

- *-an*'s morphological and syntactic distribution and properties in both iterative and reciprocal use are a direct result of its meaning.
- **Bigger picture:** Reciprocal “polysemy” arises when languages grammaticalize subcomponents of the complex semantics of reciprocity (and other processes “pick up the slack”)

Roadmap:

§1 Iterative use

- Property 1: Cumulative plurality
- Property 2: Single-participant events
- Defining *-an*
- Predictions: morphosyntactic location

§2 Reciprocal use

- Reciprocal properties
- Reciprocals are cumulative, single-participant events
- Accounting for (morpho-)syntax
- Weak vs. Strong readings (relational plurals)

§3 Reciprocal polysemy in perspective

§4 Appendices:

- Reflexives
- Double objects/complements
- “Stative-reciprocals”

2 Iterative use

- Attached to some verbs, *-an* can be used to indicate an iterative, or sometimes intensive, event Table 1 (cf Maslova 2007; Nurse and Philippson 2003 for similar uses in other Bantu languages).

<i>kumera</i>	'to grow' (intr)	<i>kumerana</i>	'to grow fast, a lot'
<i>kumeeda</i>	'to increase' (intr)	<i>kumeedana</i>	'to increase steadily.'
<i>kusunduka</i>	'to spill' (intr)	<i>kusundukana</i>	'to spill here and there'
<i>kwoneka</i>	'to be destroyed'	<i>kwonekana</i>	'various parts to be destroyed'
<i>kulanyika</i>	'to be plundered'	<i>kulanyikana</i>	'to be completely trashed'
<i>kwuma</i>	'to freeze' (intr)	<i>kwumana</i>	'to freeze over and over'
<i>kuvunika</i>	'to break' (intr)	<i>kuvunikana</i>	'to break into pieces'
<i>kwishiamula</i>	'to sneeze'	<i>kwishiamulana</i>	'to sneeze over and over.'
<i>kwivora</i>	'to give birth'	<i>kwivorana</i>	'to breed, increase in #'s'
<i>kuhanzuka</i>	'to shout'	<i>kuhanzukana</i>	'to shout over and over'
<i>kunagora</i>	'to run'	<i>kunagorana</i>	'to run over and over, keep running'
...		...	

Table 1: Iterative/intensive uses of *-an*. (*Ku-* is the class 15 infinitival prefix.)

- In its iterative use, *-an* expresses,
 - that the event involves a **single participant** (\approx restricted to intransitives)
 - a **cumulative plural event**

2.1 Property 1: Cumulative plurality

- Informally, an event is cumulatively plural if it is perceived as being a single event of P with multiple sub-events of P.

(2) *Sira y-ashiamul-an-i*
Sira 1SM-sneeze-AN-FV
 'Sira sneezed repeatedly.'

1. ✓ *Sira had a fit of sneezing.*

2. ✗ *Over the course of the day, Sira sneezed multiple times.*

- (3) *kisaga ki-vun-ik-an-i* 1. ✓ *Sira stepped on a branch, and it broke in many pieces.*
 7branch 7SM-break-AC-AN-FV
 ‘The branch broke in many pieces.’ 2. ✗ *Over the course of the day, many people stepped on a branch, breaking it in many pieces.*

2.2 Property 2: Single-participant events

- *-an* cannot be used to pluralize the event of a transitive verb:

- (4) a. * *Sira a-ras-an-i mpira*
 1Sira 1SM-throw-AN-FV 3ball
 [intended: ‘Sira threw the ball repeatedly’]
 b. * *Sira a-duy-an-i Imali*
 1Sira 1SM-hit-AN-FV 1Imali
 [intended: ‘Sira hit Imali repeatedly.’]

- It’s restricted to intransitives — more specifically, *-an* only pluralizes **single participant events**.
- This is evident in its restriction to co-occurring with only one kind of derived intransitive (**syntactic** vs. **semantic** intransitivity).
- Two derived intransitives in Logoori: **passive** and **anticausative** (Gluckman and Bowler, 2016).

- (5) a. *mpira gu-ras-w-i (na Sira)* PASSIVE
 3ball 3SM-throw-PASS-FV by Sira
 ‘The ball was thrown (by Sira)’
 b. *mpira gu-ras-ik-i (*na Sira)* ANTICAUSATIVE
 3ball 3SM-throw-AC-FV by Sira
 ‘The ball was thrown (by Sira).’
 ≈ ‘The ball threw.’

- Passives involve (implicit or explicit) reference to the Agent ⇨ **two event participants**.
- Anticausatives do not permit (implicit or explicit) reference to the Agent ⇨ **one event participant** (cf, Kemmer 1993; Schäfer 2008 a.o)

- *-an* can only pluralize anticausatives. (See also examples in Table 1.)²

- (6) a. * *mpira gu-ras-w-an-i* (na Sira)
3ball 3SM-throw-PASS-AN-FV by Sira
- b. *mpira gu-ras-ik-an-i* (*na Sira)
3ball 3SM-throw-AC-AN-FV
'The ball was thrown repeatedly.'
(i.e., it was juggled)
- (7) a. * *amaaze ga-sund-w-an-i*
6water 6SM-spill-PASS-AN-FV
- b. *amaaze ga-sund-uk-an-i*
6water 6SM-spill-AC-AN-FV
'The water spilled here and there.'
[Speaker comment: 'Like when the waiter brought it to the table. It was sloshing around.']

- NB: There is a distinct transitive (cumulative) event pluralizer *-any* (<-aɲ>)

- (8) a. * *Sira y-ashiamul-any-i*
1Sira 1SM-sneeze-ANY-FV
[intended: 'Sira sneezed repeatedly.']
- b. *Sira a-ras-any-i* *mpira*
1Sira 1SM-threw-ANY-FV ball
'Sira threw the ball repeatedly' (i.e., he juggled the ball).
- c. *mpira gu-ras-any-w-i*
3ball 3SM-throw-ANY-PASS-FV
'The ball was thrown repeatedly' (i.e., it was juggled).³
- d. * *mpira gu-ras-ik-any-i*
3ball 3SM-throw-AC-ANY-FV

²There is no phonological reason to rule out (6a), (7a). Also, no other ordering of the suffixes works.

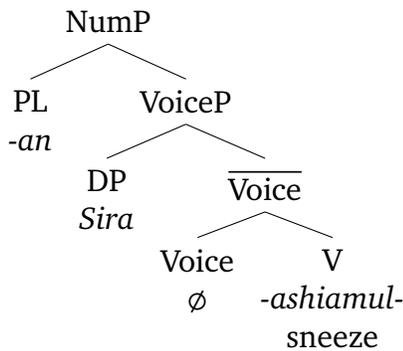
³Note the different ordering of the pluralizer and voice morphology: *-any* must **precede** the passive, but *-an* must **follow** the anticausative. I believe this reflects the different function of anticausative vs. passive heads, rather than a (morpho-)syntactic difference between the two different event pluralizers. Your input is welcome!

2.3 Defining iterative *-an*

- Given these two properties, I define *-an* as a cumulative event pluralizer, with a presupposition such that the events it pluralizes only have a single participant.⁴

(9) $\llbracket -an \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle v, st \rangle} \lambda e_1 \lambda e_2 \lambda w$:
Presupposition: $\forall e [P(e)(w) \rightarrow e \text{ has a unique event participant}]$
Assertion: $[P(e_1)(w) \ \& \ P(e_2)(w) \ \& \ e_1 \neq e_2] \ \& \ \forall e', e'' [P(e')(w) \ \& \ P(e'')(w) \rightarrow P(e' \oplus e'')(w)]$

(10)



Assuming:

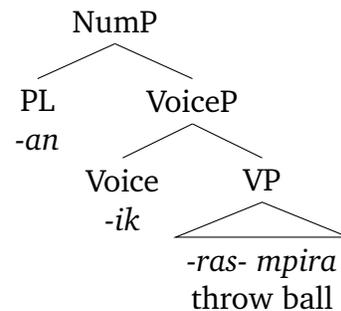
- NumP (can be null or overt)
- External arguments in Voice
- Event Closure high in the clause
- Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985)**

2.4 Prediction: morphosyntactic location

- Iterative *-an* always appears **outside** of valency decreasing morphology (when applicable). That is, it only appears after a single-participant-event verb phrase has been derived.

(11) *mpira gu-ras-ik-an-i* (**na Sira*)
 3ball 3SM-throw-AC-AN-FV by Sira
 ‘The ball was thrown repeatedly.’
 (i.e., it was juggled.)

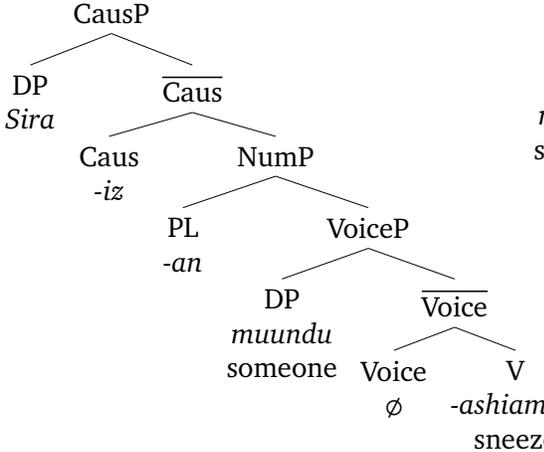
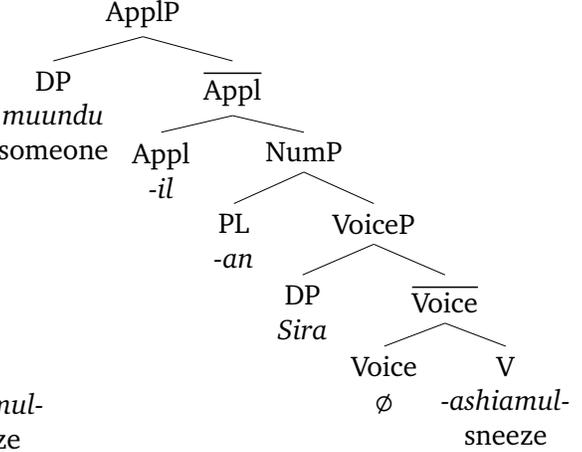
(12)



⁴The definition of cumulativity (minus the presupposition) is adapted from (Krifka, 1989). There are known objections to putting universal quantification in a presupposition (Heim, 1983) vs. (Beaver, 2001). Your insights are welcome if you have a solution that avoids this.

- Iterative-*an* always appears **inside** of valency increasing morphology.

- (13) a. *Sira y-ashiamul-an-iz-i muundu* CAUSATIVE
 Sira 1SM-sneeze-AN-CAUS-FV person
 ‘Sira made someone sneeze repeatedly.’ (**yashiamul-iz-an-i*)
- b. *Sira y-ashiamul-an-il-i muundu* APPLICATIVE
 1Sira 1SM-sneeze-AN-APPL-FV person
 ‘Sira sneezed repeatedly for someone.’ (**yashiamul-il-an-i*)

- (14) a.
- 
- b.
- 

- Confirmation for syntactic order: applied arguments must scope over event pluralizer.
 - In (13b)/(14b), it cannot be the case that there are multiple people and Sira sneezed for each of them.

Summary of iterative use

-*an* is used to indicate a cumulative plural event for events which have a single participant.

↪ accounts for meaning.

↪ accounts for (morpho-)syntactic distribution.

3 Reciprocal use

- *-an* may be used to indicate a reciprocal situation. This is robustly found across (Narrow) Bantu languages (cf, Dammann 1954; Mchombo 1993b; Maslova 2007; Dalrymple et al. 1994; Nurse and Philippson 2003, a.o.)

- (15) a. *avaana va-lol-an-i*
2child 2SM-see-AN-FV
'The children saw each other.'
- b. *Sira na Imali va-duy-an-i*
1Sira and 1Imali 2SM-hit-AN-FV
'Sira and Imali hit each other.'
- c. *Sira na Imali va-a-yaanz-an-a*
1Sira and 1Imali 2SM-PRES-love-AN-FV
'Sira and Imali love each other.'
- d. *avaana va-yag-an-i*
2child 2SM-scratch-AN-FV
'The children scratched each other.'

- Reciprocal-*an* has many of the core properties we associate with reciprocal markers.

1. Locality/c-command conditions on the antecedent (e.g., **Condition A**)

- (16) a. * *avaana va-vor-i* [*ndii Maina a-lol-an-i*]
2child 2SM-say-FV [that 1Maina 1SM-see-AN-FV]
'*The children said that Maina saw each other.'
- b. * *muremi y-a avaana a-lol-an-i*
1friend 1-of 2child 1SM-see-AN-FV
'*The children's friend saw each other.'

2. Antecedent must be **plural**:

- (17) a. * *Maina a-lol-an-i*
1Maina 1SM-see-AN-FV
'*Maina saw each other.'

3. ≈ **Subject-oriented** (depends on how “subject” is defined)

- (18) * *Sira a-many-an-i avaana*
 1Sira 1SM-show-AN-FV 2child
 [intended: ‘Sira showed the children each other (in the mirror).’]

4. Appears **outside of valency increasing morphology**.

- (19) a. *avaana va-sek-iz-an-i* CAUSATIVE
 2child 2SM-laugh-CAUS-AN-FV
 ‘The children made each other laugh.’ (≠*vasek-an-iz-i*)
- b. *avaana va-hanzuk-il-an-i* APPLICATIVE
 2child 2SM-shout-APPL-AN-FV
 ‘The children shouted at each other’ (≠*vahanzuk-an-il-i*)

- NB: *-an* does not appear in the **associative construction**⁵ in Logoori, commonly found in Bantu languages (Dammann, 1954; Vitale, 1981; Maslova, 2007).

- (20) *Sira a-na-pend-an-a na Imali* (Swahili)
 * *Sira y-a-yaanz-an-a na Imali* (Logoori)
 1Sira 1SM-PRES-love-AN-FV and Imali
 ‘Sira and Imali love each other’

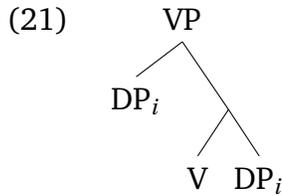
Core observation

Many of the reciprocal properties are not observed in — or even directly contradict — the iterative use. However, despite the syntactic and morphological differences, *-an* has a uniform *semantic* distribution:

Reciprocal situations are also cumulatively plural events with a single (plural) event participant (Klaiman, 1991; Kemmer, 1993; Evans et al., 2011).

⁵Also called the *sociative*, *comitative* or *discontinuous* reciprocal (Nurse and Philippson, 2003; Maslova, 2007). Note that associative constructions are possible with inherently reciprocal predicates like *kwaagana*, ‘to meet,’ *kufana* ‘to resemble,’ etc. Note further that all inherently reciprocal verbs appear to bear a lexicalized *-an* marker at the end.

1. Reciprocal situations describe **single-participant events** (Klaiman, 1991; Kemmer, 1993):⁶



↔ describes an event with a single participant (DP_i) which is mapped to two grammatical positions.

2. Reciprocal situations are **cumulatively plural events** (Kemmer, 1993; Schein, 1993)

(22) *Last week, Imali stared at Sira. The following day, Sira stared at Imali.*

a. # *Sira na Imali va-hondolel-an-i*

Sira and Imali 2SM-stare-AN-FV

‘#Sira and Imali stared at each other.’

[Speaker comment: “This only makes sense if Sira and Imali are staring at each other at the same time.”]

(23) *On Tuesday, Sira kicked Imali. On Wednesday, Imali kicked Sira.*

a. # *Sira na Imali va-nagiz-an-i*

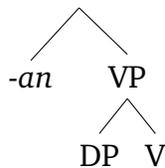
Sira and Imali 2SM-kick-AN-FV

‘#Sira and Imali kicked each other.’

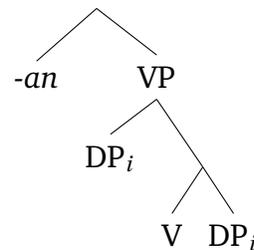
[Speaker comment: “No... They did it on different days? They need to do it like one after the other.”]

- Consistent with saying that *-an* pluralizes the single-participant event — which can be realized in different syntactic configurations:

Iterative use:



Reciprocal use:



⁶Note that reciprocals do not act *syntactically intransitive* in Logoori, unlike in Chichewa (Dalrymple et al., 1994; Mchombo, 1993a). (See also Safir and Sikuku 2018 for a similar observation for Lubukusu.)

- *-an* does not “come with” reciprocal meaning. This is accomplished through other processes (discussed in subsection 3.4).

3.1 Accounting for Condition A

- Because it is restricted to single-participant events, *c*-command and locality are enforced.

- (24) a. * *avaana va-vor-i* [*ndii Maina a-lol-an-i*]
 2child 2SM-say-FV [that 1Maina 1SM-see-AN-FV]
 ‘*The children said that Maina saw each other.’
- b. * *muremi y-a avaana a-lol-an-i*
 1friend 1-of 2child 1SM-see-AN-FV
 ‘*The children’s friend saw each other.’

- The verb phrase containing *-lol-*, ‘see’ doesn’t describe a single-participant event in either (24a) or (24b).

3.2 Accounting for subject-orientation

- *-an* cannot be anteceded by the Goal in a Double-Object Construction:

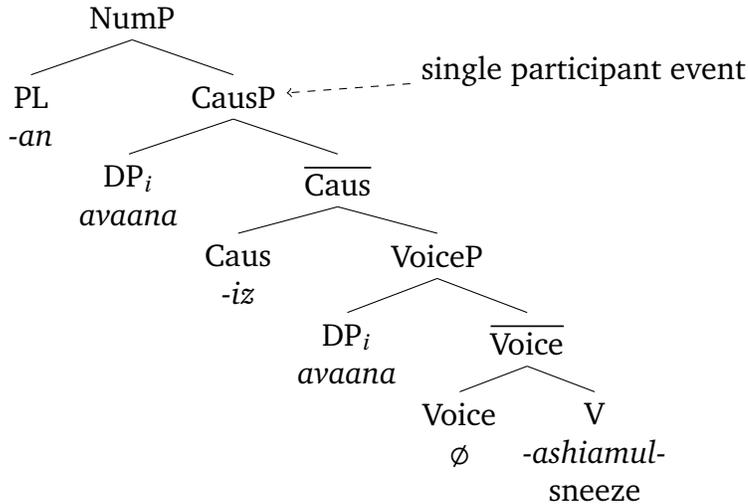
- (25) * *Sira a-many-an-i avaana*
 1Sira 1SM-show-AN-FV 2child
 [intended: ‘Sira showed the children each other (in the mirror).’]

- The verb phrase doesn’t describe an event with a single-participant in (25).

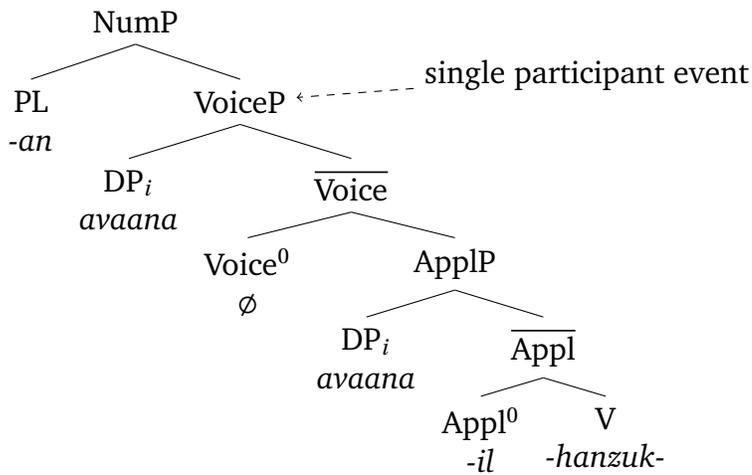
3.3 Accounting for morpho-syntactic location

- *-an* pluralizes any phrase that describes a single-participant event. Thus, it appears **outside** of valency increasing morphology in its reciprocal use.

- (26) *avaana va-sek-iz-an-i* CAUSATIVE
 2child 2SM-laugh-CAUS-AN-FV
 ‘The children made each other laugh.’ (≠*vasek-an-iz-i*)



- (27) *avaana va-hanzuk-il-an-i* APPLICATIVE
 2child 2SM-shout-APPL-AN-FV
 ‘The children shouted at each other’ (≠*vahanzuk-an-il-i*)

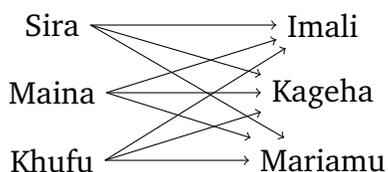


3.4 The rest of reciprocity

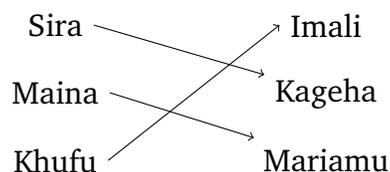
- In Logoori, *-an* appears to express just some of the meaning found in reciprocity. Where does the rest of the reciprocal meaning come from?
 - **Cumulatively**
 - **Event plurality**
 - **(Semantic) intransitivity**
 - Collectivity
 - Nominal plurality
 - Distributivity
- There's a noted parallel between the various readings found when two plural DPs scopally interact in **relational plural sentences** and the various readings found in **reciprocal situations** (Fiengo and Lasnik, 1973; Langendoen, 1978; Dalrymple et al., 1994; Beck, 2001) a.o.⁷

(28) *avikura va-vagaa va-lol-i avakana va-vagaa*
 2boy 2-three 2SM-see-FV 2girl 2-three
 'Three boys saw three girls.'

Strong reading:

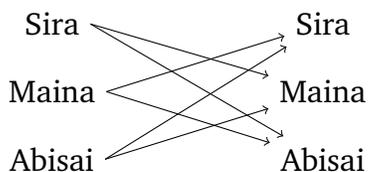


Weak reading (one of many):

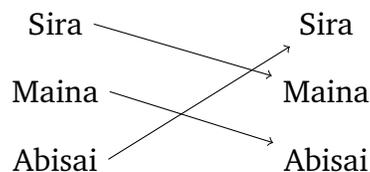


(29) *avikura va-vagaa va-lol-an-i*
 2child 2-three 2SM-see-AN-FV
 'Three boys saw each other.'

Strong reading:



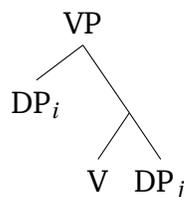
Weak reading (one of many):



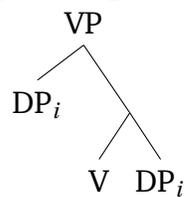
⁷There are many ways a reciprocal/plural relation can be "weak" (Fiengo and Lasnik, 1973; Langendoen, 1978; Heim et al., 1991; Dalrymple et al., 1994; Beck, 2001). Under the right contexts, all the ambiguities are available in Logoori as well for both relational plurals, as well as reciprocals.

- The different readings are the result of having two plural NPs in the structure: they are not scopally independent.

Plural relation



(Reciprocal) plural relation



- There are many of formal theories for how to treat interacting scopal elements (Heim et al., 1991; Beck, 2001; Sternefeld, 1998; Murray, 2008). I believe any of these are consistent with my proposal.

Summary

Reciprocity in Logoori is conveyed through a “mixture” of independent elements:

- *-an* provides the cumulative event and single-participant meaning.
- Scopal interaction of DPs provides the rest.

Note that *-an* is *not* an anaphor in this analysis — there is no reciprocal anaphor *per se*. (Though see Appendix for evidence that the reflexive is “unselective,” covering both reciprocity and reflexivity (as in Safir 1996).

4 On reciprocal polysemy cross-linguistically

- Markers of reciprocity display a high degree of polysemy cross-linguistically (König and Gast, 2008; Nedjalkov, 2007).
- Among the various types of polysemies, it’s notable that the second meaning is always something that forms a sub-component of overall reciprocal meaning.
 - **Reciprocal-reflexive polysemy** (e.g., Romance SE) : the marker expresses a relation between identical individuals (cf, Murray 2008 for Cheyenne; Safir 1996)

- **Reciprocal-sociative polysemy** (e.g., Turkish) : the marker expresses the collective/cumulative plurality of the single event participant (cf Dixon 1988 for Boumaa Fijian)
- **Reciprocal-iterative polysemy** (e.g., Logoori) : the marker expresses the plural event (cf Davies 2000 for Madurese)
- That is, we don't find, say, a **reciprocal-telic** polysemy, or a **reciprocal-definite** polysemy, because these telicity/definiteness aren't sub-components of RECIPROCITY.
- This suggests that reciprocal “polysemies” are actually mislabelled: The patterns observed are strategies of “cobbling together” a reciprocal meaning by grammaticalizing, or simply recruiting morphology for, the different sub-components that make up RECIPROCITY.
 - This idea is supported by bipartite reciprocal constructions e.g., English, Lezgian, (Evans et al., 2011; Nedjalkov, 2007).
- On variation across Bantu: Since *-an* cognates are extensively used across Bantu languages, but are generally closer to sociative markers, it's possible that other Bantu languages treat *-an* as a purely nominal or unselective **cumulative/collective pluralizer** (cf Maslova 1999 for general discussion along these lines).
- All this leaves open the relation to reflexives — for which see appendix.

Thanks!

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Appendix: Reflexives

- The reflexive prefix is consistent with a reciprocal meaning:

(30) *Sira, Maina, and Kageha went out hiking and got bug-bites. Sira scratched himself, but Maina and Kageha scratched each other’s bug-bites.*

avaana va-i-yeg-i

2child 2SM-REFL-scratch-FV

‘The children scratched themselves/each other.’

- In general, as long as *at least one* participant is acting reflexively, then the reflexive is preferred. (Though I have some sparse examples where the reflexive also has a truly reciprocal meaning.)
- This suggests that *i-* in Logoori is similar to Romance SE, i.e., it has the semantics of both a reflexive and a reciprocal.
- We might hypothesize that conventional implicative governs the distribution of the reflexive vs. the reciprocal:
 - By using *-an* speakers express that there is some reciprocal relation, and addressees infer from the fact that *i-* wasn't used that no one acted reflexively.
 - I.e., use the “weaker” form when the “stronger” form doesn't apply.
 - Note that this explain why reciprocal-*-an* isn't used with singular antecedents, because such a situation entails that the event involves reflexive action.

Appendix: Double Object/Complement Constructions

- In general, *-an* isn't possible in a Double Object/Complement constructions (on its own).
- (31) * *avikura va-many-an-i ipicha*
 2boy 2SM-show-AN-FV picture
 [intended: ‘The boys showed each other a picture.’]
- (32) * *avikura va-many-an(-il)-i Imali*
 2boy 2SM-show-AN-APPL-FV picture
 [intended: ‘The boys showed each other to Imali.’]
- Two strategies for Double Object/Complement constructions:
 1. Reciprocal meaning can be expressed with *aveene ku veene* (lit: ‘themselves to themselves’) or *mila sia mlala* (lit: ‘the one how the other’) (see Safir and Sikuku 2018 for discussion in Lubukusu)
 2. The **reflexive marker** and the **reciprocal** are employed together. (And sometimes an **applicative** is needed. The applicative must occur after the reciprocal.)⁸

⁸See also data for Lubukusu in Sikuku (2011)

- (33) a. *avikura va-many-i ipichi aveene ku veene*
 2boy 2SC-show-FV picture themselves to themselves
 ‘The boys showed a picture to each other.’
- b. *avikura va-i-many-an-il-i ipicha*
 2boy 2SM-REFL-show-AN-appl-FV 9picture
 ‘The boys showed each other a (specific) picture.’
- c. *avikura va-i-many-an-i Imali*
 2boy 2SM-REFL-show-AN-FV 1Imali
 ‘The boys showed each other to Imali.’
 [Maybe: ‘The boys showed Imali among themselves.’]

Appendix: Stative-reciprocals

- An additional use of *-an* in many Bantu languages is its appearance on verbs which take embedded finite clauses (Mchombo, 1993a; Dubinsky and Simango, 1996; Seidl and Dimitriadis, 2003), so-called *stative-reciprocals*.

- (34) *e-lol-ek(-an)-a ndii Sira a-zi-i*
 9SM-look-AC-AN-FV that 1Sira 1SM-go-FV
 ‘It looks like Sira left.’

- We predict here that *-an* in such contexts should indicate the plurality of the main clause event in Logoori.

Context 1: *You come home and see that Sira’s jacket is gone.*

- (35) a. *e-lol-ek-a kulesia Sira a-zi-i*
 9SM-look-AC-FV like 1Sira 1SM-go-FV
 ‘It looks like Sira left.’
- b. ?? *e-lol-ek-an-a kulesia Sira a-zi-i*
 9SM-look-AC-AN-FV like 1Sira 1SM-go-FV
 ‘It looks like Sira left.’

Context 1': *You, Kageha, and Maina come home, and you all see that Sira's jacket is gone.*

- (36) a. ?? *e-lol-ek-a kulesia Sira a-zi-i*
 9SM-say-AC-FV that 1Sira 1SM-go-FV
 'It looks like Sira left.'
- b. *e-lol-ek-an-a kulesia Sira a-zi-i*
 9SM-say-AC-AN-FV that 1Sira 1SM-go-FV
 'It looks like Sira left.'

Context 2: *Your trusted friend Maina has been going around town saying that Sira went to Kisumu.*

- (37) a. *ga-vol-ek-i ndii Sira y-a-zi-a Kisumu*
 6SM-say-AC-FV that 1Sira 1SM-PAST-go-FV Kisumu
 'It's said that Sira went to Kisumu.'
- b. ?? *ga-vol-ek-an-i ndii Sira y-a-zi-a Kisumu*
 6SM-say-AC-AN-FV that 1Sira 1SM-PAST-go-FV Kisumu
 'It's said that Sira went to Kisumu.'

Context 2': *Your trusted friend Maina and all his friends have been going around town saying that Sira went to Kisumu.*

- (38) a. ?? *ga-vol-ek-i ndii Sira y-a-zi-a Kisumu*
 6SM-say-AC-FV that 1Sira 1SM-PAST-go-FV Kisumu
 'It's said that Sira went to Kisumu.'
- b. *ga-vol-ek-an-i ndii Sira y-a-zi-a Kisumu*
 6SM-say-AC-AN-FV that 1Sira 1SM-PAST-go-FV Kisumu
 'It's said that Sira went to Kisumu.'