Additive particles in Bantu
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1. Definitions
Additive particles indicate that the element which they modify is to be added to a previously mentioned or presupposed linguistic unit of equivalent syntactic status, thereby making explicit some similarity between two or more events or entities. We can therefore talk in terms of a presupposition (P) and an addition (A). Although sometimes called ‘additive focus particles’ (Schneider-Zioga 2015) the modified element (addition) is often a topic (typically a switch topic).

Same predicate; different subject:
Eve ate the fruit. Adam also ate the fruit. Adam = A, ate the fruit = P

Same subject and verb; different object:
Eve ate the fruit. She ate the cake also. She (Eve) ate something = P, the cake = A

Same subject; different predicate:
Eve ate the fruit. She also gave some to Adam. She (Eve) = P, gave some to Adam = A

2. Functions of additive particles in Bantu languages
In English, the same particles, also and too, indicate additive focus on referents and predicates, but in the Bantu languages surveyed here this is not the case. Typically, one set of particles indicates additive focus on referents and a different set of particles indicates additive focus on predicates. I will refer to these as referential additives (following Nicolle 2013: 210) and predicate additives respectively. In some cases, a predicate additive may also indicate additive focus on a referent, either alone or in combination with a referential additive. For now, all additive focus particles are simply glossed ADD (with noun class where applicable).

I will illustrate referential and predicate additives in detail using data from two languages: Digo (E73) and Vwanji (G66). (Thanks to Helen Eaton for sharing the Vwanji data.)

2.1 Examples from Digo
2.1.1 Referential additives in Digo
In Digo (E73), additive focus on referents is usually marked by a form consisting of the coordinating conjunction na plus a referential clitic (e.g. naye 3sg, nami 1sg). Occasionally this is used in combination with the particle piya; additive focus on predicates is marked by piya or tsona (‘moreover’, ‘again’).

1 In Tswana (S31) “le I- is used as an adnominal additive particle that can be rendered in English as also, too or even. Note however that, contrary to English also, too or even, Tswana le I- cannot be used as an additive particle with scope over the predicate (as in English We also danced).” (Creissels 2016: 24) Similarly, in Nande (DJ42), when the predicate receives additive focus, the verb is immediately preceded or followed by nbyd ‘even’ and followed by the referential additive na (Schneider-Zioga 2015: 254).
In (1), A = subject in both (1b) and (1d). The referential additive *naye* is reinforced by the additive particle *piya* in (1a).

(1) a. Kama vyokala desturi ya atu hiphfo kare, mutu ka achikala tajiri ka n’lazima alóle achetu anji.
   ‘As was the custom of the people long ago, if a person was rich he had to marry many wives.’

b. Phahi, *mzee Mwazewe, naye piya* wa-lól-a mchetu wa phiri.
   *So, elder Mwazewe, he too* married a second wife.

c. Yuya mchetu ariphogbwira mimba, wavyala mwana wa chilume achimuiha Mwiya.
   ‘When that woman became pregnant, she gave birth to a boy and called him Mwiya.’

d. Hiye mchetu m-vyere a-ri-pho-on-a mchetu m-ya-we naye a-ka-vyal-a
   1. DEM 1.wife 1-elder 3s PST-see-FV 1.wife 1-fellow-1.3SG.POS 1.ADD 3SG-ANT-bear-FV
   mwana wa chilume, wa-many-a hira mali i-nda-gany-w-a.
   ‘The senior wife when she saw that her co-wife also had given birth to a son [it is known that the first wife already has a son], she knew that the wealth would be shared.’

Because *naye* indicates noun class, it can function pronominally without the need for a coreferential NP in the same clause:

(2) yuya mutu a-chi-ambir-a a-ya-e a-nw-e madzi ku-kol-w-a
   1.DEM 1.person 3SG-CNS-send-FV 2-other 2.3SG.POS 3PL-drink-SUB 6.water INF-satisfy-PASS-FV
   ili *naye* a-nw-e badaye.
   so 1.ADD 3SG-drink-SUB afterwards
   ‘That person told his companions to drink water until they were full so he also would drink afterwards.’

In (3), A = object, although it also functions as a topic. The referential additive *naye* is reinforced by the additive particle *piya* in (3a).

(3) a. Alafu wa-hum-a *m-tumishi wanjina*, lakini *naye* a-m-pig-a *piya,*
   then 3SG.PST-send-FV 1.servant 1.other but 1.ADD 3PL.PST-3SG-hit-FV ADD
   a-chi-m-hend-a mambo ga waibu na a-chi-mu-us-a mi-kono mi-huphu.
   3PL-CNS-3SG-do-FV 6.things 6.ASS 14.shame CON 3PL-CNS-3SG-remove-FV 4-hands 4-empty
   ‘Then he sent another servant, but they beat him also; they abused him and sent him away empty handed.’

b. Yuya m-china~munda a-chi-hum-a mutu wa hahu. *Hiye naye* a-m-pig-a
   1.DEM 1-owner~field 3SG-CNS-send-FV 1.person 1.ASS three 1.DEM 1.ADD 3PL.PST-3SG-beat-FV
   na a-chi-m-lumiz-a, chisha a-chi-m-zol-a.
   CON 3PL-CNS-3SG-hurt-FV then 3PL-CNS-3SG-chase-FV
   ‘The owner of the field sent a third person. This one too they beat and wounded, then they chased him away.’
The predicates in the additive clause and the preceding clause can be similar rather than identical. In example (4), both predicates involve departure from the deictic centre, even though the manner of departure and the destinations involved are different (and also or too are no longer appropriate English translations). This example constitutes the conclusion of a first-person narrative; referential additives are common in such situations, and typically either describe the parting of the main participants (as here, thereby bringing the story to an end) or summarize the situation that results at the end of the story.

(4) a. Phahi yuya mkongo wahalwa achendalazwa kura kpwa akongo ayae a matso.
   ‘So the patient was taken away to be admitted along with his fellow eye patients.’

   b. Ndipho nami n-chi-phyi-a nyumba=ni kpwa Dr. Maneno amba-ye ni aphiu.
      then 1SG.ADD 1SG-CONS-go-FV 9.house=LOC 17.ASS NAME REL-1.REL COP 1a.uncle
      ‘Then as for me, I went to the home of Dr. Maneno who is my uncle.’

In (5), the similarity between the predicates is simply that they describe bad situations.

(5) a. Haya lola sambi, mwanao mvyere wa chilume vi sambi, wafungbwa mana waiya matumbingbwa ga atu.
   ‘Now look what has become of your elder son recently, he was jailed because he stole someone’s eggs.’

   b. Na yuno wanjina a-chi-ye-sal-a naye ku-m-phirik-a skuli.
      CON 1.DEM 1.other 3SG-ANT-1.REL-remain-FV 1.ADD NEG.2SG-3SG-send-FV 9.school
      ‘And the other one who is still at home even him (likewise) you don’t send him to school.’

2.1.2 Predicate additives in Digo

The two most common predicate additives are piya and tsona (chisha ‘then’ also functions as a predicate additive, but will not be discussed). The additive particle piya is an “all-purpose” additive which can function as a referential additive (6) (see also (1a) and (3a)) and as a predicate additive (7). “Piya indicates that the clause which it introduces is to be processed in parallel with the previous clause, and that the two clauses are of equal importance.” (Nicolle 2013: 206)

   3SG-PRES-say-FV 1SG-CONT-go-FV 1SG-ITIVE-search-SUB 9.work
   A-na-amb-a, “Hata mimi piya n’na-phyi-a n-ka-endz-e kazi, hu-phyi-e hosi.”
   3SG-PRES-say-FV even 1SG ADD 1SG-CONT-go-FV 1SG-ITIVE-search-SUB 9.work 1PL-go-SUB 1PL-all
   ‘He said, “I’m going to look for work.” He (his companion) said, “Even me also I’m going to look for work, let’s both go.”’

(7) Mihi y-anjina ni mi-kali na nku-hend-es-a vironda mi-fugo na piya nku-hend-es-a
   4.trees 4-other COP 4-acidic CON HAB-do-CAUS-FV 8.sores 4-livestock CON ADD HAB-do-CAUS-FV
   ng’ombe, ng’ondzi ama mbuzi i-ri-yo na mimba i-voromos-e.
   ‘Some trees are acidic and will cause livestock to get sores and also cause a cow, sheep of goat which is pregnant to miscarry.’
The predicate additive *tsona* introduces information which strengthens or clarifies information in the previous predicate. It functions syntactically as a conjunction when it precedes the added element (8), and as an adverb indicating repetition when it does not precede the added element (9).

(8) Uwe mgayi *tsona* mchiya wa mwisho u-na-tak-a mwanangu!

   2SG 1.poor ADD 1.poor 1.ASS 3.end 2SG-PRES-want-FV 1.child.1.SG.POS
   ‘You are a poor man moreover [you are] a complete pauper, (yet) you want to marry my daughter!’

(9) Ku-phiy-a *tsona* mi-hambo-ni mino si-phiy-a, si-tak-i ku-peleleza-wa.

   INF-go-FV ADD 4-trap-LOC 1SG 1.SG.NEG-go-FV NEG.1SG-want-FV INF-spy-PAS-FV
   ‘As for going trapping again I won’t go, I don’t want to be spied on.’

### 2.2 Examples from Vwanji

#### 2.2.1 Referential additives in Vwanji

In Vwanji (G66) the referential additive consists of a pronominal form prefixed to the class 16 relative marker *pe* for 3rd person forms and other noun classes (10), and a coordinating conjunction/comitative marker plus emphatic pronoun for 1st and 2nd person forms (11). The coordinating conjunction/comitative marker also functions as a referential additive with objects (10).

(10) Ʉ-nga-lʉt-e ʉlʉ-bale lwa Va-kinga *voope* iisi jaave na-vi-lim-a ama-yabele

   2SG-COND-go-FV 11-side 11.ASS 2-Kinga 2.ADD 9.land 9.3PL.POS NEG-3PL.NPST-farm-FV 6-maize
   minga nambe indofani nambe ing’halima, aveene looli iisi jaave
   6.much or 10.potatoes or 10.beans 3PL.CONTRAST yet 9.land 9.3PL.POS
   ghi-kund-a fiijo ama-piki, kwekuti vi-vyal-a fiijo ama-piki,
   6.NPST-agree-FV DEG 6-trees that.is.to.say 3PL.NPST-plant-FV DEG 6-trees
   neke vi-lim-a ni ngongilue nu vulesi nu tu-vwolo padebe.
   but 3PL.NPST-farm-FV ADD 9.wheat ADD 14.pigeon_peas ADD 13-peas a_little
   ‘If you go to the area of the Kingas also, on their land they do not farm a lot of maize, potatoes, or beans, and yet their land is good for trees, that is to say they plant many trees, but they also farm wheat, and pigeon peas and peas a little.’

(11) Ava-ana ava va-nga-many-ɨl-e kujenga inyumba, vi-liku-*tu*-jeng-el-agh-a *na jusue*

   2-children 2.DEM 2-COND-know-APPL-FV 15.building 10.houses 2NPST-CERT.FUT-1PL-build-APPL-HAB-FV 1PL.ADD
   inyumba inono *kange* isa kyang’aani.
   10.houses 10.good ADD 10.ASS certainty
   ‘When these children study building houses, they will build good and also secure houses for us also.’

#### 2.2.2 Predicate additive in Vwanji

The particle *kange*, highlighted in the example above, adds the adjectival phrase *isa kyang’aani* to the adjective *inono* ‘good’ describing the houses that will be built; most often in the corpus, however, it functions as the
predicate additive. As a predicate additive, kange adds predicates where the subject has not changed (12) – (14) and can also add additional clauses where the subject has changed (15).

(12) ʉvʉ-ghaasi vu-pungusi-a ingufu kange vu-pungusi-a na=lʉ luhala
‘drunkenness reduces strength and also [or: especially] it even reduces sense’

(13) Ava-tasi va-li nu lujovo luno lwi-ti,
2-ancestors 3PL-COP CON 11.saying 11.DEM 11.NPST-say

“Awvalua sio malenga kange uvvalua na=kya=kulia.”
14.beer NEG 6.water ADD 14.beer NEG =15.ASS =eating
‘The ancestors have a saying: “Beer is not water also beer is not food.”’

(14) ṛlụbale ulu iisi jaake nya=lifuke na=li lihanga lyake li-makaano,
11.side 11.DEM 9.land 9.3SG.POS ASS=5.heat CON=5 5.soil 5.3SG.POS 11-grey

iisi nyuumu kange pa-kifuku iisi nya=matope, ilihanga lyake lya nhapo.
‘This side its land is hot, even its soil is grey, (it is) a hard land and also in the rainy season it is muddy, its soil is clay (of potters).’

(15) Ifni ifi fi-kund-a fiijo imbale isi, kange avaanhu vinga kuhuma imbale
8.crops 8.DEM 8.NPST-agree-FV 8.much 10.parts 10.DEM ADD 2.people 2.many from 10.parts

isa kuvutali vi-lut-a ku-lim-a ku=Mavemba ulwakʉva vi-i-ti iisi nyamota.
10.ASS far 3PL.NPST-go-FV INF-farm-FV LOC=NAME because 3PL.NPST-say 9.land 9.prosperous
‘These crops do well in these parts, and also many people from far away go to farm in Mavemba because they say that the land is prosperous.’

2.3 ‘Referential additives’ without an added referent
In at least some Bantu languages, referential additive particles can occur even when the referent in question has not changed, and there is therefore no additional referent in focus. In these cases, a referential additive is used to indicate that the predicate describes a consequence or response to the previously mentioned situation or event.

In example (16) in Digo, the referential additive naye introduces a series of clauses in each of which the subject is the father of a girl (the speaker is speaking generically of all fathers of girls, and is obliquely referring to himself). In the previous clauses (not shown), the speaker had been addressing his son-in-law and referring to his own expectations as the father of a girl, so the first occurrence of naye functions as a regular referential additive, adding fathers in general to the specific case of the speaker. Each subsequent predicate follows from the previous one, and leads towards a culmination or fulfillment: fathering > desiring > knowing > being satisfied.
(16) Kwa sababu amba mvyazi naye a-chi-vyal-a dza viratu naye a = na tamaa, because DM 1.parent 1.ADD 1-DEF-bear-FV as same_way 1.ADD 1 = CON 9.desire

a-na-many-a, achivyala mwana m-chetu naye a-na-many-a,
3SG-PRES-know-FV 1-DEF-bear-FV 1.child 1-female 1.ADD 3SG-PRES-know-FV

“N’nda-ló-z-a, na a-phah-e chakpwe,” naye a-sitiri moyo-we.
1SG-FUT-marry-CAUS-FV CON 3SG-get SUB 7.3SG.POS 1.ADD 3SG-cover 3.heart-3.3SG.POS

‘Because really if a parent also bears a child in the same way he also/therefore hopes (to get dowry), he knows, if he produces a girl he also/therefore knows, “I will marry her off, and she should get her due,” and he is satisfied (lit. he also/therefore covers his heart).’

In Kabwa (JE405), referential additives consist of a person/noun class prefix and the specifier -onse ‘all’. When different referents are mentioned, -onse functions as a referential additive particle, but when the same referent is mentioned and the second or subsequent occurrence is modified by -onse this indicates that the event described in the predicate is a reaction to a previous event. Walker (2011: 34) also notes that an additional function of -onse in narratives is to signal the importance of a character in the story.

(17) Bhono rundi ego akakamba omukari a-ka-bhuuribh-w-a na omubhwimi, now one_day then however 1.woman 3SG-CONS-tell-PAS-FV by 1.hunter

“Mukaruka waho ya-na akahuuna, a-ra-teek-a ebhyokurya erya a-ra-ry-a.”
1.husband 1.3SG.POS 3SG-have 7.hut 3SG-PRES-cook-FV 8.food there 3SG-PRES-eat-FV

Bhoono omukari wonse a-ka-gy-a oku-soomy-a omusaaja.
Now 1.woman 1.ADD 3SG-CONS-go-FV INF-investigate-FV 1.man

‘Now one day, however, the woman was told by a hunter, “Your husband has a hut, he is cooking food there and eating.” So the woman went to investigate the man.’ (Walker 2011: 35)

The use of referential additives to indicate consequences and reactions when modifying a referent that was the subject of a previous clause is not restricted to Bantu languages such as Digo and Kabwa; Levinsohn (2002: 173) makes the following observation: “It is very common in narrative texts in African languages for an additive to be used for confirmation in stimulus-response situations where the response is in line with the stimulus.”

3. Forms of referential additives

The simplest form of additive is the coordinating conjunction/comitative marker seen in (10) in Vwanji. In Rangi (F33), referential additives consist of a conjunction plus (optionally) a personal pronoun:

(18) ‘His sons divided [their father’s field into] three parts. The elder ones wasted their parts. That little [younger] one remained with his part, he repeatedly hoed and planted cowpeas and pumpkins, he repeatedly harvested (during) dry season and rainy season. His siblings repeatedly begged (from) him he repeatedly gave them. One day they pillaged the vegetation, they cut the roots of the cowpeas and pumpkins so that he should lack also.

sa a-sov-e na yeeye. for 3SG-lack-SUB ADD 3SG

(Stegen 2011: 369)
A similar situation occurs in Tswana (S31) and Nande (DJ42), in which there are two alternate constructions: either a coordinating conjunction functioning as an additive particle precedes the subject, as in (19a) and (20a), or the additive particle attaches to a resumptive pronominal form\(^2\), as in (19b), (20b) and (20c).

(19) a. Le Kitso o tsile.
    CON Kitso 3SG come:PRF:DJ
    ‘Kitso too came.’

    b. Kitso o tsile le ene.
    Kitso 3SG come:PRF:DJ CON 3SG
    ‘Kitso too came.’ (lit. ‘Kitso came he too.’) (Tswana; Creissels 2016: 27)

(20) a. na Kambale mwahikere
    CON 1.Kambale 3SG.PST.arrived
    ‘Also Kambale arrived.’

    b. Kambale na-ye mwahikere
    1.Kambale CON-3SG 3SG.PST.arrive
    ‘Kambale, too, arrived.’

    c. Kambale agenda na-ye
    1.Kambale 3SG.PST.leave CON-3SG
    ‘Kambale left also.’ (Nande; Schneider-Zioga 2015: 254-256)

As mentioned earlier, in Vwanji (G66) the referential additive consists of a coordinating conjunction/comitative marker plus emphatic pronoun for 1\(^{st}\) and 2\(^{nd}\) person forms, but a pronominal form prefixed to the class 16 relative marker pe for 3\(^{rd}\) person forms and other noun classes. This pattern is also found in Malila (M24); an example of a pronominal form prefixed to the class 16 relative pronoun is provided below:

    then 18 3PL-FUT-walk-FV 18-DEM 18-PST-be 9.bush
    Khabhili in-sama zi-ope zi-á-liipo mu ili-tata liila
    again 10-lion 10-ADD 10-PST-be(16) 18 5-bush 5.DEM
    ‘Then in there where they will walk, it was bush. Moreover, lions were in that bush as well.’ (Eaton 2015: 21)

Ngazidja (G44a) has a referential additive consisting of the class 16 associative marker pva prefixed to a pronominal form, e.g. pvangu ‘me too’ (Lafon 1989); the following example illustrates the 3SG form pvah\(e\).

(22) Ha-ka-handz-a pvah\(e\) ya-fany-e ze ndrongo zila wizo.
    ‘He also wanted to do the very same things.’

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\(^2\) The reduced pronominal forms found in Digo, Nande, and other languages are probably derived from personal pronouns. In Nicolle (2013) these are termed ‘referential markers’ and are argued to be cliticized to na, but the morpheme boundaries in (19) and (20) are kept as they appear in Creissels (2016) and Schneider-Zioga (2015).
Both Ngazidja (G44a) and Ndzwani (G44b) also have *wajawo* (spelled *wadjau* in Ahmed Chamanga & Gueunier 1997) which seems to be used as both a referential and a predicate additive.

A further referential additive construction is found in the JE zone languages, including Kabwa discussed above, in which a pronominal agreement marker is prefixed to -*onswe/-onse/-one*. Depending on the context, this is understood as either ‘all’ (23) or ‘also’ (24). Examples from Suba-Simbiti (JE431; Masatu 2015: 8).

(23) Bhoono ömöntö uyö a-ka-têëby-a abbakaaye **bhonswe** igho abhabhërë  
now 1.person 1.DEM 3SG-NARR-tell-FV 2.wives 2.all completely 2.two  
igha bha-ghi bha-mo-reet-er-e amanshë agha mu=kisima kiyö  
‘Now that person told both of his two wives that they should go and bring him water from that well.’

but 1.ASS Europe 3SG-NARR-say-FV 1SG-17-work 1SG.COP NEG-1SG.come-SUB NEG  
Na oora uwa mo=maghinga **wonswe** ti-ya-ash-a hë.  
CON 1.DEM 1.ASS 18=6.islands 1.ADD NEG-3SG.come-FV NEG  
‘But [the son] in Europe said, “I am working, I cannot come.” And that [son] in the islands also he didn’t come.’ (Masatu 2015: 49; free translation SN)

In Kwaya (JE251) the form of the additive is -*oone*:

2.people 3PL-be:HAB 3PL-NEG-be:LOC CON 1a.father.POS.3SG 3SG-NEG-be-LOC  
waamuwaabho **woone** a-ta-ri-wo.  
1.relative.POS.3SG 1.ADD 3SG-NEG-be-LOC  
‘People weren’t there, and his father wasn’t there, his relative also wasn’t there.’ (Odom 2015: 19)

In Jita (JE25) -*oone* is a quantifier ‘all, many’ but the referential additive is the invariant particle *wone*:

(26) Omuyaga :gwa-ri-ga gu-ri mwafu muno  
3.wind 3-be:HAB 3-be 3.much 3.very  
nyabhuriko na makonjo **wone** :gaa-ri-ga ga-ri maafu muno.  
such_that CON 6.waves ADD 6-be:HAB 3-be 6.much 6.very  
‘The wind was very great, such that the waves also were very great.’ (Pyle & Robinson 2015: 20)

There are a number of other forms of referential additive particles in Bantu languages: Nyungwe (N43) and Sena (N44) use the suffix –*mbo* added to a nominal to express additive focus (Floor 2005: 6): *ine=mbo* (1SG = ADD) ‘I also’, *iye=mbo* (3SG = ADD) ‘s/he also’ (Jim Vinton p.c. 6 July 2017), *tenepo-yo=mbo* (thus-9.REF = ADD) ‘in this way also’ (Mikael Bister p.c. 6 July 2017).
Table 1: Referential Additive Particles in Selected Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Referential additive particle (3SG form unless stated otherwise)</th>
<th>Description/notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangi (F33)</td>
<td>na (yeeye)</td>
<td>coordinating conjunction/comitative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nande (DJ42)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>comitative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulliru (DJ63)</td>
<td>naye</td>
<td>comitative marker (na) + referential clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digo (E73)</td>
<td>naye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena (G63)</td>
<td>naye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malila (M24)</td>
<td>niiné (1SG), niitwé (1PL)</td>
<td>pronominal form prefixed to class 16 relative marker pe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niimwé (2SG) niimwé (2PL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woopé (3SG), bhoopé (2PL) and all other noun classes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vwanji (G66)</td>
<td>na juane (1SG), na jusue (1PL)</td>
<td>comitative marker (na) + emphatic pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na juave (2SG), na jumue (2PL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ghwope (3SG), voope (2PL) and all other noun classes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngazidja (G44a)</td>
<td>pvahe</td>
<td>class 16 associative marker pva prefixed to a pronominal form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana (S31)</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>coordinating conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le ene</td>
<td>coordinating conjunction plus personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suba-Simbiti (JE431)</td>
<td>wonswe</td>
<td>pronominal form prefixed to the specifier -onswe/-onse/-one ‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabwa (JE405)</td>
<td>wonse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaya (JE251)</td>
<td>woone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jita (JE25)</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>invariant form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyungwe (N43)</td>
<td>-mbo</td>
<td>suffix added to a nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sena (N44)</td>
<td>-mbo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These can be grouped as follows:

1. coordinating conjunction (comitative marker) na / le preceding the added NP
2. na / le prefixed to referential clitic / resumptive pronoun
3. na plus emphatic pronoun
4. pronominal clitic prefixed to class 16 relative marker pe
5. class 16 associative marker \textit{pva} prefixed to a pronominal form
6a. pronominal form prefixed to the specifier -\textit{onswe/-onse/-one} ‘all’
6b. invariant form derived from 5
7. \textit{-mbo} suffixed to a nominal

4. Summary and further research

4.1 Summary
The Bantu languages surveyed here have specific particles that indicate additive focus on referents (referential additives). In many languages, but not all, the referential additive particle is morphologically complex, consisting of a pronominal element and another element (coordinating conjunction/comitative marker, class 16 relative or associative marker, or a specifier meaning ‘all’). Many Bantu languages also have distinct predicate additive particles, some of which also function as referential additives or reinforce referential additives. Another feature of additive particles in Bantu languages is that referential additives can be used when there is no added referent to indicate that the predicate describes a consequence or response to the previously mentioned situation or event.

4.2 Further research: Cognate forms with non-additive meanings
A number of forms that appear to be cognates of additive particles have other meanings: \textit{na} prefixed to referential clitic in Vwanji functions as a scalar particle (‘even’) as in (12) and (14) repeated here:

(28) \textit{űvű-ghaasi} \textit{vu-pungusi-a} \textit{ingufu} \textit{kange} \textit{vu-pungusi-a} \textit{na=lu} \textit{luhala}
\begin{tabular}{l}
14-drunkenness\ 14.NPST-reduce-FV\ 10.strength\ \textit{ADD}\ \ 14.NPST-reduce-FV\ \textit{CON=11}\ 11.sense
\end{tabular}

‘drunkenness reduces strength and also [or: especially] \textit{it} \textbf{even} reduces sense’

(29) \textit{Ʉlʉbale} \textit{ulʉ} \textit{iisi} \textit{jaake} \textit{nya=lifuke} \textit{na=li} \textit{lihanga} \textit{lyake} \textit{li-makaano},
\begin{tabular}{l}
11.side\ 11.DEM\ 9.land\ 9.3SG.POS\ \textit{ASS=5.heat}\ \textit{CON=5}\ 5.soil\ 5.3SG.POS\ 11-grey
\end{tabular}

‘This side its land is hot, \textbf{even} its soil is grey...’

Stegen (2011: 211) calls \textit{naye} in Rangi the “emphatic pronoun”; there is only one occurrence in Stegen’s narrative corpus of 3,200 clauses and this does not appear to have an additive function. In Ngazidja, \textit{-ontse} and \textit{piya} (also spelled \textit{-õntsi} and \textit{pia}) both mean ‘all’; in combination \textit{-ontse piya} means ‘absolutely, entirely, together, completely’ (Ahmed Chamanga & Gueunier 1997).

(30) \textit{Wandru} \textit{wontse} \textit{piya} \textit{wa-humi-w-a}.
\begin{tabular}{l}
2.people\ 2.all\ all\ 3PL.PST-amaze-PAS-FV
\end{tabular}

‘People were utterly amazed.’

(31) \textit{Zila} \textit{ra-hamɓ-a} \textit{zontsi} \textit{piya}.
\begin{tabular}{l}
10.DEM\ 1PL.PST-say-FV\ 10.all\ all
\end{tabular}

‘We have said absolutely all of those things.’

Abbreviations
\textit{ADD} additive particle; \textit{ANT} anterior; \textit{APPL} applicative; \textit{ASS} associative; \textit{CAUS} causative; \textit{CERT.FUT} certain future; \textit{COMP} complementizer; \textit{CON} coordinating conjunction/comitative marker; \textit{COND} conditional; \textit{CONS} consecutive;
References


