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Koen Bostoen, Sebastian Dom, Guillaume Segerer

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Koen Bostoen[1,2], Sebastian Dom[1] and Guillaume Segerer[3]

[1] KongoKing Research Group, Department of Languages and Cultures,
Ghent University, Belgium
[2] Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium
[3] LLACAN (CNRS – INALCO), Villejuif, France

Abstract

The antipassive, an object-demoting diathesis commonly associated with ergative languages, has so far largely gone unnoticed in Bantu languages, which are of the accusative type. In this article, comparative evidence is raised to demonstrate that the antipassive is a voice construction to be reckoned with in Bantu. A robust typology of Bantu voice constructions is developed on the basis of the scarce data available in the literature. This evidence is reinterpreted in the light of original data from a number of Bantu languages, such as Cilubà and Kirundi, which were the subject of a more in-depth analysis. It is shown how the antipassive generally developed as a specific reading of the highly polysemous verb suffix *-an-*, which is more commonly used as a reciprocal/associative marker. These and other functions can be accounted for by the underlying notion of 'plurality of relations', which is characterized by a low degree of participant/event elaboration. From a syntactic point of view, it is argued that the development of antipassives out of plurality constructions results from the gradual demotion of the second participant of a co-participative event.

Keywords: Bantu, voice, derivation, antipassive, reciprocal, associative, sociative, habitual, interative

1. Introduction[1]

Bantu languages are well known for having several valency-changing derivational suffixes. The most common, such as the causative, the applicative, the associative/reciprocal, the passive and different kinds of middle markers, have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Schadeberg 2003: 72). The antipassive, which is intimately linked with ergative languages (Cooreman 1994; Creissels 2006: 12; Dixon 1994: 17; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 10; Kulikov 2011: 281), is not one of them. Although its occurrence in accusative languages has received recent attention (Janic 2013), this voice construction has rarely been reported in Bantu languages, which manifest such alignment. Some rare exceptions notwithstanding (Dom et al. forthcoming; Ndayiragije 2006; Nedjalkov 2007b), Bantu linguists generally ignore it in the languages they attempt to describe. This object-demoting diathesis is therefore commonly believed not to exist in Bantu. The WALS map presented by Polinsky (2011) is telling in this regard: the only six Bantu languages covered are all marked "no antipassive". These languages happen not to be representative of the Bantu family as a whole, since the antipassive is a voice construction to be reckoned with in Bantu, as we argue here. The central

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aim of this article is to establish the antipassive as a common Bantu grammatical category in hopes that Bantu linguists will pay more attention to this voice construction. It does exist, but often went unnoticed for different reasons. First, it was reported under another name and described superficially. Second, Bantu languages rarely have a dedicated marker of antipassivity. Third, if they have one, it is a marker that is known to be a dedicated marker of reciprocity in other Bantu languages. Authors therefore tend to provide negative evidence for the fact that it is not a reciprocal marker any longer.

In this article, we show that the antipassive occurs in geographically distant Bantu languages, but always has the same semantic origin. It emerges as a specific instantiation of the 'sociative-reciprocal' category, as is the case in other languages of the world (Nedjalkov 2007b: 296-298). What is more, it is commonly associated – no doubt through convergent semantic evolution – with the derivational suffix *-an-. This widespread extension has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as associative/reciprocal marker (Schadeberg 2003: 72), but is notoriously polysemic (Dammann 1954; Maslova 2007; Mugane 1999). We argue that the notion of 'plurality of relations', as developed by Lichtenberk (2000: 34), allows to account for the semantic extension or shift from prototypically associative meanings involving both plurality of participants and events to meanings rather uniquely pertaining to plurality of events, such as the iterative, intensive and habitual. In the case of the antipassive, it is rather the plurality of participants itself which is semantically reduced by making the patient in a canonically transitive construction less prominent, nay implicit. Syntactically speaking, the 'depatientive' function of the antipassive in Bantu is obtained through the deletion of the demoted second participant in discontinuous reciprocal constructions, which are pervasive in Bantu.

In Section 2, we present an overview of what we consider to be antipassive constructions in Bantu. This survey is based on a large sample of nearly 200 studies covering about 165 different languages. We start out with the most clear-cut cases from which we extrapolate to a number of cases which are more ambiguous due to a lack of good descriptive data. In section 3, we discuss the diversity of meanings expressed by the Proto-Bantu associative/reciprocal marker *-an- across Bantu and how the antipassive evolved from this polysemy through the underlying notion of 'plurality of relations' as proposed by Lichtenberk (2000: 34). In section 4, we argue that the antipassive reading of *-an- is to be induced through the progressive syntactic demotion of the second participant in reciprocal constructions. Conclusions are presented in section 5.

2. Bantu antipassive constructions

The antipassive is a diathesis in which the object of a transitive verb becomes oblique or is omitted, and the verb is grammatically derived (Polinsky 2011). It is an object-demoting diathesis producing an effect opposite to that of a passive (Kulikov 2011: 380), which is canonically subject-demoting and/or object-promoting. According to Dixon (1994: 146), a voice construction must meet the following four conditions to be considered antipassive: (i) it is a detransitivized construction; (ii) the subject of the antipassive corresponds to the subject of the underlying active clause; (iii) the object of the base verb either goes into an oblique function, being treated as a non-core argument, or is omitted; (iv) there is some overt, formal marking signaling an antipassive derivation. Dom *et al.* (forthcoming) describe the Cilubà (L31a)[2] sentence in (1a) as an antipassive construction fulfilling all four criteria. The primary

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[2] The codes accompanying language names in this paper refer to those which were assigned to these languages in Guthrie's (updated) referential classification of the Bantu languages (Guthrie 1971; Maho 2009).

transitive verb -*lwa* 'to fight' has been syntactically detransitivized in (1a) through -*angan*-, a derivational verb suffix that is compound from a historical standpoint, but semantically non-compositional from a synchronic standpoint. Such a derived verb can no longer take an object as in the active voice construction in (1b). Because of this obligatory omission of the object, the Cilubà antipassive is to be considered a 'patientless antipassive' (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 10) or an antipassive of the implicit argument type (Polinsky 2011), also known as 'absolute transitive', 'object suppressive', or 'de-objective' (Kulikov 2011: 380).

(1) a.　Mù-sàlaayì　u-di　　ù-lu-angan-a　　　mu　　ci-alu　　　　(CILUBA)
　　　　NP_1-soldier　PP_1-PRS　SC_1-fight-ANTIP-FV　　LOC_{18}　NP_7-meeting.place
　　　　cì-à　　　　m-vità…
　　　　PP_7-CON　　NP_{1n}-war
　　　　'The soldier who is fighting (someone) on the battlefield …'
　　b.　Mù-sàlaayì　u-di　　ù-lu-a　　　　mu-lwishì.
　　　　NP_1-soldier　PP_1-be　SC_1-fight-FV　　NP_1-enemy
　　　　'The soldier who is fighting the enemy.'

The antipassive had never been identified in Cilubà, but earlier authors had described uses of -*angan*- that hinted at its antipassive function As early as the 20th century, Morisson (1906: 99) reports that -*angan*- "conveys the idea that the action of the original word is carried on mutually by two or more persons or things with reference to one another", but adds a footnote stating that "[s]ometimes this suffix **-angana** is used to express custom or habit; as **mbua udi usumangana**, *the dog bites*" (bold and italics in original). The reference to such non-punctual situations occurring for a longer period of time and affecting a non-identifiable patient is one of the typical semantic/pragmatic reasons for which the antipassive is used in Cilubà. Kabuta and Schiffer (2009: 109) describe one of the functions of -*angan*- as indicating that the action is oriented to someone else. This is not adequate definition of the antipassive, but does suggest it, if one takes into account the suffix' detransitivizing character.

Such covert references to the antipassive are found in many more grammars of Bantu languages, especially in association with the reciprocal/associative suffix -*an*-. Although Cilubà is atypical in the sense that it is the only Bantu language where the historically compound reciprocal suffix -*angan*- became an antipassive marker, it can still serve as a model for identifying the antipassive as a specific instantiation of the reciprocal/associative category. Thanks to the detailed account of the antipassive in Cilubà, we can more confidently interpret similar uses of the -*an*- suffix as true instances of antipassivity. In this section, we develop a Bantu antipassive typology based on available grammatical descriptions. In all cases where it is possible to recognize an antipassive construction, it emerges from a specific use of the Proto-Bantu reciprocal/associative suffix **-an*-, but the examples presented below differ in many ways. The different subsections correspond to various types of situations: Bantu languages where the antipassive was explicitly described (Section 2.1), where it exists but has been labelled differently (Section 2.2), where it probably occurs but has not been described in a clear-cut way (Section 2.3). A summarizing typology of Bantu antipassive constructions is presented in Section 2.4.

2.1 Languages where an antipassive marker was explicitly described

Apart from Cilubà, the antipassive has only been explicitly recognized and described in some detail in Kirundi (JD62) by Ndayiragije (2006: 275), according to whom Kirundi reciprocals having a plural subject, as in (2) and (3), are systematically ambiguous between (i) a 'reciprocal reading' and (ii) a 'generic/quantificational reading'.

(2) a-ba-nyéeshuúle   ba-a-tuk-an-ye   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG2-NP2-students   SC2-PST-insult-RECP/ANTIP-PRF (our glossing)
     (i) 'Students insulted each other.'
     (ii) 'Students insulted people_arb..'

(3) i-m-bwa   zi-a-ri-an-ye   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG10-NP10-dogs   SC10-PST-eat-RECP/ANTIP-PRF
     (i) 'Dogs bit each other.'
     (ii) 'Dogs bit people_arb..'

This ambiguity is only removed in favor of an antipassive reading if the subject is singular, as in (4) (Ndayiragije 2006: 276).

(4) u-mu-nyéeshuúle   a-a-tuk-an-ye   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG1-NP1-students   SC1-PST-insult-ANTIP-PRF
       'A student insulted people_arb..'

Based on these facts, Ndayiragije (2006: 275) comes to the inescapable conclusion that Kirundi reciprocals are also antipassive, a function which he circumscribed earlier on as 'arbitrary-object depatientative' (Ndayiragije 2003), referred to by the '_arb.' gloss in his translations. Examples (2) to (4) comply with all four criteria proposed by Dixon (1994: 146). Just like in Cilubà, the antipassive emerges as a specific reading of the reciprocal/associative marker. In Cilubà, however, ambiguity between a reciprocal and an antipassive reading is excluded. An antipassive construction is only conceivable in the presence of a plural subject with verbs whose lexical meaning does not allow for deriving a reciprocal meaning, as the one in (5) (Dom et al. forthcoming).

(5) Ba-fùdi   bà-di   bà-fùl-angan-a.   (CILUBÀ)
     NP2-smith   SC2-PRS   SC2-forge-ANTIP-FV
       'The smiths forge constantly.'

Judging from the example in (6), provided by Ndayiragije (2006: 276), the antipassive reading in Kirundi can also emerge with singular inanimate subjects.

(6) i-gi-ti   ki-á-kubit-an-a   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG7-NP7-tree   SC7-PST-hit-ANTIP-FV
       'The tree hit people_arb..'

Native Kirundi speakers contest the acceptability of the Kirundi example in (6), except if it is to be taken figuratively, for instance if the stick has become animate through magic (F. Mberamihigo and E. Nshemezimana, pers. comm.). Otherwise it would be difficult to expect the habitual character of hitting. Such a figurative interpretation also holds for the inanimate subject of the Cilubà antipassive verb in (7) (Dom et al. forthcoming).

(7) Mu-akù   ù-di   ù-p-àngan-a   mu-oyi,   …   (CILUBÀ)
    NP3-speech   SC3-PRS   SC3-give-ANTIP-FV   NP3-life
      'The speech gives courage (to someone), …'

Truly inanimate subjects are only acceptable in Kirundi if the antipassive verb does not refer to an action, but to a natural property of the subject, as in (8) and (9).

(8) a-ma-hwá   a-ra-zibur-an-a   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG$_6$-NP$_6$-thorn   SC$_6$-PRS.DISJ-prick-ANTIP-FV
     'Thorns prick (people)'   (F. Mberamihigo, pers. comm.)

(9) i-bi-átsi   bi-ra-rí-an-a   (KIRUNDI)
     AUG$_8$-NP$_8$-herb   SC$_8$-PRS.DISJ-eat-ANTIP-FV
     'Herbs cause irritation [lit. Herbs eat (people)].'   (F. Mberamihigo, pers. comm.)

According to Ndayiragije (2006: 277), the Kirundi antipassive may also be derived from an intransitive base verb, as in (10) . In such a case, the antipassive reading would be ambiguous with an associative reading of togetherness. However, native speakers refuse the antipassive reading here (F. Mberamihigo and E. Nshemezimana pers. comm.).

(10) A-ba-o   ba-goré   ba-á-ra-tamb-an-ye   (KIRUNDI)
      AUG$_2$- PP$_2$-DEM   NP$_2$-woman   SC$_2$-PST-DISJ-dance-ASSOC-PRF
      'Those women danced together/?~~with people~~$_{arb.}$.'

Native speakers also decline the antipassive reading of the example in (11) where the patient object is maintained. According to Ndayiragije (2006: 282), the event would be ambiguous between an associative reading and an antipassive reading leaving unmentioned the comitative participant, i.e. the people with whom the house was destroyed. Such is not the case, which confirms that the antipassive function of *-an-* in Kirundi is truly depatientive.

(11) A-ba-o   ba-gabo   ba-a-sambur-an-ye   i-n-zu   y-anje (KIRUNDI)
      AUG$_2$- PP$_2$-DEM$_B$ NP$_2$-man   SC$_2$-PST-destroy-RECP-PRF   AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-house PP$_9$-my
      'Those men together destroyed my house /~~with people~~$_{arb.}$.'

In Kirundi, the antipassive use of *-an-* is exclusively depatientive. It does not allow omitting an object that assumes a semantic role other than patient, even not the recipient argument of a ditransitive verb. A sentence like (12) would be unacceptable in Kirundi (F. Mberamihigo, pers. comm.).

(12) **u-ryá   mu-goré   a-ra-há-an-a   i-shano   (KIRUNDI)
      PP$_1$-DEM   NP$_1$-woman   SC$_1$-PRS.DISJ-give-ANTIP-FV   AUG$_5$-fish
      'That woman gives fish.'

The exclusive application of the antipassive to the theme argument – and not to the goal of ditransitive verbs – has also been reported in other languages of the world, such as Central Arctic Eskimo and Chamorro (Baker 1988: 137). However, this is not a general property of the antipassive in Bantu. As shown in (7), such is not the case in Cilubà, where in case of an antipassivized ditransitive base verb, it is always the recipient-like primary object which is suppressed (Dom et al. forthcoming). Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier (2008: 297) report a similar repartition in the Senegalese language Wolof belonging to the Atlantic family. When available, an animate, volitional participant happens to be more prone to demotion in an antipassive construction than an inanimate one.

2.2 Languages where an antipassive marker exists but was called differently

In several Bantu languages, the functions of the derivational suffix *-an-* have been described in such a way that one can safely assume that it operates as an antipassive marker, even

though it has not been explicitly labeled so. One such language is Kinyarwanda (JD61), which has a very high degree of mutual intelligibility with Kirundi to the point that both can be considered dialects of a same language (Bukuru 2003: 1; Kimenyi 1980: 1). In contrast to Kirundi, the antipassive has not been reported in Kinyarwanda. However, one of the uses of *-an-* has been described by Coupez (1985: 19) as follows: "*Le suffixe absolu -an- est d'emploi relativement rare. Il forme un verbe intransitif à partir d'un transitif et peut impliquer en outre le sens d'habitude*" ["The absolute suffix -an- is quite rarely used. It derives an intransitive verb from a transitive verb and may moreover imply a meaning of habitude"]. With what we know from Kirundi, this so-called 'absolute' *-an-* can easily be interpreted as an antipassive marker. This is certainly so if one reckons that native Kinyarwanda speakers accept the antipassive reading of the Kirundi examples in (2)-(4) and (8)-(9) as being valid in Kinyarwanda as well, and also refuse it for the examples in (10)-(11) (J. Karangwa pers. comm.). The verb in (13b), derived from the ditransitive verb in (13a), is the only example Coupez (1985: 19) gives of such an absolute verb. The extension *-an-* seemingly suppresses here the object assuming the semantic role of goal. Coupez (1985: 15) considers this *-an-* extension to be homonymous to the 'associative' which exhibits the typical reciprocal/associative meaning, amongst others because both types of *-an-* can be stacked to each other in one and the same verb form, as shown in (13c). The example in (13c) is unique in the literature we surveyed, not only in that it combines two *-an-* suffixes, but also in that these would convey different meanings. The extension *-an-* is more commonly analyzed as being polysemous, the reciprocal/associative and antipassive readings either being mutually exclusive, as in Ciluba, or ambiguous, as in Kirundi.

(13) a. *-érek-*   'to show something to someone'   (KINYARWANDA)
      b. *-érek-an-*   'to show (something)'
      c. *-érek-an-an-* 'to show together'   (Coupez 1985: 19)

In Kinyarwanda, the verb in (13c) would especially be used with reference to cribbing at school (J. Karangwa pers. comm.). Kirundi speakers recognize the possible use of *-érekanana* in the assistive sense of 'helping some[one] to show something', but see it as a rather unnatural form, which is confirmed by its total absence from a Kirundi text corpus of nearly 3,5 million tokens (F. Mberamihigo and E. Nshemezimana pers. comm.). In any event, the case of Kinyarwanda clearly shows that the antipassive use of *-an-* may go by another name in descriptive Bantu grammars.

Such is the case in another Great Lakes Bantu language, i.e. Gikuyu (E51), for which Mugane (1999: 162) reports that the suffix *-an-* may receive two readings: (a) a reciprocal interpretation and (b) an 'unidentified object' interpretation glossed 'another/others' (henceforth R[OBJ]). This latter reading is obviously antipassive. Such reading in which the object, though not overtly present, is semantically implied emerges unambiguously with verbs having a singular subject, as in (14a). When the subject is plural, as in (14b) the antipassive and reciprocal interpretations compete.

(14) a.   Kamau   nĩ-a-rá-ingat-an-a   (GIKUYU)
             Kamau   FP-SC$_1$-PRS-chase-ANTIP-FV
             'Kamau is chasing (an undetermined object).'   (Mugane 1999: 163)
      b.   aaKamaú   nĩ-má-rá-ingat-an-a
             Kamau & co. FP-SC$_6$-PRS-chase-ANTIP/RECP-FV
             1. 'Kamau and his associates are chasing each other.'   (Mugane 1999: 164)
             2. 'Kamau and his associates are chasing others.'

The same polysemy has been concisely reported in the closely related Kikamba (E55) by Kioko (2005: 39) who describes *-an-* as follows: "This is the associative morpheme and expresses concepts such as reciprocity, concerted action, interdependence and it suppresses one of the post-verbal NPs". She provides the examples in (15), the second interpretation clearly being antipassive. Unfortunately, nothing is said about possible constraints that could induce one or the other meaning.

(15) *-ósána*   'take each other / take unnamed object'   (KIKAMBA)
      -mána   'bite each other / bite unnamed object'   (Kioko 2005: 39)

Kilega (D25) is another Bantu language from the Great Lakes Bantu region where the antipassive use of *-an-* has been reported, but described as 'attributive', i.e. "the action denoted by the verb reflects a characteristic of the subject" (Botne 2003: 136). To judge by the only two examples provided, copied in (16), *-an-* manifests reciprocal/antipassive polysemy in Kilega.

(16) *ku.káranya*   'to be helpful' (*vi*) / 'to help one another'   (KILEGA)
        < *ku.kárya* 'to help' (*vt*)
      ku.gambana   'to gossip' (*vi*) / 'to gossip about one another'
        < *ku.gamba* 'to slander' (*vt*)   (Botne 2003: 136-137)

Botne (1994: xv) describes the functions of *-an-* in Kilega as reciprocity and possession or association of a particular feature or characteristic with the agent of the verb and adds that instances of the latter use are more rare. He provides the examples in (17). The last sentence is a most typical example of antipassivity.

(17) *kw.ĭtana*   'to kill one another' <   *kw.ĭta* 'to kill' (KILEGA)
      ko.réndana 'to quarrel'   <   *ko.rénda* 'to speak'
      ko.rwăna   'to bite' (*vi*)   <   *ko.rwá* 'to bite' (*vt*)
      mbwá zĕzɔ zékorwáná   'That dog bites.'

Outside the Great Lakes region, but in the vicinity of Cilubà (L31a), i.e. the Kasai region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the antipassive unmistakably occurs in Kisongye (L23), where it has also been called differently. Stappers (1964: 27) reports the use of *-an-* as being 'alterative', i.e. "*het afleidingssuffix °-an- (zonder reflexief infix -i̱:-) geeft te kennen dat de handeling uitgedrukt door de verbale basis, gericht is op anderen. De andere personen zelf kunnen niet vermeld worden als complement, daar dit suffix de handeling betrekt op alle personen buiten het onderwerp*" ["the derivational suffix °-an- (with the reflexive infix -i:-) indicates that the action expressed by the verbal base is directed towards others. The other persons themselves cannot be mentioned as a complement, since this suffix makes the action apply on all persons except the subject."; our translation from Dutch]. Stappers (1964: 27) provides only 16 isolated verbs of this kind, some of which are retaken in (18a), and no contextualized examples. However, his description clearly suggests an antipassive use of *-an-*-which is fully productive. In contrast to closely related Cilubà (L31a) and the other Bantu languages discussed above, *-an-* is no longer polysemic in Kisongye, but has become a dedicated antipassive marker. As shown in (18b), reciprocals are currently expressed through a combination of reflexive prefix *-i-* and the suffix *-een-*, which is analyzed as a representation of *-an-* fused with the applicative suffix *-il-* (Stappers 1964: 27).

(18) a. *-monána*   'to see others'   < *-mona* 'to see'   (KISONGYE)

-kumána	'to touch others'	<	*-kuma*	'to touch'
-kwatána	'to grasp others'	<	*-kwáta*	'to seize'
-talána	'to look at others'	<	*-tala*	'to look at'
-sepána	'to deride others'	<	*-sepa*	'to deride'
b. *-ilekéena*	'to leave each other behind'	<	*-leka*	'to leave behind'
-ifutéena	'to pay each other'	<	*-futa*	'to pay'
-isepéena	'to deride each other'	<	*-sepa*	'to deride'
-ieléena	'to bombard each other'	<	*-ela*	'to throw'
-ikwatéena	'to grasp each other'	<	*-kwáta*	'to seize'

The 'others' in the translation which Stappers (1964: 27) gives of the *-an-* verbs in (18a) is rather infelicitous, since it suggests an 'antireflexive' meaning. However, the example in (19a), provided by native speaker L. Kadindula (pers. comm.), shows that *-an-* can be productively used in Kisongye to suppress the patient of a monotransitive base verb, as in (19b), and does not generate a meaning which puts emphasis on others in contrast to oneself.

(19) a. bà-mpùlushì abà-yip-an-a bi-kìle bu-kùfu (KISONGYE)
NP2-police SC2-kill-ANTIP-FV NP8-much NP14-night
'The police often kill at night.'

　 b. bà-mpùlushì abà-yip-a ba-ngìfi bi-kìle bu-kùfu
NP2-police SC2-kill-FV NP2-thief NP8-much NP14-night
'The police often kill thieves at night'

In Kikete (L21), a close neighbor and relative of Kisongye (L23), *-an-* possibly also has become a dedicated antipassive marker judging from the sole example offered by Kamba Muzenga (1980: 137), i.e. *-p̀-an-* 'to give to others, distribute' derived from *-p̀-* 'to give', as opposed to *-òv-angan-* 'to hear each other, agree with each other' derived from *-òv-* 'to hear'. Kamba Muzenga (1980: 137) considers both *-an-* and *-angan-* to be reciprocal suffixes, but it looks as if only *-angan-* is a true reciprocal marker in Kikete, as is the case in Cilubà. Unlike in Cilubà, *-angan-* did not develop associative/antipassive polysemy in Kikete. Instead, the former reciprocal/associative suffix *-an-* seems to have become a true antipassive marker.

2.3 Languages where an unproductive antipassive marker is likely to exist

In several Bantu languages, the antipassive cannot be identified with great certainty due to a lack of data, but its existence is probable, judging from the scarce information available and what we know from the better-documented languages discussed above. One such language is Lucazi (K13) where the former reciprocal/associative extension *-an-* has shifted its meaning, now conveying the notion of potentiality (Fleisch 2000: 137), as shown in (20).

(20) a. *-túk-an-a* 'be capable of reviling' < *-túka* 'revile' (LUCAZI)
　　 -síng-an-a 'be capable of placing a curse on' < *-sínga* 'place a curse on'
　 b. *-súmang-an-a* 'suffer from rabies' < *-súmanga* 'bite repeatedly'
　　 -táng-an-a 'be bewildered, confused'

In the examples in (20a), *-an-* indeed expresses potentiality, more specifically agent-oriented potentiality (to see > to be capable of seeing) as opposed to patient-oriented potentiality (to see > to be visible). As in Kilega (D25), it refers here to a particular characteristic of the verb's subject, which is conceived as a participant-inherent possibility. This is in line with an

antipassive derivation, which preserves the agent-like participant. In the examples in (20b), *-an-* rather refers to a patientive state without potential connotation. This use rather ties in with the middle meanings it is known to convey in other Bantu languages (cf. infra). In any case, *-an-* is no longer synchronically productive in Lucazi (Fleisch 2000: 137). As a productive reciprocal marker it has been substituted by the compound extension *-sian-*, historically composed of *-an-* preceded by the causative marker *-si-* (Fleisch 2000: 139). Hence, Lucazi could be seen as another language where the antipassive use of *-an-* is no longer part of a reciprocal/antipassive polysemy. Unlike in Kikete (L21) and Kisongye (L23), however, it is not a productive antipassive marker.

Such is the case in closely related Cilunda (L52), where Kawasha (2003: 176) reports that "a very limited number of transitive verb roots become intransitive when they suffix the potential extension -<u>an</u>. The verb takes an agentive subject and disallows the patient. The main function of the potential is to express what the agent can possibly do, or what it does frequently" (underlining in the original). The derived verbs in (21) could be interpreted as conveying agent-oriented potentiality or attributing a specific feature to the verb's subject and being antipassive in meaning. In Cilunda, *-an-* has also become a dedicated antipassive marker, in that reciprocity is expressed productively by the reflexive prefix *-di-* (Kawasha 2003: 323), as part of reflexive/reciprocal polysemy which is more widespread in this region (Bostoen 2010), or residually by the extension *-añan-* only traceable in very restricted verb roots (Kawasha 2003: 325-326).

(21) *fw-a*   'die'   >   *fw-an-a*   'be deadly, be dangerous' (CILUNDA)
      dimb-a   'deceive' >   *dimb-an-a*   'be false, deceitful'
      sum-a   'bite'   >   *sum-an-a*   'be biting, likely to bite'
      tuk-a   'insult'   >   *tuk-an-a*   'be insulting'
      shiñ-a   'curse'   >   *shiñ-an-a*   'be one who curses'

The *-an-* extension possibly also has a lexicalized antipassive use in Kikaonde (L41). Wright (2007: 36) labels it as both 'associative' and 'essive', the latter being exemplified by *-suma* 'bite' > *-sumana* 'be a biter'. With no further explanation, one can only note that this attribution of a specific feature to the verb's subject is close to what was observed in Kilega (D25) as well as to the agent-oriented potentiality observed in Lucazi (K13) and Cilunda (L52), both spoken in the vicinity of Kaonde (L41).

Another instance of such a rare and entirely lexicalized use of *-an-* has been reported in Ikalanga (S16) by Letsholo and Safir (2007: 7) who comment in a footnote that "[t]here is a reading of the -an- affix in some Bantu languages (e.g., Kirundi) that has been described as 'antipassive' and that also permits a singular subject (like 'Bill'), but has a transitive interpretation like "Bill hits people". This is not found in Ikalanga, except perhaps in some isolated lexicalized cases", as in (22).

(22) a. Bill   u-no-thumul-an-a   (IKALANGA)
         Bill   SC$_1$-PRS-provoke-ANTIP-FV

         'Bill is provocative.' or 'Bill likes to provoke people.'
      b. Bill   u-no-tuk-an-a
         Bill   SC$_1$-PRS-yell-ANTIP-FV

         'Bill is yelling at people/upset with people.'

2.4 Typology of antipassive constructions in Bantu

On the basis of the data discussed above a preliminary typology of antipassive constructions in Bantu can be proposed. First of all, it is clear that the antipassive always developed as a particular instantiation of a core reciprocal/associative meaning. In all cases except one it is the suffix *-an-*, reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as reciprocal/associative extension (Schadeberg 2003: 72), which has become a marker of antipassivity. Cilubà is the only language where another reciprocal/associative marker developed this function, i.e. *-angan-*, a historical compound of the intensive marker *-ang-* and *-an-* whose synchronic meaning is non-compositional (Dom et al. forthcoming).

Secondly, those languages for which an antipassive marker could be recognized clearly subdivide in two semantic types: (a) those where the antipassive is still a particular instantiation of the polysemy of the reciprocal/associative marker, and (b) those where *-an-* has lost its original reciprocal/associative meaning and has become a dedicated antipassive marker. Languages of the first type are Cilubà, Gikuyu, Kikamba, Kilega, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Kikaonde and Ikalanga. Languages of the second type are Kisongye, Kikete, Lucazi and Cilunda.
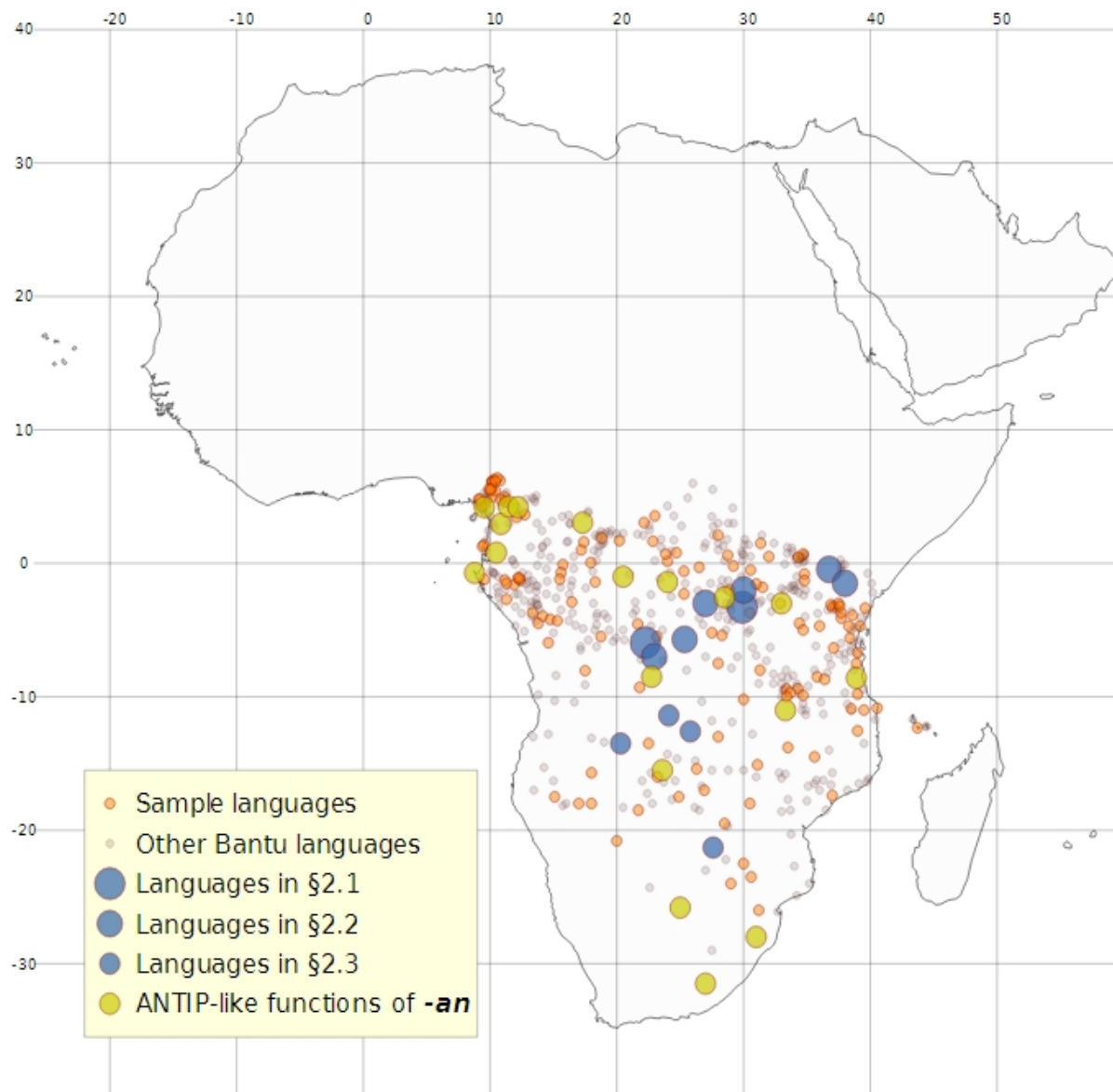
Map 1: Distribution of antipassive markers in Bantu (Category 1: Cilubà & Kirundi; Category 2: Gikuyu, Kikamba, Kikete, Kilega, Kinyarwanda, Kisongye; Category 3: Kikaonde, Ikalanga, Lucazi, Cilunda)

A second dividing line, which does not coincide with the first one, is between (a) those languages where antipassive verbs can be productively derived, such as Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Kisongye, Cilubà, and Kilega, and (b) those languages where *-an-* is fully lexicalized as antipassive marker, i.e. restricted to a limited set of verbs, such as Lucazi, Cilunda, and Ikalanga. For certain languages, such as Kikete, Kikamba and Kikaonde, the available data are too few and far between to tell whether *-an-* is productive or not as an antipassive marker.

Finally, there seems to be Bantu languages, such as Kirundi, where the antipassive is exclusively depatientive. In others, such as Cilubà, it only deletes the patientive object if the base verb is monotransitive, but the recipient-like object if the base verb is ditransitive.

Our sample contains many more languages where one of the poorly described uses of *-an-* is reminiscent of the antipassive. Some of them will be discussed in the following section where we assess how the antipassive may emerge as a specific reading from the inherent polysemy of *-an-*. In general, there is very little information about the syntax and semantics of derived verbs, making it difficult to assess the real syntactic behavior and semantic values of *-an-*. Most descriptions show nothing but prototypical reciprocals of the type 'A and B saw each other', which of course does not mean that the language in question does not allow, marginally or regularly, other types of constructions. However, wherever a source gives more detailed information on *-an-*, it is very often the case that one of its uses is similar to or could be the antipassive.

Map 1 shows the distribution of those Bantu languages where we think an antipassive is attested, either *-an-* as a dedicated marker of antipassivity or synchronically polysemous *-an-* (or *-angan-* in Cilubà) of which the antipassive is one specific synchronic reading.

3. The polysemy of the Proto-Bantu *-an-* suffix

In this section, we portray the rich polysemy of *-an-* across Bantu and assess how its antipassive use relates to other uses of the suffix. The survey of Bantu antipassive constructions in Section 2 has revealed that the derivational verb suffix *-an-* is involved in all of them, except in Cilubà.

3.1 Plurality of participants

The morpheme *-an-* is best-known and most productive as a marker of reciprocity in Bantu. The Central-Kikongo (H16b) example in (23) illustrates such a prototypical reciprocal construction involving a plural subject and the reciprocal marker *-an-*.

(23) n-go   zi-a-vond-an-a   (KIKONGO)
      NP$_{10}$-leopard   SC$_{10}$-PST-kill-RECP-FV
      'The leopards killed each other.' (Laman 1912: 198)

It is well established that in most Bantu languages this reciprocal meaning is only the most prototypical instantiation of a more general core meaning, traditionally labelled as 'associative' in Bantu studies (Dammann 1954; Schadeberg 2003: 72, 76). As Dammann (1954: 163) points out, Doke (1935) was probably the first to make a distinction between

reciprocal ('done one to the other, expressive of mutual action') and associative ('pertaining to association, acting in concert') in Bantu. In the literature, this function is also known as 'sociative', 'collective' or 'cooperative' suggesting "that an action is performed jointly and simultaneously by a group of people (at least two) named by the subject (on objects see below) and engaged in the same activity" (Nedjalkov 2007a: 33). Apart from being a reciprocal marker, the Fang (A75) suffix -a, which is the regular reflex of Proto-Bantu *-an-, may also convey a notion of collectivity or togetherness, especially in association with intransitive action verbs, as shown in (24a). The use of -a as plurality marker is obligatory in 1PL hortatives and 2PL imperatives, even with transitive verbs, as seen in (24b) (Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1277).

(24) a. -kə   'to go, leave'   > -kə-a   'to go, leave together'   (FANG)
        -dzáŋ   'to disappear'   > -dzáŋ-á   'to disappear together'
        -fam   'to escape'   > -fam-a   'to escape together'
        -wu   'to die'   > -wu-a   'to die together'
        -sɔ́   'to come, arrive' > -sɔ́-á   'to come, arrive together'
     b. dzáŋ-ə́   'disappear' (2SG)
        n-dzáŋ-á   'let's disappear (together)' (1PL)
        dzáŋ-á   'disappear (together)' (2PL)
        zə́ŋ-ə́ mvú   'search the dog' (2SG)
        n-zə́ŋ-á mvú   'let's search the dog (together)' (1PL)
        zə́ŋ-á mvú   'search the dog (together)' (2PL)

Maslova (2007: 336) characterizes the polysemic Bantu suffix -an- as 'polyadic', i.e. referring to an event structure involving a participant role that "is shared by minimally two separate participants". This notion is also known as 'plurality of participants', which Frajzyngier (2000: 179) considers to be "a prerequisite for the coding of the reciprocal". Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier (2008: 291) rather refer to it as 'co-participation', i.e. "constructions that imply a plurality of participants in the event they refer to, without assigning them distinct roles". They further distinguish between "constructions with a meaning of parallel co-participation (typically expressed by together in English) imply[ing] that two or more participants share the same role, and constructions with a meaning of reciprocal co-participation imply[ing] a plurality of participants interacting in such a way that at least some of them assume two distinct roles in their interaction with the others" (Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier 2008: 292). The Bantu -an- examples in (23) and (24) exemplify 'reciprocal co-participation' and 'parallel co-participation' respectively.

In collective as well as in natural reciprocal verbs, -an- is often lexicalized. The derived verb no longer corresponds to an underived base verb, tends to have an idiomatic meaning and manifests a deviating argument structure with regard to productive prototypical reciprocals. The Kiswahili (G42) verb -tukana 'to insult' taking a direct object and allowing for the productive reciprocal derivation -tukanana 'to insult each other' is a well-known example (Schadeberg 2004; Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003). The best evidence for the lexicalized nature of natural reciprocal and collective verbs in Bantu is the fact that they are even found with the -an- suffix in languages where it is no longer a productive reciprocal marker. Such is the case in Cilubà (L31a) and Kikwezo (L13), where -angan- is the operational reciprocal extension (Dom et al. forthcoming; Forges 1983: 285), as well as in Luganda (JE15), where -agan- is productive as reciprocal marker (Ashton et al. 1954: 355).

(25) a. -aakana   'to fit, suit, convene; to encounter, face'   (CILUBÀ)
        -fwàngana   'to discuss'

-fwàna	'to resemble'	
-pùùkana	'to find, meet, bump against; to succeed'	
-sangana	'to find, meet'	(Kabuta 2008)

b. guzǎna	'to crush one another'	(KIKWEZO)
gúfwǎna	'to resemble each other'	
gúmǎna	'to disagree'	(Forges 1983: 286)

c. -agalana	'to love one another'	(LUGANDA)
-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'	(UGent Luganda text corpus)[3]

Another indication of the lexicalized nature of natural reciprocal and collective *-an-* verbs is the fact that several such derived verbs have been reconstructed, either with a base verb which is almost identical in meaning or without a corresponding base verb that is semantically close. A sample of such Bantu lexical reconstructions from Bastin *et al.* (2002) is presented in (26).

(26) a. *-càngan- 'to meet, assemble' (< *-càng- 'to meet, find, assemble')
b. *-tókan- '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. *-bóʊdan- 'to palaver' (< *-bóʊd- '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-/*-jóman- 'to quarrel'
n. *-pòman- ' 'to meet'
o. *-gìtan- 'to succeed to'

Under the denominator of 'associative', 'polyadic', 'co-participation' or 'plurality of participants' can also be subsumed chaining situations whose expression often involves the *-an-* extension in Bantu. In a chaining situation, one participant stands in a certain relation to another, which then stands in the same relation to a third participant, and so on (Lichtenberk 2000: 35). The Lingála (C36d) example in (27) can refer to a multiple or chain collision involving two identical, but successive events, i.e. the bumping of car B into car A followed by the bumping of car C into car B. However, it could also refer to a collective

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[3] The UGent Luganda text corpus is being compiled by Deo Kawalya as part of his on-going PhD-research at Ghent and Makerere Universities. It currently contains 1.8 million words (tokens), about 185,000 of which are distinct orthographic words (types). Our thanks go to Deo Kawalya for identifying these lexicalized *-an-* verbs.

situation, in which three cars coming from different directions run into one another in one collision. If deemed necessary by the speaker, disambiguation in favor of a chaining interpretation can be obtained by the reduplication of the verb stem, i.e. *etútánítútání* (M. Meeuwis, pers. comm.).

(27) mí-tuka   mísátu   e-tút-án-í   (LINGÁLA)
     NP$_4$-car   three   SC$_{3PL.INAN}$-hit-RECP-PRF
     'Three cars have bumped into one another.'

Even in languages where *-an-* is no longer productive, such as Luganda, it is found in lexicalized associative verbs that can receive a chaining reading. Such is the case in (28), where the chaining situation is to be understood as a virtual network.

(28) o-sobol-a   o-ku-kozes-a   e-bi-uma   ATM   (LUGANDA)
     SC$_{2SG}$-can-FV   AUG$_{15}$-NP$_{15}$-use-FV   AUG$_8$-NP$_8$-machine   ATM
     e-bi-yung-an-a   mu   ggwanga   li-onna
     AUG$_8$-PP$_8$-connect-ASSOC-FV   LOC$_{18}$ NP$_5$.nation   PP$_5$-whole
     'In the whole nation, you can use ATM machines that are connected to one another.'
     (UGent Luganda text corpus)

3.2 Plurality of events (but not of participants)

Several of the polyadic situations illustrated above are not only characterized by a plurality of participants, but also involve a plurality of events, for instance a succession of actions in a prototypical chaining situation. Lichtenberk (2000: 34) considers 'plurality of participants' and 'plurality of events' under the more generic notion of 'plurality of relations', which occurs "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". This underlying concept of plurality of relations accounts for the fact that *-an-* is sometimes found with meanings referring to multiple events without necessarily involving multiple participants.

This shift from plurality of participants to plurality of events explains why *-an-* expresses repetitive or intensive actions in certain Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003: 76). In Kisukuma (F31), for instance, the extension *-an-* is said to be detransitivizing and to have three different meanings: (a) reciprocal, (b) associative and (c) 'extensive', the latter signaling that the notion expressed by the verb is extended in time or space (Batibo 1985: 167). A similar meaning is conveyed by polysemous *-an-* in Lomongo (C61). Besides its primary reciprocal meaning, Hulstaert (1965: 251-254) discusses several other and less productive meanings, such as the intensive (29) and the '*sens d'application*' referring to "*l'application soutenue du sujet à l'action*" (30). As Hulstaert (1965: 254) points out himself, it actually concerns the same meaning. The difference is rather syntactic in nature. The verbs in (30) are commonly followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by the comitative marker *la* referring to the participant towards whom or which the intensive action expressed by the verb is oriented. This participant can be a kind of internal object, i.e. 'to work work' (30a) and 'to converse a conversation' (30c).

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

(30) a. tó-kamb-an-a   l'olemo   (LOMONGO)
SC1PL-work-INT-FV   with.NP3.work
'We are assiduously dedicated to work.' ('*Nous sommes assidument appliqués à travailler.*')

b. á-kɔt-an-a   l'otámbá
SC1-cut-INT-FV   with.NP3.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
SC2-converse-INT-FV   with   NP5-conversation
'They are deep into a conversation.' ('*Ils sont enfoncés dans la conversation.*')

d. á-kím-an-a   la   wĭbi
SC1-follow-INT-FV   with   NP1.thief
'He follows the thief.' ('*Il poursuit le voleur.*') (Hulstaert 1965: 253)

In Ikela (C75), the intensive meaning of *-an-* is associated with a similar use of the comitative marker *da*. This construction may convey the meaning 'always' or 'never' if associated with a negative verb, as shown in (31) (Forges 1977: 94-95). This usage highlights the semantic relatedness between intensive and habitual meanings.

(31) a. á-kádang-an-a   da   n-nyama   (IKELA)
SC1-fry-INT-FV   with   NP9-meat
'He always fries meat.'

b. a-pó-kádáng-án-é   da   n-nyama
SC1-NEG-fry-INT-NEG   with   NP9-meat
'He never fries meat.'

This habitual aspect is also observed in Isixhosa (S41) and Isizulu (S42), where *-an-* can be used to give the sense of a prolonged action, as shown in (32) (Buell 2005: 30).

(32) kwezi lokishi   si-phefuml-an-a   n'o-moya o-nuka-yo   kuba... (ISIXHOSA)
at   townships SC1PL-breath-HAB-FV   with.NP3-air SC3-stink-REL3   because…
'We constantly breathe in bad air in the townships because...' (Satyo 1992)

Interestingly, the iterative/intensive/habitual verb constructions in (30), (31) and (32) are identical in structure to discontinuous reciprocal constructions as in (47) and (48), except that the comitative marker is *la* in Lomongo and Ikela, which do not have *na*. The Lomongo example in (30d) could actually be interpreted as rather referring to a plurality of participants rather than to a plurality of events. It is very similar to the Setswana (S31) sentence in (33), which Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier (2008: 294) present as an example of unspecified co-participation in a more abstract sense than prototypical reciprocity. Although the marker *-an-* encodes here two persons participating in an event lexicalized as 'to look for', the preferred interpretation is not different from that where the thief is introduced as the direct object of the underived verb.

(33) le-podisi   le batl-an-a   le   le-godu   (SETSWANA)
NP5-policeman SC5 look.for-RECP-FV   with   NP5-thief
'The policeman is looking for the thief.'

These correspondences in syntactic structure and in meaning highlight how the plurality of participants prototypically associated with *-an-* becomes quite naturally reanalyzed as a plurality of events. This plurality focusing on the verb rather than on its participants cannot only receive an intensive reading, but may also encode that an action is carried out iteratively. Such is the case in Ngangela (K12b) where Zavoni (2003: 227) reports a repetitive *-an-*, as illustrated in (34). Reciprocity is productively conveyed by the reflexive prefix *-li-* in Ngangela (Maniacky 2004: 167), a kind of polysemy which is more widespread in the region (Bostoen 2010; Schadeberg 2003: 76).

(34) a. naná   n-a-túk-an-a   va-nikɛ   (NGANGELA)
         my.mother   SC$_1$-PRF-insult-IT-FV   NP$_2$-child
         'My mother has repeatedly insulted the children.'
    b. li-nɔká   li-a-súm-an-a   ká-nikɛ
         NP$_5$-snake   SC$_5$-PRF-bite-IT-FV   NP$_{12}$-child
         'The snake has repeatedly bitten the child.'

Note that repetitive *-an-* in Ngangela is no longer detransitivizing. The repeated action expressed by the iterative verb may apply on a patient participant that is introduced as a direct object and not through a comitative phrase as with the Lomongo intensive verbs in (30). Similar behavior has been reported for the cognate of *-túkana* in Swahili, which rather became lexicalized there as a plurality of participants verb (Schadeberg 2004; Seidl and Dimitriadis 2003). The deviating syntactic behavior of *-an-* as iterative/repetitive marker can be accounted for by the fact this usage rather pertains to 'actionality' ('*Aktionsart*') in contrast to its usage as associative marker, which is rather voice-related.

3.3 Comitative/instrumental

We observe a similar reshuffle in syntactic behavior for other usages of *-an-*. Such is, for instance, the case in Duala (A24), where the extension is not only a reciprocal and intensive marker, but also developed an instrumental function (Helmlinger 1972: xvi). When used as an instrumental marker, *-an-* is no longer detransitivizing. The sentence in (35) contains two derived instrumental verbs. The first verb, derived from *-bol-* 'to do', is followed by the instrumental participant *mondó* 'tail', seemingly introduced as a direct object suggesting that *-an-* is valency-increasing here. The second one, derived from *-pang-* 'to chase', is followed by a patientive complement.

(35) ńaka   e   ma-bol-an-ɛ   mondó   ó   pang-an-ɛ   ngingi   (DUALA)
     NP$_9$.cow SC$_9$ PRS-do-INST-FV   NP$_3$.tail to chase-INST-FV   NP$_{10}$.mosquito
     'The cow uses its tail to chase away mosquitos.' (Helmlinger 1972: 399)

This instrumental meaning, rather exceptionally conveyed by *-an-*, results from a semantic shift not pertaining to the plurality of relations metaphor. Its origin is not straightforward, but a parallel can be found in the polysemy of the preposition *na* which covers both a comitative and instrumental meaning in many Bantu languages (Fleisch 2005: 97). This extension from comitative to instrumental is a cross-linguistically common semantic shift resulting from a bleaching of the notion of co-participation (Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier 2008: 293). Maslova (2007: 368) considers the comitative function as a clear semantic overlap between both morphemes on the authority of the Kinyarwanda (JD61) example in (36), taken from Kimenyi (1988: 369) and also cited by Seidl and Dimitriadis (2003: 266). Thanks to the use of the suffix *-an-* as a comitative/instrumental marker in (36b), the adverbial *ûmweête* 'with

enthusiasm' is no longer encoded as a prepositional phrase introduced by *na*, as is the case in (36a), where the base verb is used. For Maslova (2007: 368), such examples suggest that the suffix *-an-* and the NP-conjunction marker *na* represent different functions of essentially the same set-introducing device.

(36) a. u-mu-góre   a-ra-kôr-a   akazi   n'   û-mw-eête   (KINYARWANDA)
          AUG$_1$- NP$_1$-woman   SC$_1$-PRS-work-FV   work   with AUG$_3$- NP$_3$-enthousiasm
          'The woman is working with enthusiasm.'
      b. u-mu-góre   a-ra-kôr-an-a   akazi û-mw-eête
          AUG$_1$- NP$_1$-woman   SC$_1$-PRS-work-COM-FV   work AUG$_3$- NP$_3$-enthousiasm
          'The woman is working with enthusiasm.'

A similar comitative use of the suffix *-an-* in Kinyarwanda is reported by Coupez (1985: 15) who opposes the example in (37a), where the participant *ûmwána* 'child' is encoded as a comitative phrase, as is usual with reciprocal/associative verbs, with the one in (37b), where the same participant is introduced as a seemingly direct object. The difference between both events would be the fact that the child is an active participant in (37a), but not in (37b). While the event in (37a) is typically associative, it is rather comitative in (37b).

(37) a. gu-híng-an-a   n'   û-mw-ána   (KINYARWANDA)
          NP$_{15}$-cultivate-ASSOC-FV   with AUG$_1$- NP$_1$-child
          'To cultivate with a child (who is cultivating too).'
      b. gu-híng-an-a   û-mw-ána
          NP$_{15}$-cultivate-COM-FV   AUG$_1$- NP$_1$-child
          'To cultivate with a child (who is not cultivating, e.g. while carrying it on the back).'

Related to this idiomatic comitative use in Kinyarwanda is the so-called 'sociative causative' meaning (cf. Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 100). Sociative causation refers to causative situations that are intermediate between direct and indirect causation, in that they involve two agents as in indirect causative forms, but also a spatio-temporal overlap between the causer's action and the causee's action as in direct causative forms. The Kirundi example in (38) seems to be a comparable, but atypical instance of such a sociative causative, in that its subject is a non-agentive adverbial.

(38) bu-hóro-bú-horo   bu-shik-an-a   u-mu-síba   ku-mu-gezi (KIRUNDI)
      NP$_{14}$-slowly- NP$_{14}$-slowly SC$_{14}$-arrive-CAUS-FV AUG$_3$- NP$_3$-worm LOC$_{17}$- NP$_3$-brook
      'Slowly slowly makes the worm reach the brook.' (Meeussen 1959: 187)

3.4 Middle

The notion of plurality also went lost in those cases where *-an-* encodes middle situations. Syntactically speaking, this semantic shift is facilitated by the detransitivizing character of *-an-*. Intransitive affixal strategies are often relied on for the expression of middle events (Moyse-Faurie 2008: 108). The middle domain, as defined by Kemmer (1993: 243), is "a semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also an Endpoint, or affected entity and (b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration". This last characteristic, i.e. the minimal differentiation of situations/participants, is what the 'plurality of relations' domain links with the middle domain. Both categories are characterized by an incomplete conceptualization of the distinction between participants and/or situations (Kemmer 1993: 121; Lichtenberk 2000: 34). Kemmer (1993: 102ff) considers, for instance,

naturally reciprocal events as a subcategory of the middle domain. The shift in grammatical meaning from reciprocal to middle has been observed in several African languages, although it generally results from a reflexive/reciprocal polysemy (Heine 2000). This is not the case with *-an-*. However, just like natural reciprocal and collective verbs, middle verbs derived by *-an-* are strongly lexicalized. To our knowledge, *-an-* never operates as a productive middle marker. One indication of the lexicalized nature of these middle meanings is the fact that *-an-* is found as middle marker in languages where it is no longer productive as reciprocal marker, such as Cilubà (Dom et al. forthcoming). However, *-an-* also occurs as a middle marker in languages where it is still a productive reciprocal marker, such as Orungu (B11b) (Ambouroue 2007: 188).

(39) -βùrànà   'to bend (intr.)'   <   -βùrà   'to bend (tr.)'   (ORUNGU)
      -βàndyànà   'to scatter (intr.)' <   -βàndyà   'to scatter (tr.)'
      -yìrànà   'to flow'   <   -yìrà   'to pour'
      -wɔ̀ndyànà   'to get wounded'   <   -wɔ̀ndyà   'to wound, hurt'

Another indication of its lexicalization as middle marker is the fact that several *-an-* verbs have been reconstructed with middle meanings, either with a base verb not really different in meaning or without a corresponding base verb at all, as shown in (40) (Bastin et al. 2002). These lexicalized middle verbs derived through *-an-* are less numerous than those reconstructed with natural reciprocal or collective meanings, as in (26), and also tend to be less widespread. Some middle meanings below, as in (40g) and (40h), still have a connotation of plurality. The verb in (40g) has also been reconstructed with the natural reciprocal/collective meaning 'to meet, assemble' (26a).

(40) a. *-pòman-   'to be dark'   (cf. *-pòm- 'to be blind')
      b. *-dàngan- 'to lie down'
      c. *-kànkan- '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 honoured; rich')
      g. *-càngan- 'to be(come) mixed'   (< *-càng- 'to mix')
      h. *-kʊman-   'to be many, enough'   (cf. *-kʊ́m- 'to heap, gather')

The high degree of lexicalization as a middle marker may have contributed to a loosening of its core plurality meaning. Once the specific reference to multiple participants or events is abandoned, *-an-* may have become an intransitive suffix unproductively conveying middle meanings. Middle verbs derived by means of *-an-* are never part of what Kemmer (1993: 15) considers to be a coherent middle system. In Fang (A75), for instance, the *-a* suffix, the regular reflex of *-an-*, is attested in different types of middle verbs: body action middles (41a), cognition/emotion middles (41b) and anticausative verbs (41c). Except for the first verb, none of these middle verbs corresponds to an underived base verb, which underscores their strong degree of lexicalization (Bostoen and Nzang-Bie 2010: 1279-1280).

(41) a. Body action middles   (FANG)
         -láb-á 'to dirty oneself, get dirty' (< -láp 'to spatter')
         -tsim-a 'to wipe one's arse'
         -fɔl-a 'to change oneself, to change clothes'
         -wɛg-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.)'

As shown in (42), middle verbs with *-an* also occur in closely related Ewondo (A72), where they have been described as 'locative-stative verbs' meaning 'to be in a state/condition' (Redden 1979: 108) or as 'potential verbs' (Essono 2000: 371). Such use has also been reported in Yeyi (R41) (Seidel 2008: 255-257).

(42) a. -wúd-an   'to shrink'   (EWONDO)
          -laŋ-an   'to remain, stay, tarry, linger'
          -bəm-an   'to be pushed'   (< -bəm 'to push')
          -sum-an   'to be stuck into the ground'   (< -sum 'to put into the ground')
      b. -lób-an   'to have the habit/tendency of biting' (< -lób 'to bite')
          -lúm-an   'to be capable of stinging'   (< -lúm 'to sting')

It is important to note that *-an* verbs can encode two types of potentiality, i.e. patientive potentiality (42a) and agentive potentiality (42b). As discussed above, these agent-oriented potentials having a habitual connotation could be interpreted as antipassive. A similar usage is reported in the close relative Eton (A71), where the productive reciprocal suffix *-nì* may also yield a 'habitual (deobjective)' meaning besides a meaning of intensity and/or repetition when added to an intransitive source verb (Van de Velde 2008: 129). A similar 'depatientive/arbitrary object' meaning has been reported in closely related Bulu (A74) (Dimitriadis 2013). Both in Eton (A71) and Bulu (A74), this use could be identified as antipassive provided that more data become available.

3.5 Polysemous *-an-*: possible semantic pathways to the antipassive

As discussed above, habitual aspect is also observed in those languages where *-an-* functions as a marker of iterativity and/or intensity, cf. (30) to (32). Such verbs do not refer to one single event, but to a succession of identical events or the continuation of one event in time that is seen as a single whole expressed by the verb. They highlight the repetition of an event and not the endpoint of the whole. The situation consisting of different events is not yet completed, thus imperfective, and non-punctual, as is the case for the habitual. Conceptually speaking, however, the habitual corresponds to a more general timeframe in which the repetition of the event takes place. The habitual can basically be defined as a repetition or protraction of a situation over a longer period of time (Comrie 1976: 28). Due to the low referential status of the deleted (direct) object, the antipassive is also often used to make statements that are general and habitual in character and pertain specifically to the first argument. In a general statement, depending on the lexical meaning of the verb, a situation can either hold for a longer time period or is repeated in a certain timespan. In this sense,

although the plurality of participants is reduced, the antipassive still subsumes under the overarching concept of plurality of relations thanks to the plurality of events or situations it still conveys, a semantic feature shared with the intensive, iterative and habitual. This close semantic relatedness is nicely illustrated by the fact that Nedjalkov (2007b: 297-298) identifies antipassive derivatives in two Bantu languages, i.e. Isiswazi (S43) and Oshindonga (R22), where *-an-* had originally been described as an intensive marker (Dammann 1954: 174; Ziervogel 1952: 73), as exemplified in (43) and (44).

(43) a. *-ts-a* 'to butt sb.' → *-ts-an-a* 'to be given to butting' (OSHIDONGA)
    b. *-tuk-a* 'to scold sb.' → *-tuk-an-a* 'to be querulous.' (Dammann 1954: 174)

In both languages, the antipassive acquires a habitual meaning. In Swazi, as shown in (44), several *-an-* verbs allow for both an antipassive and intensive reading, an ambiguity also observed in the Cilubà example in (5).

(44) a. *-lum-an-a* i. 'to be fierce' ii. 'to bite severely' (ISISWAZI)
    b. *-hla'-an-a* i. 'to have the habit to gore' ii. 'to gore severely'
    c. *-khahlel-an-a* i. 'to have the habit to kick' ii. 'to kick severely'
    d. *-'ulal-an-a* 'to be of a very severe nature'
    e. *-em-an-a* 'to be stingy.' (Ziervogel 1952: 73)

The antipassive still pertains, however, to the notion of plurality of participants, in that the syntactically omitted patient participant – or recipient in the case of ditransitive verbs – always remains semantically implied in an antipassive construction. As we show in Section 4, it is the progressive destitution of the second participant of the coordinated plural subject in reciprocal constructions that ultimately leads to the antipassive.

Finally, the antipassive can be seen as a kind of middle situation in that the degree of distinguishability of events is low (Kemmer 1993: 210). The different sub-events encoded by a derived antipassive verb are also not explicitly conceptualized. Following Kulikov (2013: 265) who conceives the middle as a cluster of functional types which semantically focus the activity expressed by the base verb on the first argument and syntactically intransitivize the base verb, the antipassive can be seen as one of the sub-functions of the middle. In the same vein, Shibatani (2006: 239) accounts for the middle/antipassive polysemy observed in several languages by the fact that both categories relate to the nature of the development of an action in that both have the ontological feature of an action not (totally) affecting a distinct patient.

From a semantic point of view, all this explains how the polysemy of *-an-* gave rise to its use as an antipassive marker in certain Bantu languages. The original meaning of *-an-* essentially pertained to plurality of participants, which ties in with its grammaticalization from the comitative marker *na* (Schladt 1998). In many Bantu languages, this core meaning was extended or shifted to plurality of events via the overarching concept of plurality of relations. The low degree of participant/event elaboration, which characterizes such plurality verbs, allowed for the development of (lexicalized) middle meanings through the bleaching of the notion of plurality. Although also characterized by a low degree of event distinguishability, the antipassive use of *-an-* emerged as a very specific instantiation of its plurality semantics.

Map 1 contains a fourth category of Bantu languages whose marker *-an-* has a meaning that is not genuinely antipassive, but is antipassive-like. Table 1 lists those languages with the label which was attributed to that specific function.

Duala (A24)   Intensive   (Helmlinger 1972: xvi)

Eton (A71)	Habitual (deobjective), intensity, repetition	(Van de Velde 2008: 129)
Ewondo (A72)	Potential	(Essono 2000: 371)
Bulu (A74)	Depatientive/arbitrary object'	(Dimitriadis 2013)
Fang-Ntumu (A75a)	Potential	(Andeme Allogo 1991)
Kako (A93)	Intransitif	(Ernst 1998: 6)
Orungu (B11b)	Stative	(Ambouroue 2007)
Lomongo (C61)	Intensive	(Hulstaert 1965: 251-254)
Ikela (C75)	Intensive	(Schadeberg 2003: 76)
Kisukuma	Extensive	(Batibo 1985: 167)
Kinyamwezi (F22)	Habitual	(Maganga and Schadeberg 1992: 164)
Mashi (J53)	Intensive ('defeat' > 'defeat completely')	(Polak-Bynon 1975: 156-157)
Kiluyana (K31)	Stative	(Lisimba 1982: 153-154, 158)
Ruwund (L52)	Impersonal	(Nash 1992: 568, 630-631)
Citumbuka (N21)	Intensive	(Vail 1972: 355-368)
Kimatuumbi (P13)	'Do pointlessly'	(Odden 2003: 538-539)
Setswana (S31)	Co-participation	(Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier 2008: 294)
Isixhosa (S41)	'Prolonged action'	(Buell 2005: 30)
Isizulu (S42)	'Prolonged action'	(Buell 2005: 30)

Table 1: List of Bantu languages where *-an-* has an antipassive-like function

4. From discontinuous plural participant constructions to the antipassive

In the preceding section, we have argued that 'plurality of relations' is the notion underlying the polysemy of *-an-* and that its antipassive reading is a specific instantiation of this fundamental meaning. In this section, we show how the antipassive construction marked by *-an-* (or *-angan-* in Cilubà) can be derived from its canonical use in reciprocal constructions through a continuum of syntactically related constructions.

We start out from a prototypical reciprocal construction having a plural subject, whether uncoordinated, as for instance in (2), (3), and (23), or coordinated as in the Kisikongo (H16a) sentence in (45). Two coordinated human singular subjects trigger plural subject marking of class 2 on the verb.

(45) ó-Nsìmbà   yè   ò-Nzúzì   à-sìmb-àn-énè   (KISIKONGO)
     AUG₁-Nsimba   and AUG₁-Nzuzi SC₂-hold-RECP-PRF
     'Nsimba and Nzuzi have held each other.'   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 350)

Reciprocals are also commonly used in constructions where both participants do not constitute a coordinated subject, but where the less prominent one is demoted to a comitative phrase (Schadeberg 2003: 76). Maslova (2007: 344) refers to such constructions as 'discontinuous polyadic'. The sentence in (46) is the discontinuous equivalent of (45). The first participant *óNsìmbà* is the grammatical subject triggering singular subject concord on the verb, while the second participant *òNzúzì* has become an oblique argument introduced by the same comitative marker *yè*.

(46) ó-Nsìmbà   ò-sìmb-àn-énè   yè   ò-Nzúzì   (KISIKONGO)
AUG₁-Nsimba   SC₁-hold-RECP-PRF   with   AUG₁-Nzuzi
'Nsimba and Nzuzi have held each other.'   (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 351)

The sentence in (46) could be an example of what Creissels and Voisin-Nouguier (2008: 292) call 'unspecified co-participation', i.e. an event involving "two or more participants that may assume distinct roles, but the construction itself leaves open the precise role assumed by some of them, and role recognition crucially relies on lexical and/or pragmatic factors". Such is the case for the Kiswahili (G42) sentence in (47a). The reciprocal verb *-kutana* 'to meet (lit. 'to find each other') refers here to an event involving two participants, i.e. Kofi Annan and the president of Syria, assuming distinct roles which are neither fully reciprocal nor parallel. If the meeting were truly reciprocal, a coordinate subject and a plural subject marker would have been used as in (47b). Pragmatically speaking, Kofi Annan is presented as the protagonist. He is likely to be the initiator of the meeting referred to in (47a), even if Bashar al-Assad is not a mere patient either. Otherwise, he would have been presented as the direct object of the underived verb and co-referenced by a class 1 verbal object marker, as in (47c). Nevertheless, al-Assad is certainly more patient and less agent in (47a), as compared to (47b). The discontinuous reciprocal construction also implies a higher degree of volition on the part of the remaining subject. The observation of Dammann (1954: 163) goes in the same sense: "*Wenn im Suaheli "einander treffen" durch* kutana na watu *wiedergegeben wird, so ist der präpositionale Ausdruck* na watu *psychologisch einem Objekt gleichzusetzen*" ["When in Swahili "to meet each other" is expressed through *kutana na watu*, the prepositional phrase *na watu* can psychologically be equated with an object"].

(47) a. Kofi Annan   a-me-kut-an-a   na   rais   u-a   Syria   (KISWAHILI)
Kofi Annan   SC₁-PFV-find-RECP-FV   with   president   PP₁-CON   Syria
'Kofi Annan has met with the president of Syria.'[4]

b. Kofi Annan   na   rais   u-a   Syria   wa-me-kut-an-a
Kofi Annan   and   president   PP₁-CON   Syria   SC₂-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   SC₁-PFV-OC₁-find-FV   president   PP₁-CON   Syria
'Kofi Annan has met/found the president of Syria.'

Reciprocal and comitative constructions are intimately linked in Bantu, since the comitative preposition *na* is believed to be at the origin of the Bantu *-an-* as the result of a grammaticalization process, i.e. V-a *na* > V-a-*na* > V-*an*-a (Schladt 1998). Such discontinuous plural participant constructions are often found with natural reciprocal verbs, like the common Bantu verb *-fanana* 'to resemble', whose use in Shona (S10) is illustrated in (48).

(48) va-si-nga-tsveruk-i   va-ka-fan-an-a   ne   m-bwa   (CISHONA)[5]
PP₂-NEG-POT-be.ashamed-FV   SC₂-PRS-resemble-RECP-FV   with   NP₁₀-dog
'Shameless people are like dogs'. (Hannan 1974: 680)

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[4] Example taken from the webpage http://www.bbc.co.uk/swahili/habari/2012/03/120310syriaannan.shtml (last access on October, 30 2013)

[5] Hannan (1974: 680) presents this sentence as *Vasingatsveruki vakafanana nembwa*. The comitative marker *na* has two allomorphs in Shona, i.e. *ne* and *no*, containing fossilized traces of the so-called 'augment', which is *e-* for class 10 nouns as *mbwa* 'dogs' (De Blois 1970: 108).

In discontinuous reciprocals, the secondary, less prominent participant is thus removed from the canonical preverbal subject position and robbed of subjecthood and agentivity. It is not a grammatical object, but still becomes more object-like and patientive. The co-participation is no longer fully reciprocal or parallel. This loss of subjecthood is also apparent from changing verbal agreement patterns. If the primary participant is singular, the reciprocal verb usually displays mechanical agreement by taking a singular subject marker, as in (46) and (47a). However, the reduction in subjecthood of the secondary participant may also be less dramatic, in that certain Bantu languages allow that the verb of a discontinuous reciprocal construction displays plural subject agreement, even if the grammatical subject is singular. Such is, for instance, the case in Kisikongo, where the sentence in (49) is an acceptable equivalent of (46). In spite of the singular grammatical subject, the reciprocal verb in (49) has a plural subject marker and thus displays semantic agreement signaling that it refers to a co-participative event.

(49) ó-Nsìmbà bà-sìmb-àn-énè yè ò-Nzúzì (KISIKONGO)
AUG$_1$-Nsimba SC$_2$-hold-RECP-PRF with AUG$_1$-Nzuzi
'Nsimba and Nzuzi have held each other.' (Ndonga Mfuwa 1995: 351)

This choice between singular (50) and plural (51) subject agreement in discontinuous reciprocal constructions has also been observed in Cilubà (Dom et al. forthcoming).

(50) shefù u-a mu-sòkò ù-di ù-mòn-angan-a (CILUBA)
chief PP$_1$-CON NP$_3$-village SC$_1$-PRS SC$_1$-see-RECP-FV
nè Cyaba.
with Cyaba
'…The chief of the village and Cyaba saw each other.'

(51) Kàdi m-fùmù ka-bà-èna mù-à (CILUBA)
but NP$_{1n}$-chief NEG-SC$_2$-NEG.PRS PP$_{18}$-CON
ku-lekel-angan-a nì mu-kàjì-èndà to.
NP$_{15}$-leave-RECP-FV with NP$_1$-woman-POSS$_1$ NEG
'But the chief and his wife cannot leave each other.'

Educated native speakers of Kirundi tend to consider plural subject agreement in discontinuous reciprocal constructions with singular grammatical subject ungrammatical, but admit that sentences, as (52) and (53), do occur in colloquial speech (F. Mberamihigo and E. Nshemezimana, pers. comm.). In (53), the plural subject marker of class 8 is used to resolve the gender conflict between the disparate noun classes of both participants involved in the co-participation.

(52) Minaáni ba-á-ra-bón-an-ye na Kabura (KIRUNDI)
Minani SC$_2$-REM.PST-DISJ-see-RECP-PRF with Kabura
'Minani has met with Kabura.'

(53) u-ru-kwáavu bi-ra-kúund-an-a na i-N-ká (KIRUNDI)
AUG$_{11}$-NP$_{11}$-hare SC$_8$-PRS.DISJ-love-RECP-FV with AUG$_9$-NP$_9$-cow
'The hare and the cow love each other.' (Lit. 'The hare [they] are in love with the cow.')

Discontinuous reciprocal constructions with semantically motivated plural subject marking, as in (49), (51), (52) and (53), could be considered as an intermediate stage between prototypical continuous reciprocal constructions with plural subject marking and discontinuous ones with a singular subject and mechanical singular subject marking. They are in-between in that one of the participants is degraded to peripheral argument status, but the co-participation is still grammatically encoded through plural verbal agreement. The subjecthood of the second participant is decreased in two steps, first by being removed from the canonical preverbal subject position and then by losing control on verbal agreement. The logical next stage is the complete deletion of the second participant, which gives rise to an intransitive clause with a lexically transitive verb whose primary object is no longer grammatically encoded, but still semantically implied. The idea of co-participation is still further reduced and an antipassive reading emerges. Emphasis is reoriented from the participants towards the event itself expressed by the verb and its first argument. In such a case, a singular subject triggering plural subject concord is no longer attested. The emergence of antipassive construction from discontinuous reciprocal constructions through the deletion of the second participant also explains why we have not found antipassives with a demoted object. Certainly in languages attesting antipassive/reciprocal polysemy, this would lead to ambiguity between a discontinuous reciprocal and an antipassive with an oblique object.

The development of antipassive constructions from discontinuous reciprocal constructions accounts for the fact why this specific reading arises most straightforwardly with singular subjects. It is either excluded when the subject is plural and the lexical semantics of the verb is compatible with a reciprocal reading, as in Cilubà, or it is ambiguous with a canonical reciprocal reading, as in Kirundi. It is only once another marker has become the productive reciprocal/associative marker that antipassivity can be expressed without restrictions on subject agreement or semantic ambiguity. That is what is observed in Bantu languages having a dedicated and productive antipassive marker, such as Kisongye and Kikete.

Across Bantu, the derivational suffix *-an-* is thus observed in a variety of syntactic patterns, which are resumed in (54) and could be taken as a kind of implicational hierarchy. If, in a given language, a given pattern is attested, the preceding pattern in the hierarchy is most probably also attested or used to exist in the language.

(54)   Syntactic patterns with *-an-*

a.	$\text{SUBJ}_{pl} / \text{SUBJx}_{sg} + \text{SUBJy}_{sg}$ $\text{SC}_{pl}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing$	Reciprocal construction with plural subject, including coordinated singular subjects	Bantu-wide
b.	$\text{SUBJx}_{sg} \text{ SC}_{pl}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing \dots with\text{ y}_{sg}$	Discontinuous reciprocal with singular subject, but plural subject concord	Bantu-wide (though not well described)
c.	$\text{SUBJx}_{sg} \text{ SC}_{sg}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing \dots with\text{ y}_{sg}$	Discontinuous reciprocal with singular subject, and singular subject concord	Bantu-wide
d.	$\text{SUBJx}_{sg} \text{ SC}_{sg}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing$	Exclusively antipassive with singular subject	?
e.	$\text{SUBJx}_{pl} \text{ SC}_{pl}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing$	Antipassive/reciprocal polysemy with plural subject	Kirundi
f.	$\text{SUBJ}_{sg/pl} \text{ SC}_{sg/pl}\text{-V-an- }\dots\varnothing$	Antipassive only, other reciprocal marker	Kisongye, Kikete
g.	$\text{SUBJ}_{sg} \text{ SC}_{sg}\text{-V-angan}_{[ANTIP]}\text{- }\dots\varnothing$ $\text{SUBJ}_{pl} \text{ SC}_{pl}\text{-V-angan}_{[RECP]}\text{- }\dots\varnothing$	Reciprocal/antipassive polysemy with marker other	Cilubà

than -an-

Most Bantu languages in which we identified an antipassive marker are impossible to categorize in the above hierarchy due to a lack of descriptive data. No specific language can, for instance, be attributed to stage (d) in (54). In Kirundi, we do get an unambiguous antipassive reading with singular subject, but the language also has antipassive/reciprocal ambiguity with plural subjects. However, based on what we know from Cilubà (Dom et al. forthcoming), it can be assumed that there must be languages where an antipassive reading is only allowed with a singular subject (stage d), but excluded with a plural subject due to this ambiguity with the reciprocal (stage e). Cilubà itself has somehow entered a new cycle in that it is situated at stage (d), though not with -an-. According to the current stage of knowledge it is unique in having developed an antipassive use from a new reciprocal/associative marker, which incorporates -an- as a historical component.

5. Conclusions

In this article we have established the antipassive as a voice construction to be reckoned with in Bantu. Although only explicitly reported in very few Bantu languages and systematically described in even less, currently available data allow identifying antipassive markers in many more Bantu languages. More research is needed to understand their syntactic behavior and their semantic and pragmatic value. Nevertheless, even from the scarce documentation presently at our disposal it is possible to discern a number of trends, which may stimulate further research.

The antipassive always emerged as a specific reading of a marker more commonly used to express reciprocity and associativity. It most probably did so independently in different Bantu languages. It is the underlying notion of 'plurality of participants', or even more generally 'plurality of relations', of which the Proto-Bantu reciprocal/associative extension -an- is a carrier, which has led to the convergent arising of the antipassive meaning. This verbal derivation suffix is highly polysemous throughout Bantu. The antipassive is only one of its more peripheral interpretations that emerged here and there. Marginal readings of more central instantiations do indeed tend to crop up occasionally and recurrently, a phenomenon known as 'semantic polygenesis' (Geeraerts 1997: 62). The fact that in certain languages, such as Lucazi, Cilunda, and Ikalanga, the antipassive is restricted to a limited set of verbs seems to corroborate the rather peripheral status of the antipassive.

In some languages, such as Cilubà, the antipassive reading is in complementary distribution with the more central reciprocal/associative meaning, while in others, such as Kirundi, antipassive/reciprocal ambiguity is tolerated. In still other languages, such as Kisongye, the core meaning of -an- completely shifted to the antipassive, while the reciprocal/associative function was adopted by another marker. The available data are too few and far between to draw firm conclusions, but it is striking that the languages where we could identify such a dedicated antipassive marker (Kisongye, Kikete, Lucazi and Cilunda) are all situated in the same region, i.e. Guthrie's Central Bantu zones L and K. In most languages of this region, -an- is no longer a productive reciprocal/associative marker. This meaning is expressed either by a compositional extension, often incorporating -an-, or through a reflexive/reciprocal polysemy (Bostoen 2010; Schadeberg 2003: 76). Cilubà, the only language where the compound suffix -angan- instead of -an- manifests reciprocal/antipassive polysemy, is spoken in the same area. Reflexives, reciprocals and antipassives are indeed semantically closely connected. They all belong to the middle domain in that, semantically, they focus the activity of the verb on the first argument and are characterized by a low elaboration of events, and, syntactically, they decrease the base verb's valency. However, a threefold

reflexive/reciprocal/antipassive polysemy is not attested in Bantu. We observe the semantic broadening or shift from reflexive to reciprocal and from reciprocal to antipassive, but these semantic changes are historically unconnected since they involve different markers. No markers are known to have undergone the evolution reflexive > reciprocal > antipassive. It is also difficult to image how one marker could be polysemous in this way, since reflexive and antipassive occur in the same syntactic environment and do not canonically involve plural participants as reciprocals do. Antipassives precisely evolve from reciprocals in Bantu through the reduction of the plurality of participants.

From a clausal morpho-syntactic point of view, the emergence of antipassives out of reciprocal constructions can be understood as the result of the gradual demotion of the second participant of a co-participative event. This participant is degraded from coordinated subject position in a continuous reciprocal construction to an oblique argument in a discontinuous reciprocal construction, whether still triggering plural subject agreement or not. The secondary participant thus loses agentivity and gains patientivity, but is not grammatically encoded as an object. When it is syntactically omitted, it remains semantically implied, though now as a true patient (or as a recipient with ditransitive verbs), and the antipassive emerges. Due to suppression of the secondary participant, the pragmatic pith is focused on the event expressed by the verb itself and its first argument. Hence, the antipassive is often used to refer to events that are rather generally valid in nature, a use that is closely related to the habitual, intensive and/or iterative meaning which -*an*- has developed in several Bantu languages and with which the antipassive shares the notion of plurality of events.

Abbreviations

ANTIP	antipassive
ASSOC	associative
AUG	augment
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
CON	connective
DEM	demonstrative
DISJ	disjoint
FP	focus particle
FV	final vowel
HAB	habitual
INAN	inanimate
INST	instrumental
INT	intensive
IT	iterative
LOC_{18}	locative noun prefix of class 18
NEG	negative
NP_1	nominal prefix of class 1
OC_4	object concord of class 4
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POT	potential
PP_3	pronominal prefix of class 3
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PST	past
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relative
SUBJ	subject
SG	singular
SC_{1SG}	subject concord of first person singular
V	verb

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