The non-reflexive functions of the reflexive prefix -i- in the Tanzanian Bantu languages
Hehe, Nilamba and Nyaturu
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In this paper, I present data from three Bantu languages Hehe (G62), Nilamba (F31) and Nyaturu (F32) and show that, unlike in many Bantu languages (cf. Schadeberg (2003); Schadeberg and Bostoen (2018), the reflexive prefix -i- has other functions besides encoding reflexive meaning, as in (1). The other functions of the reflexive prefix -i- in these languages is to encode reciprocal meaning, as in (2) where it is ambiguous with reflexive meaning, and middle voice situations such as grooming actions, as in (3), spontaneous events etc. In this paper, I will focus on two middle voice events which are grooming actions and spontaneous events.

1. Reflexive meaning
   a. Hehe
      \textit{Juma akiwene mukilole}
      \begin{tabular}{ll}
      Juma & a – \textit{i} \textit{- on - ile} \\
      Juma & 1.SM-PST-REFL-see-PERF \textit{CL17-CL7-mirror} \\
      \end{tabular}
      ‘Juma saw himself in the mirror’

   b. Nilamba
      \textit{uJuma ukiona mukioo}
      \begin{tabular}{ll}
      u-Juma & u – \textit{i} \textit{- on - a} mu - ki - oo \\
      aug-Juma & 1.SM-PST-REFL-see-FV \textit{CL17-CL7-mirror} \\
      \end{tabular}
      ‘Juma saw himself in the mirror’

   c. Nyaturu
      \textit{Juma ughiona ughiyoo}
      \begin{tabular}{ll}
      Juma & u - \textit{ghi - i} - on - a u - \textit{ghi} - yoo \\
      Juma & 1.SM-PST-REFL-see-FV \textit{CL17-CL7-mirror} \\
      \end{tabular}
      ‘Juma saw himself in the mirror’

2. Reciprocal meaning
   a. Hehe
      \textit{Naftali na Juma vakiwene}
      \begin{tabular}{ll}
      Naftali & va - \textit{i} - on - ile \\
      Naftali & 2.SM-PST-REFL-see-PERF \\
      \end{tabular}
      ‘Naftali and Juma will see each other/themselves’

   b. Nilamba
      \textit{uNaftali nu Kiliani ionile}
      \begin{tabular}{ll}
      u-Naftali & na \textit{- i} - on - ile \\
      aug-Naftali & 2.SM-REFL-see-PERF \\
      \end{tabular}
      ‘Naftali and Kiliani saw each other/themselves’

\footnote{The data used in this talk is in most cases field-work based.}
3. Grooming actions

a. Hehe

\textit{Juma akiyofwige}

\textbf{Juma a - ka - i - ofug-ile}

\textbf{Juma 1.SM-PST-REFL-wash-PERF}

‘Juma washed himself’

b. Nilamba

\textit{uJuma wiyogyile}

\textbf{u-Juma u - i - ogy - ile}

\textbf{aug-Juma 1.SM-REFL-wash-PERF}

‘Juma washed himself’

c. Nyaturu

\textit{Juma aghiyoa}

\textbf{Juma a - gha - i - oy - a}

\textbf{Juma 1.SM-PST-REFL-wash-FV}

‘Juma washed himself’

The other functions of the reflexive prefix \textit{-i-} can be explained from a cross-linguistic grammaticalization perspective as leading from reflexive to other functions such as reciprocal and middle voice events (cf. Geniušienė (1987); Heine (2000); Heine and Narrog (2009); Kemmer (1993). For instance, Heine (2000) argues that the grammaticalization from reflexive to other functions in African languages is unidirectional process leading from Nominal > Emphatic reflexive > Reflexive > Reciprocal > Middle > Passive. This grammaticalization chain by Heine (2000) implies that for the reflexive marker to become middle voice marker, it should pass via reciprocal stage. In this paper, in contrast with Heine (2000) grammaticalization cline, I argue that the grammaticalization from reflexive to reciprocal, and the grammaticalization from reflexive to middle should be treated as two independent grammaticalization processes (i) Reflexive > Reciprocal and (ii) Reflexive > Middle. This argument is motivated by Haspelmath (1990) grammaticalization from Reflexive > Anticausative > Passive as well as Fried (2007) on the extension of reflexive markers to spontaneous events.
References


