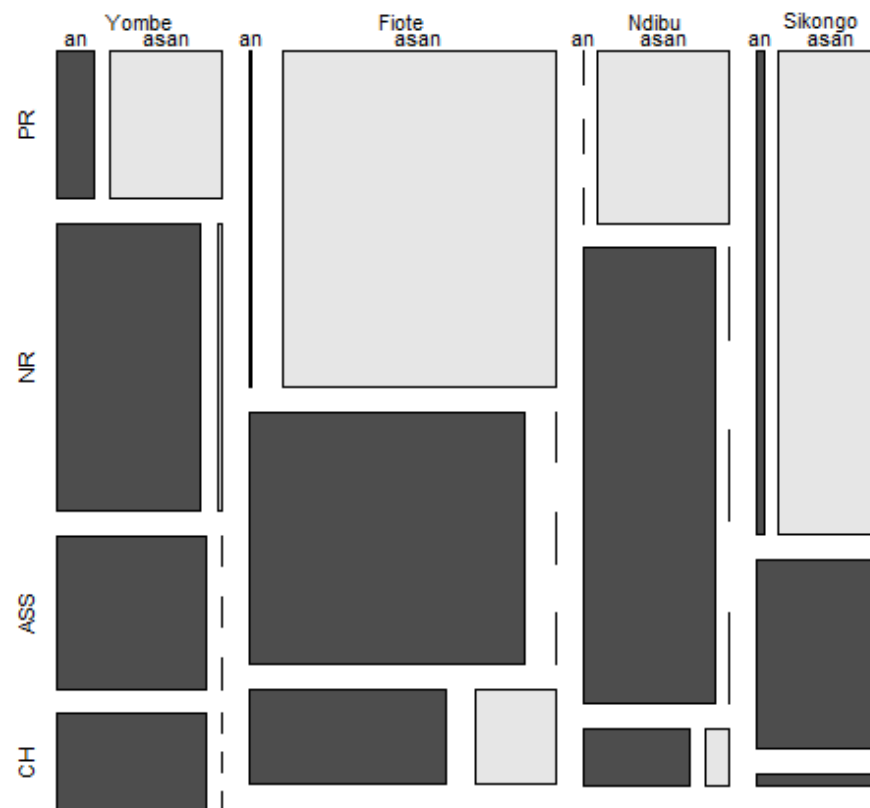
# DOUBLE RECP MARKING IN THE KLC

## 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

NGB	?	KNY	?	YK	<b>asan</b>
PN	<b>asan</b>	HGL	?	SK	<b>asan</b>
LMB	<b>asan</b>	LD	<b>asan</b>	<b>E-KK</b>	
<b>SW-KIKONGO</b>		DND	?	NTD	<b>asan</b>
VL <sub>1</sub>	<b>asan</b>	SND <sub>2</sub>	<b>asan</b>	NKN	<b>asan</b>
VL <sub>2</sub>	?	MNY	<b>asan</b>	MBK	<b>asan</b>
YMBI	?	NDB	<b>azian</b>	MBT	<b>asan</b>
YMBE <sub>1</sub>	<b>asan</b>	<b>S-KIKONGO</b>			
YMBE <sub>2</sub>	?	MBM	<b>asan</b>	DMB	<b>azyan</b>
WY <sub>1</sub>	<b>izyan</b>	SL <sub>1</sub>	<b>asan</b>	TST	<b>azyan</b>
WY <sub>2</sub>	<b>azian</b>	SL <sub>2</sub>	?	SBM	<b>asyan</b>
SND <sub>1</sub>	<b>asan</b>	SK	<b>azyan/a san</b>	PMB	?
LNJ <sub>1</sub>	?	ZMB	<b>azyaan</b>	DHG	?
LNJ <sub>2</sub>	?	<b>PROTO-KIKONGO</b>			
ZB	?	<b>*-izyan-</b>			
KC	<b>azian</b>				

# HEAVY RECP MARKERS IN SOUTH-WEST BANTU

Kimbundu	(H21a)	-ažan	Kwezo	(L13)	-angan
Lucazi	(K13)	-asian	Kete	(L21)	-angan
Luvale	(K14)	-asan	Luba-Kasai	(L31a)	-aŋan
Lwalwa	(L221)	-asyan	Luba-Katanga	(L33)	-angan
Salampasu	(L51)	-asyan	Lunda	(L52)	-aňan
Kanincin	(L53)	-azyaan	Kaonde	(L41)	-aňan
Kwanyama	(R21)	-afan	Songye	(L23)	-een/-ijeen
Ndonga	(R22)	-athan	Luba-Hemba	(L34)	-izyen
Herero	(R31)	-asan	Ruund	(L53)	-ijaan

## REFL/RECP POLYSEMY IN SW BANTU

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

- a. *ka-tú-cí-mon-ine*                      *rero*  
NEG-SM1PL-RECP-see-COMPL      today  
'We have not seen each other today.'
- b. *tu-a-cí-wan-ang-a*                      *mu*      *mota*  
SM1PL-PRS-RECP-find-HAB-FV      LOC18      car  
'We usually meet (i.e. find each other) in the car.'

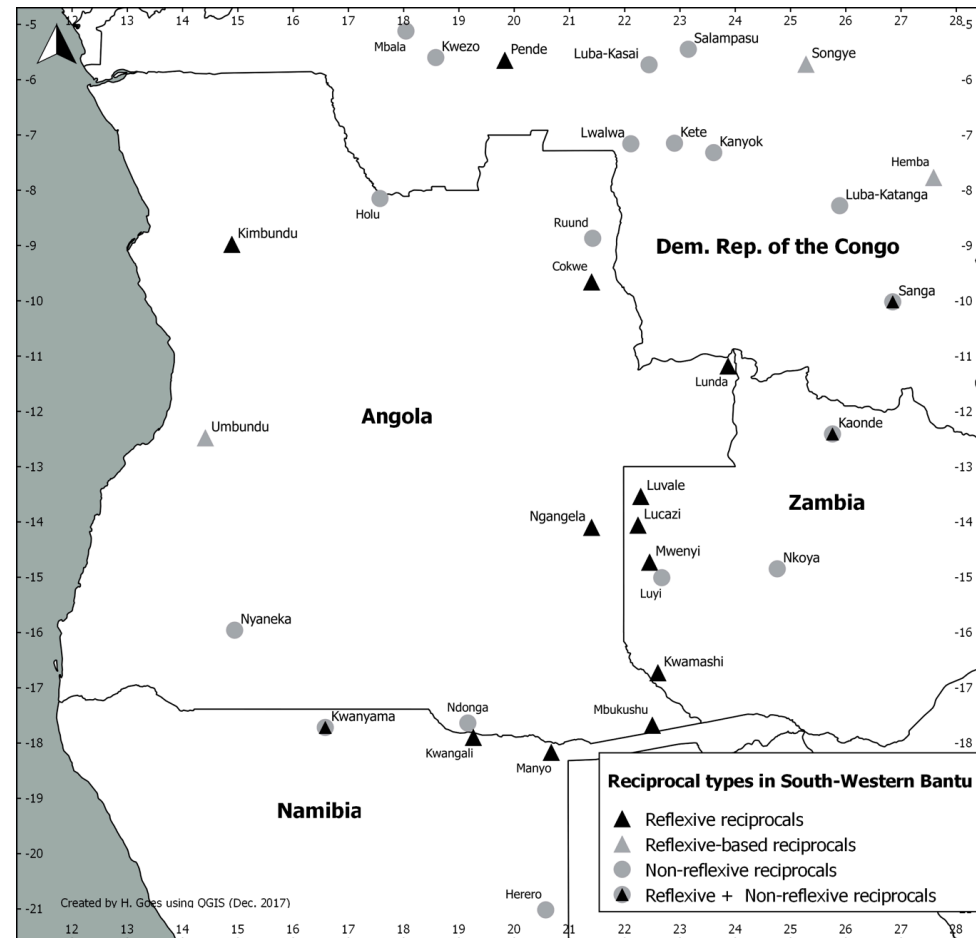
# REFL/RECP POLYSEMY IN SW BANTU

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

- a. *N-vu      na      N-dambí      á-cí-kok-ire*  
9-hippo    COM    9-elephant    SM2-RECP-pull-COMPL  
'The hippo and the elephant pulled each other.'
- b. *tu-cí-mon-e                                  n'                  oyu                  ka-rumba*  
SM1PL-RECP-see-SBJV                  COM                  DEM1                  12-hare  
'We should meet with this hare.'
- c. *na-ní-cí-wan-a                                  n'                  enji*  
PST-SM1SG-RECP-find-FV                  COM                  POSS<sub>1</sub>  
'I met with him.'
- d. *na-ní-mú-wan-a*  
PST-SM1SG-OM1-find-FV  
'I met/found him.'

# REFL/RECP POLYSEMY IN SW BANTU

Kimbundu	(H21a)	<i>di-/ri-/li-</i>	Sanga	(L35)	<i>i-</i>
Cokwe	(K11)	<i>li-</i>	Kaonde	(L41)	<i>i-</i>
Ngangela	(K12)	<i>li-</i>	Lunda	(L52)	<i>di-</i>
Lucazi	(K13)	<i>li-</i>	Umbundu	(R11)	<i>li-</i>
Luvale	(K14)	<i>li-</i>	Kwanyama	(R21)	<i>li-</i>
Luyana-West	(K30)	<i>ku-</i>	Songye	(L23)	<i>i:- ...-een</i>
Mbukushu	(K333)	<i>ku-</i>	Luba-Hemba	(L34)	<i>i-...-izyen</i>
Mashi	(K34)	<i>ci-</i>	Umbundu	(R11)	<i>li-... STEM REDUPLICATION</i>



# BANTU CYCLES OF RECP MARKING INNOVATION

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
Prototypical reciprocity	-an	-VCan	-VCan	REFL (C)i-	REFL (C)i-
Natural reciprocity	-an	-an	-VCan	-VCan	-VCan / REFL (C)i-
Other middles (sometimes antipassive)		-an	-an	-an	-an

Proto-Bantu

Proto-Kikongo

South-West Bantu

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