Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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Chapter 5

5. Reciprocal

5.1. Introduction

Cross-linguistically, markers of reciprocity frequently also encompass non-reciprocal situations (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000, Kemmer 1996, Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003, Maslova 2007). "The situation is so common that Kemmer (1993:100) considers the prototypical reciprocal to be a "minor prototype," frequently subsumed under the reflexive or collective prototype situations" (Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003: 18). Vail (1972) also make a similar conclusion about Citumbuka by arguing that the term reciprocal is an over-simplification in that it overlooks the use of the reciprocal derivational suffix to indicate intensity of relationship. According to Schadeberg (2003) reciprocal meaning in Bantu is derived from the wider associative meaning. He makes such a conclusion based on the fact that in many Bantu languages, the reciprocal suffix has other related functions. Similar to Schadeberg's (2003) view are Lichtenberk's (1985), Kemmer's (1996) and Maslova's (2007) views which are based on the underlying similarities of situations among the multiple uses of the reciprocal. Kemmer (1996:235) argues that recurrent cross-linguistic polysemies indicate semantic relations among the categories expressed by the markers.

What is clear from the foregoing discussion is that cross-linguistically, the reciprocal marker is used not only to encode reciprocal situations, but also non-reciprocal situations. Thus, it is not surprising that the reciprocal suffix in Citumbuka has a wide range of usage, from prototypical reciprocals, anticausative, associative/collective, distributive to depatientive. In constructions with the reciprocal suffix there are several participants (or comparable parts) that are engaged in a symmetrical activity or state of affairs. In depatientive constructions, the use of the reciprocal suffix creates a verb in which there is implied but not expressed an extra constituent, the constituent that is absolutely unspecified. The depatientive is associated with imperfective and plurality aspects in Citumbuka. In anticausative derivation, various parts of a whole entity are involved and there is iteration of the same events. The use of the reciprocal suffix in depatientives is comparable to impersonal passives. What sets apart the depatientive from the other *-an-* derivations is the fact that they all keep their object referents as well as including them into their subjects. It is also clear that the situations that are encoded by the reciprocal derivational suffix are somehow related. In Citumbuka at the core of the semantic relations associated with the reciprocal suffix is plurality of participants and plurality of events. This chapter therefore concludes that the reciprocal suffix has multiple usages and that it is a pluractional suffix. Notable is the co-occurrence of the reciprocal marker and the stative marker to derive anticausatives in Citumbuka as we will see

later in the chapter. Note that anticausatives can also be derived by the reciprocal suffix alone.

5.2. The form of the reciprocal

The reciprocal derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-an-*. The suffix *–an-* is suffixed to a transitive base to derive reciprocal constructions. For illustration see examples below.

1. a Kalulu wa-ka-mu-temw-a cimbwe.
   1.hare 1.SM-Pst-1.OM-love-FV 1.hyena
   'The hare loved the hyena.'
   b Kalulu na cimbwe ŵa-ka-temw-an-a.
   1.hare with 1.hyena. 2.SM-Pst-love-FV
   The hare and the hyena loved one another.

Suffixation of *-an-* to the non-reciprocal verb stem, *temwa* 'love' in (1a) derives a reciprocal verb *temwana* 'love each other' in (1b). Therefore, the reciprocal suffix demotes the logical object (see 1b).

Cross-linguistically, there are six (extended) prototypical types of reciprocal marker polysemy and these are: reflexive-reciprocal, reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal, reflexive-reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal-sociative, iterative-reciprocal-reflexive (Geniušiene 2007:435). The typology of reciprocal marker polysemy identified with Citumbuka borders around iterative-reciprocal-sociative. Also marked by the reciprocal marker in Citumbuka is the distributive which is quite similar to the sociative (also called associative, collective) save for the fact that the participants in a distributive move to different directions. The derivations associated with *-an-* are all iterative, hence the iterative part in the typology. In the next section I discuss the prototypical reciprocal in Citumbuka.

5.3. Prototypical reciprocal

A prototypical reciprocal situation is one in which participants are in a mutual relationship such that the relationship in which participant A stands to participant B is the same as that in which participant B stands to participant A (Lichtenberk 1985). The participant roles of both participants are simultaneous or subsequent to each other. Simultaneous situations are illustrated in the following examples:

2. a Katola wa-ku-tinkh-a Chikulamayembe.
   1.Katola 1.SM-Pres-hate-FV 1.Chikulamayembe
   'Katola hates Chikulamayembe.'

b Katola na Chikulamayembe
1.Katola with 1.Chikulamayembe
ŵa-ku-tinkh-an-a.
2.SM-Pres-hate-Recip-FV
'Katola and Chikulamayembe hate each other.'

In the first example (2a) only the subject, Katola, hates the object, Chikulamayembe. In the second example (2b), both participants hate each other simultaneously, thus, each one of them is both hater and hated at the same time. Prototypical reciprocals have a detransitiving effect on an initially transitive construction. The logical subject is suppressed making the resulting construction syntactically intransitive but semantically transitive. In example (2a) the base verb takes two arguments, subject NP and object NP. In example (2b), the object NP has been suppressed.

Reciprocal constructions that encode reciprocal situations are generally categorized into three in Citumbuka: Reciprocal with a single plural NP, coordinated reciprocal and reciprocal with split co-participants/comitative reciprocal.

5.3.1. Single plural NP reciprocal

Reciprocals under this category have one plural noun in the subject position. This type is also called a simple reciprocal construction by Nedjalkov (2007). The participants usually have a shared identity, hence the possibility to lump them together. This is illustrated in the following Citumbuka examples:

3. Nkhaŵi zi-ku-timb-an-a.
10.bull 10.SM-Pres-hit-Recip-FV
'Bulls are fighting each other.'
4. Ŵapusi ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
2.baboon 2.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV
'Baboons love each other.'
5. Mbale z-a-dik-an-a.
10.plate 10.SM-Perf-cover-Recip-FV
'The plates are on top of each other.'

In example (3a), the subject NP is plural indicating that there are at least two bulls that are fighting each other. Each of the bulls is fighting another bull and being fought in turn. In (4a) the baboons love and are loved simultaneously. In (5a) one plate is placed on top of another plate which is on top of another plate and so on and so forth. In all the examples, the subject NPs show a shared identity of the participants involved.

5.3.2. Coordinated reciprocal

Cross-linguistically, languages that have a simple reciprocal construction also have the coordinate strategy of NP-conjunction (Maslova 2007). This means that if a language has simple reciprocal constructions, it is also able to derive coordinated reciprocal constructions as a strategy of deriving reciprocals with non-identical participants. In such type of reciprocal constructions, there are at least two participants preceding the verb which are usually not identical and are coordinated. The coordinated participants are mutually or subsequently involved in the reciprocal situation such that each one of them is acted upon and at the same time acts on another. Citumbuka fits into Maslova's (2007) descrption of reciprocals since it has both simple and coordinated reciprocal constructions. In chapter 2, it was concluded that the coordinator in coordinated reciprocal and in split cooparticipants reciprocal in Citumbuka is a preposition, *na*. Thus, the *na*-phrase in these reciprocals is a comitative phrase (that is, a PP). Thus, the coordinated reciprocal and spilit co-participant reciprocal may be called comitative reciprocals in Citumbuka. Below are some examples of coordinated reciprocals in which both subject NP and comitative phrase (PP) are preceding the verb.

6. a Masozi na Steria na Maria
   1.Masosi with 1.Steria with 1.Maria
   ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
   2.SM-Pres- love-Recip-FV
   'Masozi and Steria and Maria love each other.'
   b Mbuzi na nchewe zi-ku-dikizg-an-a.
   10.goat with 10.dog 10.SM-Pres-chase-Recip-FV
   'Goats and dogs are chasing each other.'

In (6a) above, there are three different participants, Masozi, Steria and Maria who love their friends and are loved at the same time. Subject agreement on the verb is actually marked by the plural class (class 2) of all the three participants. Although they are all singular, it is also possible to have plural nouns coordinated by the comitative *na*, for instance in example (6b) where both goats and dogs are in plural form. These coordinated plural nouns are viewed as collective single entities. The next type of reciprocal construction is another instance of a comitative reciprocal. Unlike in coordinated reciprocals discussed here, in split coparticipants one participant is the subject of the construction preceding the verb while the comitative phrase follows the verb (also see chapter 2, section 2.6.1).

5.3.3. Split co-participants

Participants of a reciprocal situation are split with one being in the subject position while the other is in the prepositional phrase following the verb. This type is also known as a comitative reciprocal construction. With this type, subject agreement on the verb is controlled by the gender of the subject NP or the plural form of the co-participants which may be class 2 for humans or class 8 for non-human from different noun classes. Below are some examples.

7. a John wa-ku-temw-a nchewe.
   1.John 1.SM-Pres-love-FV 9.dog
   'John loves the dog.'
   b John wa-ku-temw-an-a na nchewe.
   1.John 1.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 9.dog
   'John and the dog love each other.' (Lit.: 'John loves each other with the dog.')
   c Nchewe yi-ku-temw-an-a na John.
   9.dog 9.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV with 1.John
   'The dog and John love one another.'

In (7b) above one of the participants is a NP in the subject position while the other one is a PP. Agreement on the verb is in singular form and is controlled by the subject NP (see 7b and c). In comitative reciprocal, the prepositional phrase is required and hence the PP is an argument. When the PP is deleted the construction either has the reading of a deobjective/antipassive or it becomes ungrammatical. This is shown in the examples.

8. a Ngoza w-a-many-an-a na Masozi.
   1.Ngoza 1.SM-Perf-know-Recip-FV with 1.Masozi
   'Ngoza and Masozi have known each other.'
   b *Ngoza w-a-many-an-a.
   1.Ngoza 1.SM-Perf-know-Recip-FV
   'Ngoza has known with each other.'
9. a Mkhuzo wa-ku-b-il-an-a na Suzgo.
   1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Pres-steal-Appl-Recip-FV with 1.Suzgo
   'Mkhuzo and Suzgo steal from each other.'
   b Mkhuzo wa-ku-b-il-an-a.
   1.Mkhuzo 1.SM-Pres-steal-Appl-Recip-FV
   (i) *'Mkhuzo steals from each other.'
   (ii) 'Mkhuzo steals.'

Note that depatientives (see section 5.5.1) are associated with imperfective aspect, so a depatientive reading is not possible for (8b). In addition to the reciprocal use discussed above, the suffix *-an-* also derives other construc-

tions that are related to reciprocals in one way or another. They are discussed in the following section.

5.3.4. Sequential reciprocal

In sequential reciprocal situations the relationship is symmetric, not simultaneous. Participants perform identical roles in turns such that in one turn one is an agent while in another turn he becomes a patient or a beneficiary in the case of agent-beneficiary roles. The participant roles are identical but change with each new turn while participants remain unchanged. Examples below illustrate this.

10. a Msungwana ŵa-ku-pony-el-a msungwana
1.girl 1.SM-Pres-throw-Appl-FV 1.girl
bola.
5.ball
'A girl is throwing a ball at another girl.'
b Ŵasungwana ŵa-ku-pony-el-an-a bola.
2.girl 2.SM-Pres-throw-Appl-Recip-FV 5.ball
'Girls are throwing a ball at each other.'

11. a Maria wa-ku-end-el-a Eliza.
1.Maria 1.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-FV 1.Eliza
'Maria visits Eliza.'
b Maria na Eliza ŵa-kw-end-el-an-a.
1.Maria with 1.Eliza 2.SM-Pres-walk-Appl-Recip-FV
'Maria and Eliza visit each other.'

In (10b) which is derived from (10a), girls take turns to throw and receive the ball such that at one point one of them is an agent throwing the ball while at another turn she becomes the recipient of the ball and this also applies to the other girl(s) who also become recipient at one turn and an agent at a subsequent turn. In (11b) at one turn, Maria is the one paying the visit while at the subsequent turn she is the beneficiary of Eliza's visit. The visits are not taking place simultaneously, but one after another. At each turn, participants remain the same but change their roles. Thus, the reciprocal situation itself is symmetric, which is not the case with chain reciprocals discussed in the next section.

5.3.5. Chain reciprocal

Chain reciprocal is a+ situation in which participants are involved symmetrically but not reciprocally (Bril 2007:1500-1501). In a chain reciprocal typology, participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, B stands in the same relation to C, C to D (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000). The actions are performed consecutively or successively, one after another (Moyse-Faurie

2007). Thus, chain reciprocals are not simultaneous. The reciprocal suffix *-an-* also derives chain reciprocals in Citumbuka as we can see in examples below.

12. a Nchewe yi-ku-dikizg-a nchewe.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-chase-FV 9.dog
'A dog is chasing a dog.'
b Nchewe zi-ku-dikizg-an-a.
10.dog 10.SM-Pres-chase-Recip-FV
'Dogs are chasing each other.'

13. a Masozi wa-ku-londozg-a Anna.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Pres-follow.Caus$_2$-FV 1.Anna
'Masozi is following Anna.'
b Wanthu wa-ku-londozg-an-a.
1.Masozi 2.SM-Pres-follow.Caus$_2$-Recip-FV
'People are walking one after another'

In example (12b) there are at least three dogs, dog A running after dog B, and B running after C but not C running after B or B running after A. This also applies to example (13b) in which one person walks after another in such a way that A walks after B, B after C, C after D and so on and so forth. The relation of participants in (12b) and (13b) is successive, one after another while the same action is repeated up to the last participant.

5.4. Polysemy of the suffix *-an-*

Plurality of participants and iteration is at the centre of the reciprocal marker polysemy in Citumbuka. In iterative situations, "the action is performed several times (again and again) by one or more participants" (Moyse-Faurie 2007:1531). Iterative situations are generally associated with plurality of actions. Extended use of the reciprocal marker is also attested in various other Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003). Dom (Forthcoming) discusses the polysemy of the reciprocal suffix in Kikongo. In this section, I discuss the polysemy of the reciprocal marker in Citumbuka.

5.4.1. Depatientive /deobjective/antipassive

Lichtenberk (2000) describes a depatientive sentence as one in which the endpoint is generic or back-grounded. According to Kulikov (2011) depatientives involve demotion of the initial direct object in which the object may be completely removed or downgraded to the oblique position. Depatientives are also known as antipassive because they mirror the passive (Polinsky 2013, Kulikov 2011). The implied direct object in a depatientive is general, nonspecific and the situation encoded is habitual, general, and iterative (Lichtenberk 1985, 2000). The description above is characteristic

of one of the constructions derived by the reciprocal suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka as we can see in the following examples.

14. a Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a ŵana yayi lero.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 2.child Neg nowadays
'The teacher does not hit children these days.'
b Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-an-a yayi lero.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pres-hit-Recip-FV Neg nowadays
'The teacher does not hit these days.'
c *Msambizgi wa-ka-timb-an-a yayi mayilo.
1.teacher 1.SM-Pst-hit-Recip-FV Neg yesterday
'The teacher did not hit yesterday.'

15. a Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-kom-a ŵanthu madazi ghano.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-kill- FV 2.person 6.day 6.these
'People kill people these days.'
b Ŵanthu ŵa-ku-kom-an-a madazi ghano.
2.person 2.SM-Pres-kill-Recip-FV 6.day 6.these
'People kill these days.'
c Ŵanthu ŵ-a-kom-an-a.
2.person 2.SM-Perf-kill-Recip-FV
(i) People have killed each other.'
(ii) *'People have killed.'

16. a.Temwa wa-ku-khuŵal-a mu-malundi gha
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-stumble-FV 18-6.leg 6.of
Masozi.
1.Masozi
'Temwa is stumbling on the feet of Masozi.'
b Temwa wa-ku-khuŵal-an-a mu-malundi.
1.Temwa 1.SM-Pres-stumble-Recip-FV 18-6.leg
'Temwa is stumbling on feet.'

17. a Cidongo wa-ka-timb-ang-a Temwani.
1.Cidongo 1.SM-Pst-beat-Imperf-FV 1.Temwani
'Cidongo used to hit Temwani.'
b Cidongo wa-ka-timb-an-ang-a.
1Cidongo 1SM-Pst-beat-Recip-Imperf-FV
'Cidongo used to hit.'
c *Cidongo wa-ka-timb-an-a kamoza
1.Cidongo 1SM-Pst-beat-Recip-Imperf-FV once
pela.
only
'Cidongo hit only once.'

18. a Nchewe yi-ku-ly-a nyama ya Yohane.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-eat-FV 9.animal of 1.Yohane
'A dog is eating Yohane's meat.'

b Nchewe yi-ku-ly-el-an-a nyama.
9.dog 9.SM-Pres-eat-Appl-Recip-FV 9.meat
'The dog steals meat.'

c *Nchewe yi-ka-ly-el-an-a nyama.
9.dog 9.SM-Pst-eat-Appl-Recip-FV 9.meat
'The dog stole meat.'

19. a Nya-jere wa-ku-nen-a wana.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pres-say-FV 2.child
'Ms. Jere insults children.'

b Nya-jere wa-ku-nen-an-a.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pres-say-Recip-FV.
'Ms. Jere insults.'

c *Nya-jere wa-ka-nen-an-a kamoza pela.
1.Ms.-Jere 1.SM-Pst-say-Recip-FV once only.
'Ms. Jere insulted only once.'

There are two types of antipassive constructions, the implicit argument type and the oblique complement (Polinsky 2013). In the implicit type the direct object is entirely removed from the syntactic structure while the oblique complement type the direct object is downgraded down to the oblique object (Kulikov 2011:380). The preceding examples show that in Citumbuka, the object is removed from the syntactic structure but it remains implicit semantically. For instance in example (16b), the antipassive construction does not have an object, but the object is implied in the sense that it is interpreted as stumbling on the feet of a person. Thus, Citumbuka has an implicit argument type of antipassive. The implied object is general/or non-specific. The examples also show that in Citumbuka the antipassive is associated with imperfective aspect and repetition such that when the suffix *-an-* is attached to verbs with perfective aspect (see the c examples) the result is ungrammatical or they change meaning to prototypical reciprocal if the subject is plural (15c). The situations encoded by the sentences in the preceding examples are habitual, general, and iterative. For instance, (15b) is a general situation. Example (16b) is an iterative situation, in which the agent keeps on stumbling on an implied object. In fact all the examples express iterative situations. Examples (17b, 15b, 16b) express habitual situations, for instance, the dog in (18b) has a habit of stealing while in (19b) Ms. Jere has a habit of insulting. Habitual situations are further marked with imperfective aspect through the continuous tense marker *-ku-* and the imperfective marker *-ang-*. Antipassive/reciprocal polysemy is not unique to Citumbuka among Bantu languages. Dom, Bostoen and Segerer (2015) discuss the antipassive/associative polysemy in Ciluba (L31) while Bostoen, Dom and Segerer (2015b) discusses the nature of Bantu antipassive constructions using data from several Bantu languages such as Kirundi,Ciluba and Kinyarwanda.

5.4.2. Anticausative

The anticausative deletes the initial subject, an agent, from the syntactic structure while promoting the initial object to the subject (Kulikov 2011: 392). In Citumbuka, the reciprocal suffix *-an-* is also used to derive anticausatives. In some cases, the suffix *-an-* co-occurs with the suffix *-ik-* to derive anticausative constructions. Refer to section 4.6.1 where we saw that the suffix *-ik-* is also used to derive stative/anticausative in Citumbuka. Below are some examples of anticausatives derived with the suffix *-an-* from Citumbuka.

20. a Ŵana ŵ-a-mang-a cingwe.
    2.child 2.SM-Perf-tie-FV 7.rope
    'Children have tied a rope.'
  b Cingwe c-a-mang-an-a.
    7.rope 7.SM-Perf-tie-Recip-FV
    'The rope is entangled.'
  c Cingwe c-a-mang-ik-an-a.
    7.rope 7.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-Recip-FV
    'The rope is entangled.'

21. a Moses w-a-gaŵ-a maji pakati.
    1.Moses 1.SM-Perf-divide-FV 6.water half
    'Moses has divided the water into half.'
  b Maji gha-ka-gaŵ-ik-an-a pakati.
    6.water 6.SM-Pst-divide-Pass-Recip-FV half
    'The water divided up into two.'
  c Maji gha-ka-gaŵ-an-a pakati.
    6.water 6.SM-Pst-divide-Recip-FV half
    'The water divided up into two.'

22. a Mulimi wa-ka-sazg-a nchunga na vingoma.
    1.farmer 1.SM-Pst-add-FV 10.bean with 8.maize
    'The farmer mixed beans with maize.'
  b Nchunga zi-ka-sazg-ik-an-a na vingoma.
    10.beans 10.SM-Pst-add-Pass-Recip-FV with 8.maize
    'Beans got mixed with maize.'
  c Nchunga zi-ka-sazg-an-a na vingoma.
    10.beans 10.SM-Pst-add-Recip-FV with 8.maize
    'Beans got mixed with maize.'

23. a Ng'anga yi-ka-zing-a njoka.
    1.witchdoctor 1.SM-Pst-coil-FV 9.snake
    'A witchdoctor coiled a snake.'
  b Njoka yi-ka-zing-an-a.
    9snake 9SM-Pst-coil-Recip-FV
    'A snake coiled up.'

c *Njoka yi-ka-zing-ik-an-a.
9snake 9SM-Pst-coil-Pass-Recip-FV
'A snake coiled up.'

24. a Masozi w-a-mang-a wuzu.
1.Masozi 1.SM-Perf-tie-FV 14.thread
'Masozi has tied a piece of thread.'

b Wuzu w-ane w-a-mang-ik-an-a.
14.thread 14-mine 14.SM-Perf-tie-Pass-Recip-FV
'My thread is entangled.'

c Wuzu w-ane w-a-mang-an-a.
14.thread 14-mine 14.SM-Perf-tie-Recip-FV
'My thread is entangled.'

In anticausative constructions, the agent is deleted while the initial direct object is promoted to the subject position (20b, c; 21b, c; 22b, c; 23b; and 24b,c). Unlike in a passive, the deleted agent in an anticausative is not implied, but rather the activity comes about spontaneously (see Kulikov 2011, Comrie 1985). This is the case in the preceding examples. For instance in (20b), an agent that caused the rope to entangle is neither expressed nor implied. The same applies to (21b) where an agent causing the division of water is also lacking and (22b) where what or who mixed the beans with maize is lacking as well. According to Nedjalkov (2007), reciprocal anticausatives are also attested in Turkic languages like Tuvan, Yakut and Kirgiz. In example (21b) what caused the snake to coil up is unknown. The same applies to (22b). They are also attested in Bantu languages, such as Kiswahili, Tswana, and Shambala (Maslova 2007). In (23b) several parts of the snake coiled up on other parts and this involves repetition. In (20a) several parts of one long piece of rope are tangled, one piece on another and so on and so forth that sometimes it even becomes difficult to trace the source or starting point of the tangle. Thus, different parts of a whole relate to each other as in parts of a snake coiling and touching other parts or different parts of a rope each tied to other parts and in so doing there is multiplicity of events and repetition of the same events.

Notable among the examples above is the possibility of having anticausative formation through attachment of either the reciprocal suffix only, or a combination of the reciprocal suffix and the stative (or anticausative) suffix in Citumbuka. We also know from chapter 4 (section 4.6.1) that the stative suffix *-ik-* alone also derives a construction identical to the anticausative construction, the stative, when attached to a verb. In Citumbuka, there is no difference in meaning between the anticausative constructions with a combination of both *-ik-* and *-an-* and those with *-an-* only. Example (20c and d) shows that not every verb allows for the combination of *-ik-* and *-an-*, and (20c) does not allow (anticausative) derivation through suffixation of *-ik-*. This may suggest that *-ik-* and *-an-* combination apply only to verbs

that allow *-ik-* derivation of anticausative constructions, but this is subject to further investigation.

5.4.3. Associative/collective situations

According to Kemmer (1996) situations whereby marked collectives are often also reciprocal markers are a widespread phenomenon. Lichtenberk (1985, 2000) and Kemmer (1996) describe the collective as a situation in which two or more participants are jointly involved in identical roles. Collectives are differentiated from reciprocals in that in collective situations participants do not act upon each other but are just companions despite the fact that both situations involve identical participant roles. Therefore, collective situations involve cooperation and companionship, with all participants converging or going the same direction. Collective situations involve at least two participants. Below are examples of collectives in Citumbuka.

25. a Ŵawukilano ŵ-a-zul-a muchalichi.
2.youth 2.SM-Perf-be.full-FV 18.church
'The church is full of youths.'
b Ŵawukilano ŵ-a-zul-an-a muchalichi.
2.youth 1.SM-Perf-be.full-Recip-FV 18.church
'The youth have filled up the church'

26. Jere na mkweni ŵa-ku-ly-el-an-a.
1.Jere with 1.son-in-law 2.SM-Pres-eat-Appl-Recip-FV
'Jere and his son-in-law eat together'

In example (25a) participants are involved in two roles, each sitting or standing and at the same time contributing in filling up the room. In (26a) Jere and his son-in-law are each involved in eating and at the same time being companion to one another. Lexical reciprocals may also be used in constructions that encode associative situations in Citumbuka. This is particularly the case with verbs of meeting and gathering and thus, lexicalization as we can see in the examples below.

27. Tuyuni tu-a-wungan-a paufu.
13.bird 13.SM-Perf-gather-FV 16-14.flour
'Birds have gathered together on the flour'

28. Mathemba gha-ku-kuman-a pa Kaphirithemba.
6.chief 6.SM-Pres-meet-FV at 1.Kaphirithemba
'Chiefs meet together at Kaphirithemba.'

29. Ŵanthu ŵ-a-sonkh-an-a pa-ciŵanja.
2.person 2.SM-Perf-contribute-Recip-FV 16-7.airport
'People have gathered (together) at the airport.'

The verb *kumana* in (28a) is a lexical reciprocal verb. In (29a) the participants are in a joint action of gathering together.

5.4.4. Distributive

Distributive situations are situations where an overall event comprises plurality of localities or different directions (Lichtenberk 2000). Distributed situations can be dispersive, reversive (back and forth), or diversative. Dispersive situations involve plurality of localities whereby different identical roles take place at the same time in different locations. Examples below illustrate dispersive situations derived by the reciprocal suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka.

30. Njuci zi-ku-cunkh-an-a.
    10.bee 10.SM-Pres-flee-Recip-FV
    'Bees are flying in all directions.'
31. Mulatho w-a-lek-an-a.
    3.bridge 3.SM-Perf-leave-Recip-FV
    'The bridge has fallen apart.'
32. a Nchewe zi-ku-guz-a bulangeti.
      10.dog 10.SM-Pres-pull-FV 5.blanket
      'Dogs are pulling a blanket.'
    b Nchewe zi-ku-guz-an-a bulangeti.
      10.dog 10.SM-Pres-pull-Recip-FV 5.blanket
      'Dogs are pulling a blanket apart.'
33. Cingwe ci-ka-dum-uk-an-a.
    7.rope7.SM-Pst-cut-Revers-Recip-FV
    'The rope cut into pieces.'

In (30a) the bees are flying from one source going to different directions. With each single bee flying away the action of flying from a single source is being repeated again and again. In (32b) the blanket is being pulled at back and forth by the dogs. In (31a) the falling apart of the bridge involves different parts or locations of the bridge. Diversatives involve plurality of directions in which different participants move from the same source to different directions. Thus, apart from being used to derive reciprocals, the suffix *-an-* in Citumbuka can also be used to derive the following constructions: anticausatives, depatientives/antipassive/deobjective, associative/collectives and distributives. At the centre of the reciprocal derivational suffix is iteration, plurality of participants and events.

5.5. Reciprocal derivation and transitivity

The reciprocal suffix only attaches to transitive and labile verbs in Citumbuka. With labile verbs, only their transitive use allow for attachment of the reciprocal suffix, *-an-*. This is discussed in the following sections.

5.5.1. Monotransitive base

Mono-transitive verbs become syntactically intransitive when the reciprocal suffix is attached. Examples below illustrate this.

34. a Ciuta wa-ku-mu-temw-a munthu.
1.God 1SM-Pres-1.OM-love-FV 1.person
'God loves people.'
b Ciuta na munthu ŵa-ku-temw-an-a.
1.God with 1.person 2.SM-Pres-love-Recip-FV
'God and man love each other.'

35. a Mwana wa-ku-mu-tumbik-a msambizgi.
1.child 1.SM-Pres-OM-respect-FV 1.teacher
'The child respects the teacher.'
b Msambizgi na mwana ŵa-ku-tumbik-an-a.
1.teacher with 1.child 2.SM-Pres-respect-Recip-FV
'The teacher and the child respect each other.'

5.5.2. Ambitransitive/labile

In Citumbuka, there are some verbs which can be used both intransitively and transitively. When these ambitransitive verbs are used transitively, they permit suffixation of the reciprocal suffix, *-an-*. See examples of ambitransitive verbs in the table below:

Table 4.1: Ambitransitive bases

Intransitive use	**English gloss**	**Transitive use**	**English gloss**
lila	cry	lila munthu	regret for letting go of someone or something, mourn for someone
jumpha	pass by	jumpha munthu	pass someone
seka	laugh	seka munthu	laugh at someone
gona	sleep	gona munthu	make love to someone
yenda	walk	yenda munthu pasi	trick someone

Ambitransitive bases only allow suffixation of *-an-* when they are used transitively as we can see the following examples:

36. a Salome wa-ku-sek-a.
1.Salome 1.SM-Pres-laugh-FV
'Salome is laughing.'
b Salome wa-ku-sek-a Kwangu.
1.Salome 1.SM-Pres-laugh-FV 1.Kwangu
'Salome is laughing at Kwangu.'
c Salome na Kwangu ŵa-ku-sek-an-a.
1.Salome with 1.Kwangu 2.SM-Pres-laugh-Recip-FV
'Salome and Kwangu are laughing at each other.'

37. a Galimoto y-a-jumph-a (pa-msewu).
9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-pass-FV 16-3.road
'A vehicle has passed by on the road.'
b Galimoto y-a-jumph-a galimoto pa-msewu.
9.vehicle 9.SM-Perf-pass-FV 9.vehicle 16-3.road
'A car has passed another car on the road.'
c Galimoto z-a-jumph-an-a (pa-msewu).
10.vehicle 10.SM-Perf-pass-Recip-FV 16-3.road
'The vehicles have passed by each other on the road.'

5.5.3. Ditransitive base

When the reciprocal extension is suffixed to a ditransitive verb, the recipient argument is demoted and becomes a non-core argument. The derived construction is transitive. The theme argument is also non-core as it can neither take OM nor passivize. This is illustrated in the examples below.

38. a Msonda wa-ka-tum-a Ngwira kalata.
1.Msonda 1.SM-Pst-send-FV 1.Ngwira 9.letter
'Msonda sent Ngwira a letter.'

b Msonda na Ngwira ŵa-ka-tum-an-a
1.Msonda with 1.Ngwira 1.SM-Pst-send-Recip-FV
makalata.
6.letter
'Msonda and Ngwira sent each other letters.'

c *Msonda na Ngwira ŵa-ka-**gha**-tum-an-a
1.Msonda with 1.Ngwira 1.SM-Pst-OM-send-Recip-FV
makalata.
6.letter
'Msonda and Ngwira sent each other letters.'

d *Makalata gha-ka-tum-an-ik-a na Msonda
6.letter 6.SM-Pst-send-Recip-Pass-FV with 1.Msonda
na Ngwira.
with 1.Ngwira
'Letters were sent to each other by Msonda and Ngwira.'

39. a Mwana wa-ka-p-a mwana skapato.
1.child 1.SM-Pst-give-FV 1.child 10.shoe
'A child gave a child shoes.'

b Ŵana ŵa-ka-p-an-a skapato.
1.child 2.SM-Pst-give-Recip-FV 10.shoe
'Children gave each other shoes.'

c *Ŵana ŵa-ka-**zi**-p-an-a skapato.
1.child 2.SM-Pst-OM-give-Recip-FV 10.shoe
'Children gave each other shoes.'

d *Skapato zi-ka-p-an-ik-a na ŵana.
10.shoe 10.SM-Pst-give-Recip-Pass-FV with 2.child
'Shoes were given to each other by children.'

The preceding examples show that in Citumbuka, when the reciprocal suffix is suffixed to a ditransitive base, the recipient is demoted. However, the recipient is connected to the subject (38b and 39b). In example (39a), suffixation of *-an-* to the base verb *-p-* 'give' which is ditransitive derives example (39b) which is transitive in the sense that it needs a non-core argument. These semi-transitive reciprocal constructions derived from a ditransitive base are the ones Vail (1972) refers to as the category of reciprocals with an obligatory object NP. In fact, the theme NP is not an object but a non-core (oblique) argument. The reciprocal demotes the recipient object and removes it from the syntactic structure while the theme remains an oblique argument as it can neither take OM nor passivize.

5.5.4. Reciprocals derived from an applicative base

Derivation of an applicative construction involves increase of the valence of the base verb by one. To this effect an intransitive base becomes transitive under applicative derivation. Under reciprocalization the transitive applicative becomes intransitive again when the applied object is demoted in (40c) below.

40. a Teleza wa-ka-w-a.
1.Teleza 1.SM-Pst-fall-FV
'Teleza fell down.'
b Teleza wa-ka-w-il-a Maria.
1.Teleza 1.SM-Pst-fall-Appl-FV 1.Maria
'Teleza fell on Maria.'
c Teleza na Maria ŵa-ka-w-il-an-a.
1.Teleza with 1.Maria 2.SM-Pst-fall-Appl-Recip-FV
(i) 'Teleza and Maria fell on each other.'
(ii) 'Teleza and Maria fell down for each other.'

When the base is monotransitive, it becomes ditransitive with the suffixation of an applicative suffix. It becomes monotransitive again when the reciprocal suffix is attached. Again, the applied object is suppressed while the remaining non-subject NP, the theme remains a non-core argument. The theme being a non-core argument, it cannot take OM. Below are some examples.

41. a Mwanakazi wa-ku-phik-a somba.
1.woman 1SM-Pres-cook-FV 10.fish
'A woman is cooking fish.'
b Mwanakazi wa-ku-phik-il-a muzukulu somba.
1.woman 1.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-FV 1.grandchild 10.fish
'A woman is cooking fish for her grandchild.'
c Mwanakazi na mwana ŵa-ku-phik-il-an-a
1.woman with 1.child 2.SM-Pres-cook-Appl-Recip-FV
somba.
10.fish
'A woman and her grandchild are cooking fish for each other.'
d *Mwanakazi na mwana
1.woman with 1.child
ŵa-ku-**zi**-phik-il-an-a somba.
2.SM-Pres-10.OM-cook-Appl-Recip-FV 10.fish
'A woman and her grandchild are cooking fish for each other.'

In the preceding examples, it is the beneficiary object that can reciprocalize. The theme becomes a non-core argument and thus it cannot take OM (41b).

In instrumental and locative applicative, however, it is the base object that can reciprocalize and not the instrument or the locative. Below are examples of reciprocals derived from instrumental and locative applicative bases.

42. a Sellina wa-ku-timb-a munkhungu.
1.Sellina 1.SM-Pres-hit-FV 1.thief
'Sellina is hitting a thief.'

b Sellina wa-ku-mu-timb-il-a ndodo munkhungu.
1.Sellina 1.SM-Pres-OM-hit-Appl-FV 9.stick 1.thief
'Sellina is hitting the thief with a stick.'

c Sellina na munkhungu
1.Sellina with 1.thief
ŵaku-timb-il-an-a ndodo.
2.SM-Pres-hit-Appl-Recip-FV 10.stick
'Sellina and the thief are hitting each other with sticks.'

d *Sellina na ndodo ŵa-ku-timb-il-an-a
1.Sellina with 9.stick 2.SM-Pres-hit-Appl-Recip-FV
munkhungu.
1.thief
'*Sellina and stick are hitting each other the thief.'

43. a Lusekelo wa-ka-timb-a Suzgo.
1.Lusekelo 1.SM-Pst-hit-FV 1.Suzgo
'Lusekelo hit Suzgo.'

b Lusekelo wa-ka-mu-timb-il-a pa msika
1.Lusekelo 1.SM-Pst-OM-hit-Appl-FV 16.at 3.market
Suzgo.
1.Suzgo
'Lusekelo hit Suzgo at the market.'

c Lusekelo na Suzgo ŵa-ka-timb-il-an-a
1.Lusekelo with 1.Suzgo 2.SM-Pst-hit-Appl-Recip-FV
pa msika.
16.at 3.market
'Lusekelo and suzgo hit each other at the market.'

d *Lusekelo na pa msika
1.Lusekelo with at 3.market
ŵa-ka-timb-il-an-a Suzgo.
2.SM-Psthit-Appl-Recip-FV 1.Suzgo
'*Suzgo and at the market hit each other Suzgo.'

The instrument and locative objects fail to reciprocalize as we can see in examples (42d) and (43d) above. This is because the participants that react on each other in the reciprocal should be comparable. Thus, in beneficiary applicatives, the AO is a potential agent while in instrumental and locative applicatives, the AO is not an agent and therefore cannot be in a mutual relationship with an individual. Examples (42c) and (43c) the AOs are de-

moted objects, but still input for the reciprocal. This suggests that the reciprocal is not reducing the verb valency or put it differently, the reciprocal is not taking away the object in locative and instrumental applicatives.

5.5.5. Reciprocals derived from causatives

Reciprocalization of a causative ditransitive construction demotes the causee while the theme remains a non-core argument. The demoted causee is demoted to the non-core argument. Since in Citumbuka the theme is a non-core argument, it cannot to take OM as we can see in the examples below.

44. a. Muliska wa-ku-mw-a vinyo.
1.herdsman 1.SM-Pres-drink-FV wine
'The herdsman is drinking wine.'

b Sothini wa-ku-**mu**-mw-esk-a vinyo muliska.
1.Sothini 1.SM-Pres-OM-drink-Caus$_3$-FV wine 1.herdsman
'Sothini makes the herdsman drink wine.'

c Sothini na muliska
1.Sothini with 1.herdsman
ŵa-ku-mw-esk-an-a vinyo.
1.SM-Pres-drink-Caus$_3$-Recip-FV 3.wine
'Sothini and the herdsman make each other drink wine.'

d *Sothini na muliska
1.Sothini with 1.herdsman
ŵa-ku-**mu**-mw-esk-an-a vinyo.
1.SM-Pres-3.OM-drink-Caus$_3$-Recip-FV 3.wine
'Sothini and the herdsman make each other drink wine.'

Suffixation of the reciprocal suffix to the causative verb stem *mweska* makes it become a monotransitive as in (44c) above which is derived from (44b). The suffixation of *-an-* also deletes the object marker on the verb. The causative renders the causee become an object. The new subject is a causer and hence an agent. The causee is mostly an agent and thus the two constituents refer to comparable constituents.

5.6. Summary and conclusion

The reciprocal derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-an-*. The suffix is used not only to derive reciprocal situations, but also related non-reciprocal situations such as depatientives, anticausatives, collective/associative situations, and distributed situations. Constructions derived by the suffix *-an-* are all pluractional and iterative. De-objectives/depatientives delete the patient/object while anticausatives delete the agent. We have also seen that the suffix -an- only attaches to transitive verb stems. We have seen that deobjectives take the object away but not semantically, the others keep the referent of the object too, but include it into the subject. And this "object"

need not only be strictly speaking a true syntactic object as long as it is a potential agent (see chapter 6 on demoted objects of the applicative. Thus, the suffix *-an-* is associated with plurality of participants and plurality of events.