

# RECIPROCALITY IN THE NORTH MOZAMBICAN BANTU LANGUAGE SHANGAJI (P312)

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## Reciprocity constructions

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).

### A. Type of constructions

*miiyó na reégúle muu-nu n-ént'* ów-aántám-áán-a [simple]  
 I and 1a.chief 1-person SM1PL-go-PFV 15-border-REC-INF  
 'the chief and I, we are neighbours'

*mweéyo aana mwé mw-ii-xéz-á saána n-si-khumul-aan-e* [simple]  
 you 2.children you SM2PL-COND-play-FV well SM2PL-NEG-hurt-REC-SBJV  
 'you, children, play well and do not hurt each other'

*khoóle kha-n-óon-an-a náa marámára namárokolo* [discontinuous]  
 1a.baboon NEG.SM1-PRS-see-REC-FV with=REL directly.RED 1a.hare  
 'the baboon and the hare do not see eye to eye with each other'

### B. Discontinuous constructions and transitivity

Complements of comitative markers can (sometimes) be object marked on the verb.

*ki-n-láw-á náá o-xipírtaali tothoóro a-n-thátípú*  
 SM1SG-OM1-leave-PFV with=REL 17-9.hospital 1a.doctor SM1-OM1-check-PFV  
 'I took her to the doctor and he analysed her'

This can also happen with allelic/reciprocal predicates.

*Athúamáni na Huséeni ya-nttó-wúumaán-a* [simple]  
 Athumani and Huseeni SM2.PST-PROG-fight.REC-FV  
 'Athumani and Huseeni were fighting (each other)'

*ooman-a náá ontúúle* [discontinuous]  
 SM1.fight.REC-PFV with=REL 1.DEMIII  
 's/he has fought with that one'

*yeéné t' áá-ni-k-uuman-a náá miyo* [discontinuous]  
 she COP SM1-PRS-OM1SG-fight.REC-FI with=REL I  
 's/he is the one who is fighting with me'

The most frequent allelic predicates are regular (ambi-)transitive verbs. To express a mutual event a REC marker needs to be added.

*aa-nttó-ni-tthiir-a ilá ni-ń-singan-a n-tárlíkhi ni-ń-vingaan-a*  
 SM1.PST-PFV-OM1PL-run-FV but SM1PL-OM1-meet-PFV 18-9.road SM1PL-OM1-pass.REC-PFV  
 'he ran from us but we met him on the road and we passed him'

*n-ttóó-vingaán-a n-eentt-ánká nakhaála aá-thupá a-ń-vingan-áán-a*  
 SM1PL-PROG-pass.REC-FV SM1PL-go-DSIT nakhala 2-person=2.DEMI 2-PRS-pass.REC-REC-FV  
 'we will continue our way to Nakhala' 'these people are passing each other'

### C. Uncommon configuration

#### Universal 5:

All reciprocal constructions with two arguments that both refer to the set of mutuanets are anaphoric reciprocal constructions.

\*Taro and Jiro phoned Taro and Jiro (Haspelmath 2007)

> In Shangaji, the noun phrase denoting the set of mutuanets may be repeated after the reciprocal verb. The repeated noun phrase always carries a focal enclitic (=ru) and this particular configuration appears to be reserved for unexpected/unwanted mutual situations.

*nyaáma zi-ttharúw-é o-ráfún-áán-a nyamaá=ru*  
 10.animal SM10-stop-SBJV 15-chew-REC-INF 10.animal=FOC  
 'animals should stop eating each other'

## Discontinuous constructions and passivization

In Shangaji complements of the comitative marker *na* can be object marked on the verb whether the comitative phrase denotes a reciprocatee, a collective, a comitative or an instrument. To passivize this type of construction, promoting the (reciprocal/comitative/instrumental) object to subject position, the associative suffix *-an* is always included. The instrumental use of the associative suffix *-an* is only found in combination with the passive extension.

*fulaáno a-ttów-úuman-án-iiw-a mwásá w' eé-tthwááni* [reciprocal passive]  
 1a.certain SM1-PROG-fight.REC-REC-PASS-FV 3.reason 3.CONN 7-what  
 'that one is being fought with because of what?'  
 < ~ oomana náá ontúúle 's/he has fought with that one'

*li-kháanga ni-ráfún-an-iiw-a mántúúli* [collective passive]  
 5-dried.cassava SM5-eat-ASSO-PASS-PFV 1a.groundnut  
 'the dried cassava is eaten (together) with groundnuts'  
 < kinráfúnu mántúúli ná likháanga 'I have eaten groundnuts together with dried cassava'

*a-ttóó-t-an-iiw-a na n-lúbwáanka* [comitative passive]  
 SM1-PROG-come-ASSO-PASS-FV with 1-sibling.POSS.1SG  
 's/he is being brought by my sibling'  
 < n-lúbwáanka attóóta náá leélo 'my sibling is coming with her/him today'

*mantúúokha a-papatt-an-iiw-a móóngolo* [instrumental passive]  
 1a.cassava SM1-ladle.out-ASSO-PASS-PFV 3.milipede  
 'the cassava is used to ladle out the millipede'  
 < kipapatta móóngolo ná mantúúokha

What causes obligatoriness of associative suffix *-an* in these passive constructions? Hypothesis:

- the free-standing associative marker is cliticized/reanalysed as part of the verb  
 attóótiwa náá leélo
- in line with the pan-Bantu Causative-Applicative-Reciprocal-Passive template (CARP, Hyman 2003) the suffix subsequently comes to precede the passive suffix  
 attóótaniwa leélo

## Polysemy

The derivational suffix *\*-an* is reconstructed to Proto-Bantu as an associative/reciprocal suffix (Meeussen 1967, Schadeberg 2003) ultimately derived from the comitative 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).

### A. < simple constructions: sociative & middle

#### A.1 Sociative / Collective

The Shangaji derivational suffix *-an* is also used to convey parallel (rather than reciprocal) co-participation (Creissels & Voisin-Nouguier 2008), i.e., a notion of collectivity or togetherness. This meaning is typically (always) rendered by a simple construction involving a plural subject marker.

*miiyó ki-ttóó-longoóz-a o-tt-eéntt-él-a o-ki-singan-a ki-ñiy-e*  
 I SM1SG-PROG-go.ahead-FV SM2SG-PRS-go-APPL-FV 15-OM1SG-meet-INF SM1SG-arrive-SBJV  
 'I am going ahead, you will meet me having arrived already'

*miiyó n'aa-simána wáangu ni-lóngóz-aan-a* [togetherness]  
 I and 2-child 2.POSS1SG 1PL-go.ahead-ASSO-FV  
 'me, and my children, we have gone ahead (together)'

*kha-ni-ń-láw-a xaricáare n-ttóó-fulath-áán-a* [chaining]  
 NEG-SM1PL-PRS-leave-FV 9.line SM1PL-PROG-follow-ASSO-FV  
 'we are not walking next to each other we are following each other'

*nga-khol-an-ís-á mií-r' ipo zi-khol-án-é saáneéne* [togetherness]  
 FOC-hold-ASS-CAUS-FV 4-tree 4.DEMII 4-hold-ASSO-SBJV well  
 'go put those trees together so they are close together'

*w-iiy-e w' oo-khól-áán-a ttwé n-góotto* [togetherness/middle]  
 3-be-SBJV 3.CONN 15-hold-ASSO-INF IDEO 3-dessert  
 'so the dessert becomes solid'

#### A.2 Middle

When the associative suffix has a middle meaning, it is (always) lexicalized: 1) the verb does not/longer exist without the associative suffix, or 2) the derived verb is not straightforwardly derived from its base form.

*a-lwaz-iiw-a ny-ákhá mi-thaáno mpákhá o-khórómbanakhórómbaana*  
 SM1-hurt-PASS-PFV 4-year 4-five until 15-be.crooked.ASSO.INF.RED  
*kharílingana theéna*  
 NEG.SM1-PRS-be.straight-FV again  
 'He has been sick five years until he got crooked and never got straight again'

*muú-tthú a-ttóó-waaxanáána*  
 1-person 1-PROG-fall.apart.ASSO.FV.RED  
 'the person is falling apart'

### B. < discontinuous constructions: antipassive, comitative, instrumental

#### B.1 Antipassive

The antipassive use of *-an* is most clearly attested with singular subjects, plural subjects causing ambiguity between a reciprocal and an antipassive reading. Unfortunately, our data do not allow to decide whether this antipassive usage is restricted to a limited set of verbs (and we cannot therefore decide where it belongs in the typology suggested by Bostoen et al.).

*fulaáno o-ń-túveél-a o-xówél-áán-a mwásá wa wirá yeéné hangawaáni*  
 1a.certain 15-OM1-please-INF 15-talk-ASSO-INF because s/he 1a.gossip  
 That one, it pleases him to talk badly (about people) because he is a gossip.

*aá-tthú va-kaáth' ipha a-nttóó-ki-xoweél-a w-aá-túvéél' ó-xówél-áán-a*  
 2-person 16-9.inside 16.DEMI 2-prog-om1sg-talk-FV 15-OM2-please-FV 15-talk-ASSO-INF  
 'the people around here are talking badly about me, it pleases them to talk badly (about each other)'

#### B.2 Comitative

The comitative use of *-an* involves situations where the subject carries out an action with another participant (person or entity) encoded as a comitative phrase. The second(ary) participant is not an active participant but is more patient-like. The comitative usage is logically rendered by a discontinuous construction. This comitative usage is infrequently attested and appears to involve some degree of lexicalization (be with > have, leave with > take along, come with > bring).

##### • be with > have

'to have' is regularly expressed by the verb 'to be' *-iya* followed by the comitative marker *na*. In some cases the associative suffix is included but it is always optional. In one example the associative suffix is included and the comitative marker is omitted, i.e., the secondary participant is introduced as a seemingly direct object. The latter construction could be suggestive of ongoing lexicalization.

*kiiy-iy-án-á=ru náa khajú záawe ki-ttóó-veleés-a*  
 SM1SG.COND-be-ASSO-FV=FOC with=REL 10.cashew 10.POSS1 SM1SG-PROG-send-FV  
 'as soon as I have the cashew nuts, I will send them'  
 ~ kiiy-iy-á=ru náa khajú záawe ki-ttóó-veleés-a

*fweéyo raangu n-aw-iiy-án-ánk-a suphúuru*  
 we 9.past SM1PL-PST-be-ASSO-PLUR-FV 10.mat  
 'in the past we used to have mats'

##### • leave with > take along

The undervived verb *-lawá* 'leave' can be followed by a secondary participant encoded as a comitative phrase. The patient-like nature of the secondary participant is evidenced by the fact that it can be object marked on the verb. Again, there is optional inclusion of the associative suffix.

*a-singán-ánga nyaáma a-fungúl-áanga a-law-án-ánga náá o-wáaya*  
 SM2-meet-DSIT 9.meat SM2-open-DSIT SM2-leave-ASSO-DSIT with=REL 17-14.POSS2  
 'when finding meat, they untie it and take it home with them'  
 ~ a-thuúl-áanka a-láw-á náá o-wáaya  
 2-take-DSIT 2-leave-PFV with=REL 17-14.POSS2  
 'they take it [the salt] and take it home'