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The reciprocal and Associative in Shona

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Abstract

This study compares the morpho-syntactic properties of the reciprocal and associative markers in Shona, against a background of the reciprocal and associative markers in Bantu. The study goes beyond previous studies both in Shona (e.g., Fortune 1982), and in Bantu (e.g., Kimenyi 1980) by making a comparison of the reciprocal and associative. The goal is to contribute to a better understanding of the reciprocal and the associative and to language typology. The study concludes that the reciprocal and associative markers are: (i) in complementary distribution; (ii) closely related semantically; (iii) have the same grammatical functions; (iv) have different distributional properties.

1. Introduction

Reciprocals have attracted considerable attention within the past years, both in syntax and in semantics; see for example, (Kimenyi, 1980; Dembetembe, 1981; Bokamba, 1991; Heim, et. al., 1991; Mchombo, 1993, 1995; Dupleissis & Visser, 1992; Maslova, 2004). Such studies have given rise to a syntactic and semantic characterization of the reciprocal in general. Shona is a Bantu language that has both the reciprocal */-an-/* and the associative */-an-/*. To the best of my knowledge, besides (Fortune, 1982), there are no studies that investigate the Shona reciprocal and associative constructions, yet Shona is amongst the few Bantu languages with both the reciprocal and associative markers.

Fortune (1982) points out that, "...the associative radical imply that the action of the un-extended radical is common to a group or a body in the form of an action or state which prevails over the whole" (p.24). Consider the following examples which show the reciprocal and the associative.

1(a) Va-komana va-ka-rov-an-a.
 cl1PI-boy SM-RP-beat-REC-TV¹.
 The boys beat each other.

(b) Bepa ra-ka-pet-an-a.
 Paper SM-RP-crumble-ASS-TV.
 The paper crumbled.

The goal of this study is to provide a detailed comparative analysis of the morpho-syntactic properties of the reciprocal and associative markers, in an attempt to contribute to a deeper understanding of these morphemes, in Shona, Bantu and in general.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides the general morpho-syntactic characteristics of the reciprocal and associative in Shona against the established morpho-syntactic properties of the reciprocal and associative in Bantu. Section 3, explores the interaction of the reciprocal with the passive, and the interaction of the associative with the passive. The reciprocal cannot occur with the passive whilst the associative does co-occur with the passive. Section 4, describes and analyzes the interaction of the valency increasing causative

¹ The abbreviations used are as follows: Subject marker (SM); remote past (RP); reciprocal (REC); Terminal vowel (TV); Associative (ASS); Object marker (OM); Noun phrase (NP); passive (PASS); causative (CAUS); Tense (TNS); Applicative (APPL); Intensive (INT).

morpheme /-es/ with the reciprocal and the associative. Both the reciprocal and the associative can co-occur with the associative. This is because they have different morpho-syntactic functions: The reciprocal and the associative are de-transitivizing morphemes whilst the causative is a valency increasing morpheme. Section 5 looks at the distribution of the reciprocal and the associative morpheme with regards to other suffixes. The reciprocal and the associative have different distributional patterns, the reciprocal occurs furthest away from verb and the associative closest to the verb. Section 6 makes a brief comparison of the Shona reciprocal and associative with those found in two Bantu languages: ChiChewa and Kinyawaranda. I conclude that the Shona reciprocal is closely akin to the reciprocal in these languages, but what is referred to as the associative in Kinyawaranda behaves differently from the associative in Shona. Section 7 is the conclusion.

2. Some general characteristics of the reciprocal and associative in Shona

In this section, I give the defining characteristics of the reciprocal and associative in Shona.

2.1. Reciprocal

The reciprocal in Shona, just as in most other Bantu languages, has the following properties: First, it is clearly marked by the verbal suffix /-an-/, as in (1a) above. Second, the subject noun phrase must be plural (1a) or coordinated (2a).

2(a) Mu-komana ne-mu-sikana va-ka-rov-an-a.
 cl1sg-boy and cl1sg-girl SM-RP-beat-REC-TV.
 The boy and the girl beat each other.

(b) *Mu-komana va-ka-rov-an-a.
 cl1sg-boy SM-RP-beat-REC-TV.

Third, the verb suffixed with the reciprocal morpheme cannot take a direct object. In other words, the verb suffixed with the reciprocal /-an-/ combines with transitive verbs to form surface intransitives, as illustrated in examples 2(c & d) below.

(c) Yowani a-ka-rov-a Jemusi.
 John SM-RP-beat-TV James.
 John beat James.
 beat (x,y)

(d) Yowani na Jemusi va-ka-rov-an-a.
 John and James SM-RP-beat-REC-TV.
 John and James beat each other .
 beat (x,y) ^ beat (y,x)

In terms of meaning, the reciprocal shows that the NP subject is both agent and patient. This is because the action or activity is mutually done between the participants.

(Mchombo & Nguga, 1994) observe:

The usage of the reciprocal construction is that of ascribing the members of a group the property that they are involved in an activity such that each member is performing the action on others (p.23).

Mchombo & Nguga, (1994) further point out that this is the commonest reading and it is clearest when the group consists of two members. Although the construction is syntactically intransitive, it is semantically transitive. As an illustration, consider the examples 2(e & f) below. In example 2(e) adding a direct object in a reciprocal construction is unacceptable, since the construction is syntactically intransitive.

(e) *Yowani na Jemusi va-ka-rov-an-a mu-sikana.
 John and James SM-RP-beat-REC-TV cl1sg-girl.

Example 2(f) illustrates that replacing the direct object with the object marker (OM) is equally unacceptable. This is because the object marker makes the construction transitive, yet a reciprocal only occurs in surface intransitives. Consider the example below.

- (f) *Yowani na Jemusi va-ka-mu-rov-an-a.
John and James SM-RP-OM-beat-REC-TV.

The failure of the reciprocal to co-occur with the Object Marker (OM) can be accounted for by the fact that the reciprocal derives intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. The verb suffixed with the reciprocal */-an-/* are intransitive. These verbs cannot take either a direct object or an object marker. However, the construction is semantically transitive since two participants are doing some action on one another. The participants are both subjects (agents) and objects at the same time.

A fourth feature of the reciprocal which is closely related to the loss of an NP is subjectivization, (Kimenyi, 1980). The direct object of the sentence without the reciprocal is promoted to subject position in the reciprocal construction. The two then form a coordinated NP subject (example 2b and (c) or plural).

In sum, the associative has the following properties: (i) it is marked by the suffix */-ana-/*; (ii) the noun phrase in subject position must be plural or coordinated; (iii) the verb suffixed with the reciprocal marker cannot take an object Noun Phrase or an object marker; (iv) the direct object in the transitive construction is promoted to subject position (subjectivization). These four features displayed by the Shona reciprocal are common amongst Bantu languages; (see e.g., Kinyawaranda, Kimenyi, 1980, Ciyao; Mchombo & Nguga, 1994, 1991, Chichewa; Baker, 1985, 1988).

2.2 Associative

The associative *per se* seems not to have received as much attention in the literature as the reciprocal. For example, (Kimenyi, 1988), one of the few scholars who discusses the associative uses the term associative as a cover term to include the reciprocal and the associative. However, in Shona the associative and the reciprocal are different. In Shona, the associative has the following properties: First, similar to the reciprocal, the associative is clearly marked with the morpheme */-an-/*. Second, unlike the associative which requires a plural or coordinated NP in subject position, in the associative construction, the subject NP can be singular or plural. Consider example 1(b) repeated here as 3(a). Example 3(a) shows an associative construction with a subject that is singular. In example (3b), the subject is plural.

- 3(a) Bepa ra-ka-pet-an-a.
Paper SM-RP-crumple-ASS-TV.
The paper crumpled.
Crumpled (y)
- (b) Ma-pepa a-ka-peta-an-a .
cl6p-paper SM-RP-crumpled-ASS-TV.
The papers crumbled.
crumple (y)

Although the subject is plural in (3b), it is treated as a single entity, and the perceived action is seen to be done to a whole body or entity. The associative verb radical [Rs] implies that the action of the unextended radical is common to a group or a body in the form of an action or state which prevails over the whole (Fortune, 1982, p.24). Third, unlike the reciprocal, which can only derive intransitives from transitive constructions, the associative can function with selected inchoative intransitive verbs. As an illustration consider examples 4(a-c), below. In 4(a), the inchoative verb is intransitive, and it can occur with the associative */-an-/*. Example 4(b) illustrates that the construction is intransitive. It cannot take a direct object. Example 4(c) demonstrates that an object marker cannot be used either.

- 4(a) Nyoka ya-ka-gony-an-a.
Snake SM-RP-curl-ASS-TV.
The snake curled.

- (b) *kiti ya-ka-gony-an-a nyoka.
Cat SM-RP-curl-ASS-TV snake.
- (c) *Kiti ya-ka-ya-gony-an-a.
Cat SM-RP-OM-curl-ASS-TV.

The failure of a verb to take either a direct object or an OM demonstrates that the constructions are intransitive. Fourth, unlike the reciprocal, the associative is syntactically and semantically intransitive. At the syntactic level, it is not possible to add a direct object (4b) or an OM (4c) when the verb is suffixed with the associative. At the semantic level, there is only one participant or argument for the verb. Consider examples 5(a & b) below.

- 5(a) *Mu-komana a-ka-pet-an-a bepa.
cl1sg-boy SM-RP-crumble-ASS-TV paper.
- (b) *Mu-komana a-ka-ri-pet-an-a bepa.
cl1sg-boy SM-RP-OM-crumble-ASS-TV paper.

The unacceptability of the second NP in the associative construction in effect demonstrates that the associative yields an intransitive verb. I attribute the intransitivity of the verb to the associative because when the same verb lacks the associative it is transitive. Consider example 6(a) where the verb *peta* 'fold' is used in a transitive construction, that is, there are two arguments.

- 6(a) Mu-komana a-ka-pet-a bepa.
cl1sg-boy SM-RP-crumble-TV paper.
The boy crumpled the paper crumpled.
crumble (x, y)

In sum, the associative has the following properties (i) it is marked by the morpheme /-an-/ (ii) the subject can be singular or plural (iii) the associative can function with selected intransitive inchoative verbs (iv) the associative is both syntactically and semantically intransitive.

3. Interaction of reciprocal and associative -an- with valency reducing passive -iw-, -w-

The passive morpheme is regarded as a detransitivizing morpheme. Scholars agree that the passive morpheme absorbs a verb's external theta role, (Adger, 2003; Carnie, 2002; Ouhalla, 1994; Baker, 1988). In 6(a) and (b), when a transitive construction is passivized the NP functioning as the subject is lost as illustrated in the examples.

- 7(a) Mu-komana a-ka-rov-a dhongi.
cl1sg-boy SM-RP-beat-TV donkey.
The boy beat the donkey.

Passivization of 7(a) yields the following sentence where the subject of the sentence is lost and the Object is promoted to become the syntactic (grammatical) subject of the sentence.

- (b) Dhongi ra-ka-rov-iw-a.
donkey SM-RP-beat-PASS-TV.
The donkey was beaten.

The passivized sentence does not take a direct object as shown in 7(c) below. This is because the passive morpheme detransitivizes the transitive verb and the verb only requires one argument as illustrated in 7(c) below.

- (c) *Dhongi ra-ka-rov-iw-a mu-komana.
donkey SM-RP-beat-PASS-TV cl1sg-boy.

Neither the reciprocal nor the associative can occur with the detransitivizing passive *-iw-, -w-*. First, the passive and the reciprocal are not acceptable as in 7(d). This is because the two have the same grammatical function of detransitivizing a transitive construction. They each result in the loss of an argument. Consider the example in 7(d).

- (d) *Va-komana va-ka-rov-iw-an-a.
 cl1pl-boy SM-RP-beat-PASS-REC-TV.

Trying to change the order of the passive and reciprocal morpheme so that the passive precedes the reciprocal morpheme does not help either. The sentence is still ungrammatical as shown in example 7(e) below.

- (e) *Va-komana va-ka-rov-iw-an-a.
 cl1pl-boy SM-RP-beat-PASS- ASS -TV.

We observe that similar to the reciprocal, the associative cannot combine with the passive morpheme. This suggests that just like the reciprocal the associative is a detransitivizing morpheme and both the associative and the passive being detransitivizing morphemes cannot co-occur. Consider example 8(a) where the combination of the associative and the passive results in an ungrammatical sentence. Example 8(b) shows that changing the order of the morphemes so that the associative precedes the passive does not produce acceptable results.

- 8(a) *pepa ra-ka-pet-an-w-a
 cl5 sg-paper SM-RP-crumbled-ASS-PASS-TV

- (b) *pepa ra-ka-pet-w-an-a .
 cl5 sg-paper SM-RP-crumbled-PASS-ASS-TV.

Why both the reciprocal and the associative cannot combine with the passive is that they do the same grammatical function—detransitivize. Both the reciprocal and associative are detransitivizing morphemes, and the passive is also a detransitivizing morpheme. In the application of grammatical functions, the output of one of the processes should be the input of the other. In other words, there should be a feeding relationship, whereas in the application of either the reciprocal and the passive, or the associative and the passive, there is a bleeding relationship, since the morphemes being combined perform exactly the same function: detransitivizing. (Mchombo, 1991) commenting on the passive and reciprocal in Bantu says:

This property of suppressing an argument of a predicate, while at the same time introducing morphological material into the VS [verb structure] is one which reciprocalization shares with such grammatical processes as passivization, statives, etc. (p.4)

The same can be said for the associative in Shona: It suppresses one argument of a predicate. The impossibility of combining the passive */-iw-, -w-/* and the reciprocal and associative is evidence that the latter are themselves intransitives.

4. Interaction of the reciprocal and the associative with the valency increasing causative.

4.1 Causative

There is consensus amongst scholars that the causative morpheme is a valency increasing morpheme; (Guthrie, 1962; Dembetembe, 1981; Baker, 1985, 1988; Mchombo, 1991). This means that it adds one argument to the verb.

Example (9a) is intransitive. In example 9(b) the introduction of the causative */-es/* licenses the introduction of an extra NP, in this case the agent *zuva*, 'sun'. Consider the examples below.

- 9(a) Mvura ya-ka-om-a.
 water SM-RP-dry-TV.

The water dried up.

- (b) Zuva ra-ka-om-es-a mvura.
sun SM-RP-dry-CAUS-TV water.
The sun caused the water to dry.

The addition of an extra NP without the causative is impossible. There is no morpheme that licenses the introduction of the argument, hence the ungrammaticality. Consider example 9(c) where an extra NP is added without the introduction of the causative morpheme.

- (c) *Zuva ra-ka-om-a mvura.
sun SM-RP-dry-TV water.

Even in a transitive construction another NP can be added if the causative is suffixed, since this would be licensed by the causative morpheme. Consider the examples below.

- (d) Mu-komana a-ka-rov-es-a mwana na-baba.
cl1sg-boy SM-RP-beat-CAUS-TV child by-father.
The boy caused the child to be beaten by father.

The causative morpheme */-es-/* derives surface transitives from intransitives in that it licenses an extra argument. This is why the causative is called a valency increasing morpheme.

4.2. The reciprocal

The reciprocal morpheme */-an-/* can co-occur with the valency increasing causative */-es-, -is-/*. In the constructions involving both the reciprocal and the causative, the reciprocal comes before the causative. The causative can co-occur with the reciprocal since the former and the latter have different grammatical functions to perform. The causative increases the number of arguments, whilst the reciprocal reduces the number of arguments. Consider example 10(a) where the reciprocal co-occurs with the causative.

- 10(a) Yowani na-Jemusi va-ka-pet-es-an-a paper.
John and James SM-RP-crumble-CAUS-REC-TV cl5sg-paper.
The boys caused each other to crumple paper.
Y cause j to crush (x)
J cause y to crush (x)

The order of the morphemes occurs in such a way that the output of the valency increasing causative feeds the grammatical application of the detransitivizing reciprocal. (Baker, 1988) calls this the Mirror principle, "The morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa) (p.13)." He also mentions that the order of the suffixes in relation to the verb root determines the order of the application of processes. In example 10(a) (above), for instance, it would be causativization first, before the addition of the reciprocal morpheme. There would be addition of an argument before it is absorbed by the reciprocal.

4.3 The associative

Similar to the reciprocal, the associative can co-occur with the causative */-is/* or */-es/*. However, unlike the reciprocal, the associative */-an-/* precedes the causative. Consider the following examples in (11)a & b).

- 11(a) Mhepo ya-ka-pet-an-is-a pepa.
wind SM-RP-crumble-ASS-CAUS-TV cl5sg-paper.
The wind caused the paper to crumble.
c causes y to crumble
- (b) Mhepo ya-ka-pet-an-is-a ma-pepa.
wind SM-RP-crumble-ASS-CAUS-TV cl6pl-paper.

The wind caused the papers to crumble.
 d causes e to crumble

The order of the morphemes or grammatical functions (Baker, 1988) is interesting. We would expect causativization to feed the associative construction, as is the case in reciprocal constructions. However, this is not the case. The reason is that the associative can be intransitive in nature. The causative therefore adds an argument to a construction that is naturally intransitive, one of the characteristics of the associative.

5. Distribution

I have already alluded to the different distributional patterns of the reciprocal and associative when I discussed their interaction with the causative in sections 5.2 and 5.3. This section provides an explicit discussion of the distributional patterns of the two morphemes. It is inescapable that as I discuss the distribution of the reciprocal and the associative, I also discuss their interaction with other verbal suffixes. In Shona, the reciprocal /-an-/ is furthest away from the verb root while the associative /-an-/ is closest to the verb. The distributional pattern of the two morphemes in Shona can be schematized as follows:

12. SM-TNS-V-ASS-X-TV

13. SM-TNS-V-X-REC-TV

5.1. The distribution/interaction of the reciprocal and the associative with the causative and passive.

In section 4, I demonstrated that the reciprocal and associative cannot co-occur with the passive, while in section 5 I demonstrated that both can co-occur with the causative. In this section, I want to explore the interaction of the reciprocal and the associative with the causative and passive in the same construction and at the same time demonstrate their distributional patterns.

5.2 The reciprocal.

The reciprocal cannot co-occur with both the causative and the passive. Consider examples in 14. In 14a, the reciprocal occurs without any other suffixal extension to the verb.

14(a) Vana va-ka-rov-an-a .
 Children SM-RP-beat-REC-TV.
 The children beat each other.

Example 14(b), demonstrates that adding a causative morpheme to the construction (14a) is acceptable.

(b) Vana va-ka-rov-es-an-a .
 Children SM-RP-beat-CAUS-REC-TV.
 The children caused each other to be beaten.

However, the addition of the passive morpheme /-w-/ to a construction that has both the causative and the reciprocal is unacceptable. This is illustrated in example 14(c) below.

(c) *Vana va-ka-rov-es-an-w-a.
 Children SM-RP-beat-CAUS-REC-PASS-TV .

The sentence is unacceptable for similar reasons the reciprocal and the passive could not co-occur on their own without the causative (section 4). The two detransitivizing morphemes cannot co-occur in sequence. Following Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle; the order of the morphemes show that the reciprocal reduces the number of NPs by one and the passive would want to perform the same grammatical function in a construction which has already been detransitivized. This would mean that the construction would surface with no argument at all. There is no verb with such a subcategorization property. Verbs are either transitive or intransitive or ditransitive; they require a single argument, two arguments or three arguments.

5.3 The associative

Unlike the reciprocal, the associative can co-occur with both the causative /es-, -is-/ and the passive /iw;-w-/. This is illustrated in the examples in 15. In 15(a), the reciprocal occurs with the associative morpheme.

15(a) Mhepo ya-ka-pet-an-is-a pepa.
wind SM-RP-crumble-ASS-CAUS-TV cl5pl-paper.
The wind caused the paper to crumble.

(b) Mhepo ya-ka-pet-an-is-a ma-pepa.
wind SM-RP-crumble-ASS-CAUS-TV cl6pl-paper.
The wind caused the papers to crumble.

It is possible to have the associative, the causative and the passive in the same verb. The three occur in that following order, the associative, causative and the passive. Consider examples 15(c).

(c) Ma-pepa a-ka-pet-an-is-w-a.
cl5sg-paper SM-RP-crumple-ASS-CAUS-PASS-TV.
The papers were caused to crumple.

The reason these three can co-occur together is because of the order in which the three occur in; the associative first, followed by the causative and lastly the passive. The associative construction is an intransitive, and the causative adds an argument to that construction, lastly the passive detransitivizes the causativized construction. The causative is a 'mediator' between the associative and the passive so that the two can co-occur in the same construction. It is strategically positioned to allow the two to co-occur. Recall, that the reciprocal could not occur with the causative and the passive, because in such constructions, the reciprocal and the passive had to co-occur next to each other and this was incompatible with their roles: Both are detransitivizing morphemes and this would mean detransitivizing an already intransitive constructions.

5.4 The reciprocal and the associative and other suffixes

This section explores the co-occurrence of the reciprocal and associative with the following suffixes (i) the applied morpheme (ii) the intensive. The reciprocal /-an-/ follows the applied morpheme /-ir-/ or /-er-/, whereas the associative /-an-/ precedes applied /-ir-, -er-/. Consider examples 16(a) which demonstrates that the reciprocal comes after the applied morpheme /-er-/. Examples 16(b) illustrate that the associative precedes the applied morpheme /-ir-/.

16(a) Va-komana va-ka-pet-er-an-a ma-paper.
cl2lp-boy SM-RP-crumbe-APPL-REC-paper.
The boys crumbled the papers for each other.

(b) Bepa ra-ka-peta-an-ir-a mu-homwe .
cl5sg-paper SM-RP-crumbled-ASS-APLL-TV Loc-pocket
The paper crumple whilst in the pocket.

The applied morpheme behaves like the causative morpheme; it is a valency increasing morpheme. It adds one argument to a construction. It is logical that just as we saw that the reciprocal comes after the causative, the applied should also come after the reciprocal. The reciprocal can detransitivize the construction. The associative on the other hand, precedes the applied, similar to how it behaved with regards to the causative. This is because the associative can inherently occur in intransitive constructions, and the applied can then add an argument to the intransitive construction.

Both the reciprocal and the associative can co-occur with the intensive morpheme. This is a morpheme that adds intensity to an activity. The reciprocal /-an-/ follows the intensive /-is/-es-/ and the associative /-an-/ precedes intensive /-is/-es-/. Consider example 17(a) in which the reciprocal comes after the intensive /es-/. In 17(b), the associative comes after the intensive morpheme.

- 17(a) Va-komana va-ka-rov-es-an-a zvikuru.
cl1pl-boys SM-RP-beat-INT-REC-TV severely.
The boys beat each other severely.
- (b) ma-pepa a-ka-pet-an-is-a zvakanyaya.
cl6pl-paper SM-RP-crumble-ASS-INT-TV severely.
Papers were crumbled up severely.

The reciprocal and the associative can co-occur in the same construction with both the causative and the applied morpheme. Example 18(a) demonstrates that the reciprocal */-an-/* follows both the causative */-is/-es/* and applied */-erl/-ir/*. Example 18(b) on the other hand, demonstrate that the associative */-an-/* precedes both the causative */-is/-es-/* and applied */-erl/-ir-/*.

- 18(a) Va-komana va-ka-rov-es-er-an-a hanzvadzi.
cl1pl-boy SM-RP-beat-CAUS-APPL-REC-TV sisters.
The boys caused each other's sister to be beaten.
- (b) Nyoka ya-ka-gony-an-is-ir-w-a mumba.
Snake SM-RP-curl-ASS-CAUS-APPL-PASS-TV house.
The snake was caused to curl severely in the house.

The examples provided above illustrate clearly that the associative and the reciprocal occur in different positions in relation to the verb radical: The reciprocal is furthest away from the verb radical while the associative is closest to the verb radical.

6. Comparison: Shona, Chichewa and Kinyawaranda

This section makes a brief comparison of Shona reciprocal and associative with Chichewa and Kinyawaranda (Bantu languages). Kinyawaranda has both the associative and reciprocal, marked by *-an-*, (Kimenyi, 1980, p. 43). However, (Kimenyi, 1980) uses associative as a cover term to refer to both the associative and the reciprocal. Consider the examples in 19.

- 19(a) Yohaani a-kuund-an-a na-Mariya
John he-love-REC-asp with Mary
John and Mary like each other
(Kimenyi, 1980, p.43)
- (b) Yowani a-no-d-an-a na-Maria
John he-PRES-love-REC-Tv with Mary
John and Mary love each other.
- (c) N-kor-an-a n'- umukoobwa
I-work-ASS-TV with girl
I work with the girl.
(Kimenyi, 1980, p.146)

There is no Shona equivalent of the use of the associative as in Kinyawaranda. (Kimenyi, 1988) observes that the associatives, reciprocals are not advanced to objects because they accomplish the same role as the subject (p. 139). This is similar to the Shona reciprocal in which the doer of the action has also the same action done to him/her. Consider examples 20(a -c).

- 20(a) *Ndi-no-shand-an-a ne-mu-sikana
1sg-pres-work-ASS-Tv with-cl1sg-girl
- (b) Ndi-no-shand-a ne-mu-sikana
1sg-pres-work-Tv with-cl1sg-girl
I work with the girl.

- (c) Hana ya-ka-gadz-an-a
Heart SM-RP-calmed down-ASS-TV
S/he calmed down.

Chichewa marks reciprocals using morpheme, /-an-/ (Mchombo, 1999, p. 183). The reciprocal in Chichewa behaves in similar ways to the reciprocal in Shona. The subject has to be plural 21(a &b), or it has to be coordinated 21(c &d).

- 21(a) Ti-ku-meny-an-a
1pl-pres-hit-rec-fv
We are fighting each other.
(Mchombo, 1999, p.193)
- (b) Ti-ri-ku-rov-an-a
1pl- prog-infin-hit-REC-TV
We are fighting each other.
- (c) Ki-boko na simba wa-na-vut-an-a
7-hippo and 1-lion 2SM-pres-pull-rec-fv
The hippo and the lion are pulling each other.
Mchombo, (1999, p. 183)
- (d) Mvuwu na-shumba va-ri-ku-kwev-an-a
9-hippo and-lion SM-prog-inf-pull-REC-TV
The hippo and the lion are pulling each other.

The reciprocal in Chichewa behaves in similar ways to the Shona reciprocals. Scholars who have done extensive work on Chichewa reciprocals, namely, (Mchombo, ,1994; Baker, 1988) are silent about the existence or nonexistence of the associative, which is instructive. This strongly points to the lack of the associative morpheme in Chichewa.

7. Conclusion

In Shona, the reciprocal and the associative show similarities and differences. Both the reciprocal and the associative are marked by the morpheme /-an-/. Both the reciprocal and the associative occur in intransitive construction. The difference is that the reciprocal is a detransitivizing morpheme whereas the associative is inherently intransitive. Further, the reciprocal is syntactically intransitive but semantically transitive. However, the associative is syntactically and semantically intransitive. The reciprocal and the associative cannot co-occur with other detransitivizing morpheme, for example, the passive. This is because the detransitivizing morphemes cannot co-occur next to each other in a construction. The reciprocal and the associative have different distributional patterns, the reciprocal occurs furthest away from verb and the associative closest to the verb. In terms of meaning, which is closely related, function (which is similar) and distribution, the reciprocal and the associative can be argued to be very closely related.

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