The reciprocal marker -AN is consistently found in “mixed” scenarios (Murray, 2008).

(3) **Mixed scenario context**: Sira, Imali, and Kageha went hiking and got bitten by mosquitoes. Sira scratched his own bug-bites while Imali scratched Kageha’s and Kageha scratched Imali’s.

a. avana va-i-yag-i
   2child 2SM-i-scratch-FV
   ‘The children scratched themselves/each other.’

b. # avana va-yag-an-i
   2child 2SM-i-scratch-FV
   ‘The children scratched each other.’

The reflexive marker -SELF is underspecified. It indicates that there is a relation in a (plural) individual, which may include reciprocal mappings (Murray, 2008).

**Reciprocity and event quantification**

In addition to reciprocity, -AN also marks cumulative event plurality for intransitive predicates.

Gluckman (2018, in prep): -AN is an event quantifier for intransitive predicates, and thus expresses a piece of the meaning of reciprocity as a whole.

(4) **Sira y-ashiamul-an-i**
    1Sira 1SM-sneeze-AN-FV
    ‘Sira sneezed over and over.’

Gluckman (2018, in prep): -AN is an event quantifier for intransitive predicates, and thus expresses a piece of the meaning of reciprocity as a whole.

**Consequence: co-occurrence**

Because the markers are independent, the -I and -AN can co-occur.

(7) **va-i-yag-an-i**
    2SM-i-scratch-FV
    ‘They scratched themselves/each other (a lot).’

(8) avikura va-tum-an-i
    2boy 2SM-I-bite-AN-FV
    ‘The boys bit themselves/each other (a lot).’

See Safir and Sikuku (2018) for similar data in Bukusu (in which -AN does not have a plural event meaning).