

The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation Meaning

I	first person	CL	class
2	second person	CLF	classifier
3	third person	CNS	consuetudinal
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb	CNTRFAC	counterfactual
ABIL	ability (verb), abilitive mood	COLL	collocative, associative plural
ABL	ablative, movement away from something	COM	comitative
ABS	absolutive	COMP	complementizer
ACC	accusative	COMPAR	comparative affix/marker
ACCID	accidental	COMPL	accomplished, completive
ACT	action marker	COMPL1, COMPL2	completive1, completive 2
ADD	additive	CONC	concessive
ADJ	adjective, adjectival suffix	COND	conditional
ADJ2	second adjective marker	CONF	confirmation particle
ADJ3	third adjective marker	CONJ	conjunction
ADJZ	adjectivalizer	CONN	connective
ADMON	admonitive	CONT	continuative, continuous, ongoing
ADR	addressive		action
ADV	adverb, adverbial	CONTR	contrastive
ADVERS	adversative	COP	copula, equational copula
ADVZ	adverbializer	CPD	compound, component derived by tone
AFF	affirmative		deletion
AG	agent, agentive	CSEC	consecutive
AGR	agreement	CTPL	contemplated aspect
ALL	allative	CVB	converb
ANAPH	anaphoric	DAT	dative
ANIM	animate	DECL	declarative
ANT	anterior	DEF	definite
ANTIP	antipassive	DEFRCLT	deferential clitic
APPL	applicative	DEG	degree (particle, word)
ART	article	DEIC	deictic
ASP	aspect (marker, particle)	DELIM	delimitative
ASS	associative (plural)	DEM	demonstrative
ASSOBL	associative (obligation)	DEP	dependent (pronoun)
ASSOC	associative (preposition)	DEPV	dependent verb
ATT	attenuative	DESID	desiderative
ATTR	attributive marker	DET	determiner
AUX	auxiliary	DETRANS	detransitivizing
BE	identity copula, locative-existential copula	DIM	diminutive
BEN	benefactive	DIR	direction, directional
BGND	background	DISASS	disassociative
CAUS	causative	DISC	discourse marker
CIS	cislocative, movement towards speaker	DISC.PCL	discourse particle
		DIST	distal

DISTR	distributive	INDF	indefinite
DO	direct object	INDP	independent
DS	different subject	INF	infinitive
DU	dual	INFL	inflectional marker
DUB	dubitative, uncertain knowledge	INGR	ingressive
DUMMY	dummy pronoun	INS	instrumental
DUR	durative	INSIST	insistence
EMPH	emphatic, emphasis	INT	intentional, intentionalis
ENCL	enclitic	INTENS	intensifier, intensitive, intensive, intensity
EPIST	epistemic	INTERJ	interjection
EQ.COP	equational copula	INTERM	intermediate (between distal and proximal)
ERG	ergative	INTFR	intensifier
EVID	evidential	INTIM	intimate
EXCL	exclusive	INTR	intransitive
excl	exclusive (in value boxes, §7 of Introduction)	INV	inverse marker
EXCLAM	exclamation	IO	indirect object
EXIST	existential	IPFV	imperfective
EXPL	expletive	IRR	irrealis
F	feminine, female	ITER	iterative
FAM	familiar	JUDG	judgment
FILL	filler (item)	LINK	link vowel, link consonant
FIN	finite	LK	linker
FOC	focus (marker)	LOC	locative
FPST	far past	LOCV	locative verb
FUT	future	LOG	logophoric personal pronoun
FV	final vowel	M	masculine
GEN	genitive	MIR	mirative
GENER	generic	MKD	marked
GER	gerund	MOD	modal (auxiliary, verb, particle), modality
H	high toneme	MOD.AUX	modal auxiliary
HAB	habitual	MODIF	modifier
HABIL	habilitative	MOOD	mood particle
HAVE	possession predicate	N	neuter
HL	highlighter	N-	non-
HON	honorific	NACCOMPL	non-accomplished
HORT	hortative	NARR	narrative
HUM	human	NECESS	necessity
IDENTITY.COP	identity copula	NEG	negation, negative
IDEO	ideophone	NEG.FIN	negator preceding a finite verb
IGN	ignorative	NEG2	2nd negative marker
IMM.PST	immediate past	NFIN	non-finite
IMP	imperative	NFUT	non-future
IMPRS	impersonal pronoun	NHON	non-honorific
INAB	inability	NMLZ	nominalizer, nominalization, nominalizing suffix
INACC	inaccomplished	NOM	nominative
INAN	inanimate	NP	noun phrase
INC	inchoative	NPST	non-past
INCEP	inceptive (future)	NSBJ	non-subject
INCL	inclusive	NSG	non-singular
INCOMPL	incompletive	NUM	number, numeral
INCORP	incorporated (noun)	OBJ	object (marker)
IND	indicative	OBL	oblique

Abbreviations

OBLIG	obligative (mood marker), obligatory	REL	relative, relativizer
OBV	obviative	REL.PCL	relative particle
OPT	optative	REL.PRO	relative pronoun
ORD	ordinal	REM	remote
ORD.NUM	ordinal numeral	REP	repetition, repetitive
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb	REPORT	reportative
PASS	passive	REQ	requestative
PAUC	paucal	RES	resultative
PCL	particle	S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
PERM	permission, permissive	SBJ	subject
PERMANENT	permanent state	SBJV	subjunctive
PFV	perfective, narrative perfective (marker)	SENT.PCL	sentence particle
PL	plural	SEQ	sequence marker
PM	predicate marker	SG	singular
POL	polite	shrd	shared (in value boxes, §7 of Introduction)
POSS	possessive, possessor, adpositional, possessive marker	SI	subject index
POSTP	postposition	SIML	similative
POT	potential	SM	subject marker
PRED	predicative	SPECUL	speculative
PREP	preposition	SS	same subject
PRESV	presentational, presentative	STANDARD.MARKER	comparative standard
PRET	preterite	STAT	stative
PRF	perfect	SUBORD	subordinator
PRO	pronoun, resumptive pronoun	SUPERL	superlative
PROG	progressive	SUPPL	suppletive
PROG2	second progressive	SVC	serial verb construction
PROH	prohibitive	TA	transitive animate
PROX	proximal/proximate	TAM	tense aspect mood
PRS	present (tense)	TEMP	temporal
PSREFL	pseudo-reflexive pronoun	TMA	tense mood aspect
PST	past, past before past	TNS	tense particle
PTCP	participle	TOP	topic
PURP	purpose, purposive	TR	transitive
Q	interrogative, question (word, particle, marker)	V	verb
Q.TAG	question tag	V.PREF	verbal prefix
QUANT	quantifier, quantitative	VAL	validator
QUOT	quotative	VBLZ	verbalizer
RECP	reciprocal	VOC	vocative
RED	reduplication	VOL	volitive
REFL	reflexive	VPCL	verb particle

Chapter 89

Reciprocal constructions

MARTIN HASPELMATH AND THE APiCS CONSORTIUM

1. Introduction

In this chapter we ask how reciprocal constructions are expressed, and in particular whether they are identical to reflexive constructions or different from them (see Maslova & Nedjalkov 2005 for the corresponding *WALS* chapter). In most languages, there is a special reciprocal construction not identical to a reflexive construction, so within the languages with special reciprocal constructions, we make some further distinctions.

We focus on reciprocal constructions with transitive non-symmetrical verbs such as ‘see’ (‘The girl and the boy saw each other’). It should be noted that symmetrical verbs sometimes behave differently, as in English, where the verb *kiss* does not need a reciprocal pronoun (*The boy and the girl kissed*). This is the case in some creoles too (e.g. Guadeloupean Creole *yo bo* ‘they kissed’), but such cases are disregarded here.

In the world’s languages, identity with reflexives is not uncommon, but distinct reciprocal constructions are more common, especially in Eurasia. Outside of the Americas, identity of reciprocals and reflexives is found especially in western and central Africa and in Australia (Maslova & Nedjalkov 2005). For a very detailed study of reciprocals in the world’s languages, see Nedjalkov (ed.) (2007).

We distinguish six different values:

1. Reciprocal construction identical to reflexive	10
2. Identical and special reciprocal construction	9
3. Special reciprocal construction based on ‘other’	25
4. Special reciprocal construction based on ‘companion’	7
5. Other special reciprocal construction	15
6. No reciprocal construction exists	3

2. Identity

Nineteen languages have a reciprocal construction which is identical to a reflexive construction. In ten languages (value 1) this is the only possibility, while in nine further languages (value 2) there is also another construction which is different from reflexive constructions. Identity is found especially in African English-based languages and in the very basilectal Caribbean English-based languages, where *self* is used in recip-

rocal constructions as well:

- (1) Cameroon Pidgin English (Schröder 2013)
Dem laik dem-sef.
3PL.SBJ like 3PL-REFL
‘They like each other.’
- (2) Saramaccan (Aboh et al. 2013)
De lobi de seei.
3PL love 3PL self
‘They love each other.’

Such sentences are usually ambiguous in these languages in that they could also mean ‘They like/love themselves’. Identity is found in the Australian languages Kriol and Gurindji Kriol too, again based on a form deriving from *self*:

- (3) Gurindji Kriol (Meakins 2013)
“Watja watja” jei bin tok mijelp nganta.
hurry hurry 3PL.SBJ PST talk RECP DOUBT
‘“Hurry hurry”, I reckon they were saying to each other.’

Both the Atlantic and the Australian patterns may well be due to substrate influence, as identity of reciprocal and reflexive constructions occurs prominently in West African and Australian languages. Tok Pisin, too, has identity, based on the form *yet* (derived from English *yet*, also used as a focus marker):

- (4) Tok Pisin (Smith & Siegel 2013)
Pikinini bik-pla na ol maret-im ol yet.
child big-MOD and 3PL marry-TR 3PL FOC
‘The children grew big and married each other.’

In the Atlantic English-based languages, only the *self* reflexives, and not the ‘body’ reflexives can normally be used as reciprocals, and likewise, in Mauritian Creole, only the *mem* reflexive, and not the ‘body’ reflexive (with *so lekor* ‘his body’) can be extended to reciprocal use (see Chapter 87 on reflexive constructions). However, there is one African language with identity using the ‘body’ word: in Sango, *tere* ‘body’ is used both as a reflexive and as a reciprocal pronoun.

Palenquero is unique in that zero-marking has both a reflexive and a reciprocal sense:

- (5) Palenquero (Schwegler 2013)
Ané ndo a besá.
they two PST kiss
‘The two of them kissed each other.’

3. Special reciprocal constructions

Most of the APiCS languages have a special reciprocal construction. Frequently, this involves a reciprocal pronoun deriving from or including the element ‘other’ (value 3). The English-based varieties that are closer to English usually have a form deriving from *one another* (or occasionally *each other*), and the French-based varieties that are closer to French have a form deriving from French *l’un l’autre* [the.one the.other]. Some Portuguese-derived languages have a form such as Guinea-Bissau Kriol *un utru* [one other], Casamancese Creole *nutur* (<*un utru*).

But there are also ‘other’-based forms that are less close to the lexifiers and that are clearly innovative with respect to them. In the Gulf of Guinea creoles, ‘other’ by itself may be used as in Santome, or ‘other’ is used both in subject position and in object position, as in Principense (similarly in Batavia Creole):

- (6) Santome (Hagemeijer 2013)
Ūa ska mat’ ôtô.
one PROG kill other
‘They are killing each other.’
- (7) Principense (Maurer 2013c)
Ôtô sa mēê mata ôtô.
other PROG want kill other
‘They wanted to kill each other.’

‘Other’ by itself, as in Santome, is also found in Caribbean French-based creoles (as well as in Papiamentu):

- (8) Martinican Creole (Colot & Ludwig 2013b)
Yonn ka gadé lot.
one PROG look other
‘They are looking at each other.’

This category also includes Afrikaans *mekaar*, derived from Dutch *malke-ander* ‘each other’.

Innovative reciprocal pronouns may also be derived from a ‘companion’ word (value 4), as in Cape Verdean Creole and in some French-based languages:

- (9) Cape Verdean Creole of Brava (Baptista 2013)
Nu ta sai, ta spia kunpanheru, pa kaminhu.
we HAB go.out HAB look companion on way
‘We would go out, looking at each other on the way.’
- (10) Guyanais (Pfänder 2013)
yé konnèt yé kompannyen
they know them friend
‘They know each other.’
- (11) Seychelles Creole (Michaelis & Rosalie 2013)
Nou pa zwenn kanmarad.
1PL NEG meet comrade
‘We don’t meet each other.’

Reciprocal constructions

In addition, the special form *matii* in Creolese (which was also borrowed into Berbice Dutch as *mati*) originally meant ‘friend, companion’:

- (12) Creolese (Devonish & Thompson 2013)
dem hog op matii
3PL hug up friend
‘They hugged up each other.’

In addition, various other special reciprocal markers occur in our languages (value 5):

- reciprocal affixes derived from Bantu (in Lingala, Kikongo-Kituba and Mixed Ma’a/Mbugu), from Philippine languages (in some of the Chabacano varieties), from Malay (in Ambon Malay), from Quechua (in Media Lengua) and from Cree (in Michif);
- the reduplicated numeral ‘two’ in Papiá Kristang (*dos dos*), and the reduplicated numeral ‘one’ in Singapore Bazaar Malay (*satu satu*):

- (13) Papiá Kristang (Baxter 2013)
Pedru ku Maria dos dos busidu
Pedru COM Maria two~two hate
‘Pedru and Maria hate each other.’

- the reciprocal marker *badum* in Juba Arabic and Kinubi (inherited from Arabic *ba‘du-hum* ‘beside them, together’);
- the auxiliary *hugá* ‘play’ in Ternate Chabacano:

- (14) Ternate Chabacano (Sippola 2013b)
Ta hugá keré lótro dos.
1PFV play.RECP love 3PL two
‘The two of them love each other.’ (lit. ‘The two of them play loving.’)

4. Non-existence

Some languages simply lack a special reciprocal form or construction (value 6) and use an ‘iconic’ mode of rendering mutual situations: the two situations are expressed by two clauses with the participants expressed twice.

- (15) Bislama (Meyerhoff 2013)
yu yu save mi, mi mi save yu
2SG 2SG know 1SG 1SG 1SG know 2SG
‘You know me and I know you.’ (= ‘We know each other.’)

89 Reciprocal constructions

