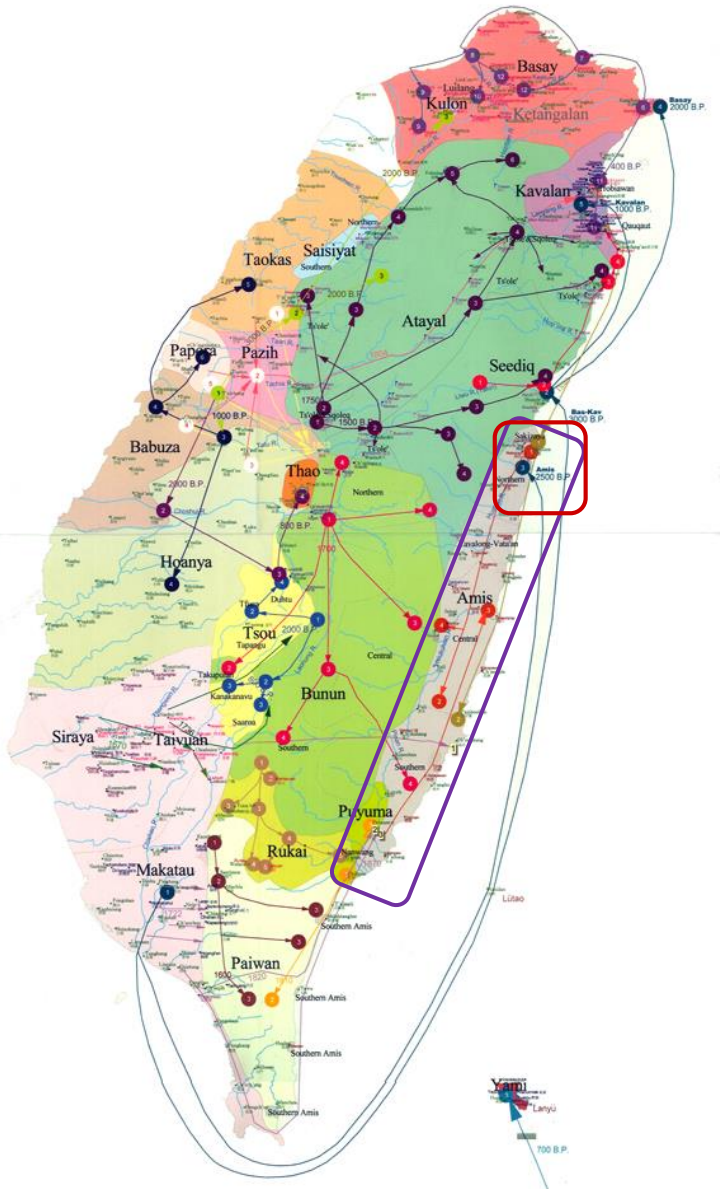


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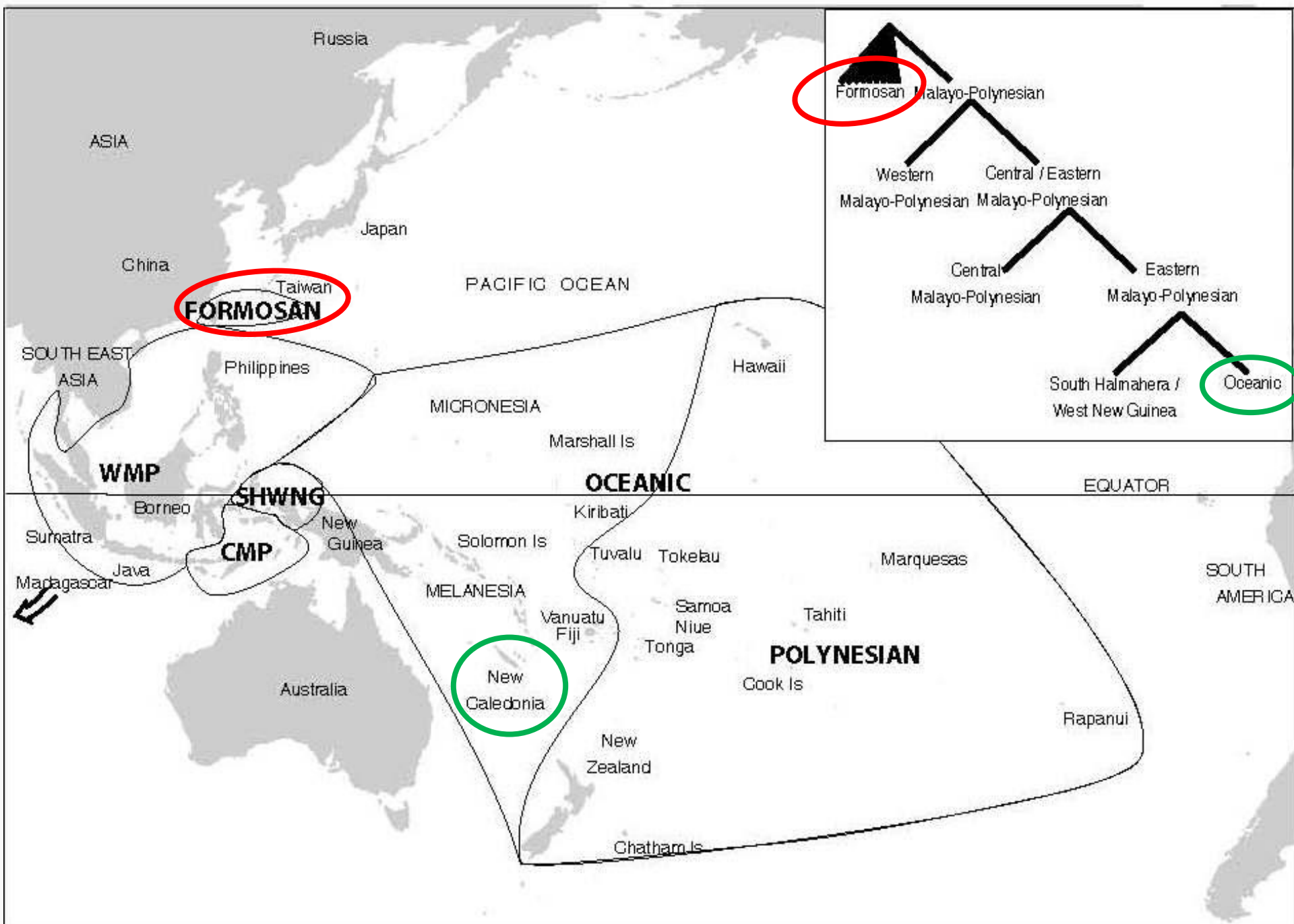
Reciprocals in Austronesian languages

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Formosan languages



Amis 4 dialects



The Middle, reciprocal domain in Austronesian

1. In Austronesian languages: reciprocal relations are mostly
 - expressed by **affixes** occurring in **monoclausal** constructions
 - **not** by reciprocal pronouns, anaphors or quantifiers ('each other')
2. Affixes reconstructed in PAN as ***maR-/paR-**
in POc ***paRi-**
 - PAN ***maR-/paR-** > **Amis** (Formosan) **mal(a)-**
(**m<al>a-**: from *middle* prefix **ma-** + infix <**aR**> marking plurality of relations or co-participation (Blust 2009, Sagart, Zeitoun 2002))
 - POc ***paRi-** > **Nêlêmwa** (N.C.) **pe-**

Source & direction of evolution

- Starting from reconstructed prefixes PAN *maR-/paR-
POc *paRi-
- The **semantics** of these affixes include
 - *collective, collaborative/plural* relations
 - *reciprocals*
 - in some languages (esp. Oceanic), these prefixes take on *Middle functions* & develop other semantics (Lichtenberk 2000, Bril 2005)
- but : generally **exclude** reflexives
- **no** reconstructed PAN or POc **reflexive** morpheme

Source & direction of evolution

- **Reflexives** are generally expressed by
 - *intransitive* verbs
 - *transitive* verbs with coreferential pronominal arguments,
 - *lexically* : **verbs** like 'return' ; **nouns** like 'body' ([Amis](#))
modifiers 'alone', etc.
 - in some Oceanic lang., by reflexes of **paRi-* (*-i* / *-aki* & **additional**
morphemes)
(Bril, L.T. 2005)
(Moyse-Faurie 2008)

Outline

Focus : on the *reciprocal*, *collective* meanings, *dyadic kinship*,

Mostly in **Amis** (Formosan) & **Nêlêmwa** (Oceanic, N. Caledonia)

1. Syntactic features
2. Encoding of *reciprocal* relations & distribution of affixes
3. Semantics of the various reciprocal constructions, including *dyadic kinship*

1. Morphology : Amis vs. Nêlêmwa

- Few inherently reciprocal verbs,
except *Amis* : *ma-ramud* ‘marry’ (**mal-*),
ma-licinuwas ‘separate from each other’ (**mal-*)
- *Amis* verbs like *cabiq* ‘compete’, *taes* ‘fight’ all have **reciprocal** affixes.
mal-cabiq ‘compete with each other’
mal-taes ‘fight with each other’ (*mi-taes* ‘beat, flog s.o.’)
- In many **Oceanic** languages, ‘they meet, separate, compete, fight, kiss’ all carry **REC** affixes.

Nêlêmwa

- a. Hli **pe**-ru-i ‘they met’ (REC-*tu* ‘find each other’)
- b. Hli **pe**-boima ‘they kissed’

1. Morphology

- Amis : **2** distinct morphemes : *mal(a)-* ; *ma-Ca-*
mal(a)- tends to **profile** reciprocal events as **one holistic** event
ma-Ca- **profile several** reciprocal **sub-events**
targets a plurality of **actions**
- Amis : **restricted (dual)** vs. **extended (plural)** reciprocity are
marked by distinct types of **reduplication**.
- Fijian : exhaustive perspective
vei-vale many houses ; *vei-vale-vale* ‘all the houses, every house’
- Nêlêmwa : **no** such semantic distinction
one single **polysemous** prefix *pe-* for restricted or extended reciprocity;
difference marked on **dual/plural** subject pronouns.

1. Syntactic features

- Reciprocal constructions are all *low transitive* or *intransitive* due to symmetrical relations between *agent* & *patient* (expressed once)
- Nêlêmwa (& many Oceanic languages):
one single morpheme but two constructions.
- ‘Light’ (intransitive, **one** recip. argument) for **one-event reciprocal** + **reciprocal coparticipants** + **Middle** semantics
- vs. ‘heavy’ (2 pronominal arguments) for **symmetrical** & **pluriactional reciprocal** events.

1. Reciprocals & transitivity : Nêlêmwa

- **Intransitive construction :**

weakly reciprocal or **collective** actions, *depatientive*,

Nêlêmwa (Bril 2007)

- 1a. Hla **pe-taxu** agu. *depatientive*
3PL REC-give.INTR people

‘The people are in exchange relationship.’ (**one** absolutive argument)

- **Transitive construction : 2 coreferential pronouns**

strongly reciprocal & symmetrical, often **pluriactional**.

- 1b. Hla **pe-taxi-hla** (o hnoot) + possibly an **oblique** theme
3PL REC-give.TR-3PL (OBL riches)

‘They give each other (lit. with riches).’

1. Amis : relation to voice & alignment

- **Amis** : reciprocal constructions are **intransitive** or **low transitive**
+ possibly an **oblique patient**/theme

2. **Mal-'ala**. 'alaw=tu **k**-uhni **t**-u da-demak-en.
REC-CVCV.steal=PFV **NOM**-3PL OBL-NM CA-work-UV.PASS
'(They)'ve stolen from one another the work to be done.'

Same alignment as Actor Voice **mi-** :

2b. **Mi-**'alaw=tu **k**-uhni **t**-u da-demak-en.
AV-steal=PFV **NOM**-3PL OBL-NM CA-work-UV.PASS
'(They)'ve been stealing the work to be done.'

1. Reciprocal & middle in Amis

- **ma-Ca-** reciprocal constructions > also **intransitive** or *low transitive*, reciprocal/collective **subjects** are expressed **once**

3. **ma-ka-**kuku [k-u wacu atu nani].

MID-CA-chase NOM-NM dog and cat

‘The dog and the cat chase each other.’ (dual, in turn)

4a. **ma-sa-**suwal [k-aku a ci Abas].

MID-CA-speak NOM-1SG and PM Abas

‘[I and Abas] spoke to each other.’



- **ma-Ca-** is a *middle-reciprocal* morpheme.

- always combined & distinct from the verb’s basic voice (4b)

4b. s<**em**>uwal cira.

<AV>speak NOM-3SG

‘he’s speaking.’

II. Semantics of reciprocal constructions : Strong vs. weak symmetry

2. Strong vs. weak symmetry

(i) *Strict reciprocal* relations are **strongly** symmetrical

$x \longleftrightarrow y$

They laugh at each other

$x \longleftrightarrow y$

\updownarrow

z

\nearrow

Graph 1

They laugh at one another

All members are reciprocally & symmetrically involved in the relation.

2. Strong vs. weak symmetry

(ii) Other meanings are often **weakly symmetrical** (Dalrymple 1998)

- **collective** or **plural** relations, *mode of grouping, chaining*
- iterative, intensive, distributive, etc.

$x \longleftrightarrow y \longleftrightarrow z$ *Run after one another (in turn or unspecified co-participation, Creissels 2008)*

$x \longrightarrow y \longrightarrow z$ *They walk one after the other (chaining)*

$x \ \& \ z$ stand in indirect reciprocal relation



The **whole** chain is the
domain of reciprocity
Union of local
asymmetries

2. Amis: Strong vs. weak symmetry

- How does the typology of *strong* & *weak* symmetry apply to N. Amis ?
- Such distinction is less central than the type of *profiling* of reciprocal events:
 - **one holistic event** (i.e. plurality of participants in reciprocal relations seen as a whole)
 - **low degree of elaboration**
 - VS. **plurality of sub-events** involved, distributed in time
- *Strong* or *weak* reciprocal readings are constrained by *lexical semantics*, NOT so much by different morphemes.

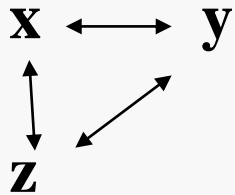
2. Strong vs. weak symmetry

The semantics of the **predicate** & the associated **spatial configuration** constrains **strong** or **weak** symmetrical interpretations.

Some indeterminacy involved.

'they dance holding each other's hands' can read as in graph 1 or 2

graph 1: is + **strongly** reciprocal



Graph 1



graph 2: **weakly** reciprocal, *chaining*



Reciprocity between **x** & **z**, is **indirect**

2. Amis: holistic vs. sub-events profiling

a. REC *mal(a)*-

- reciprocal relations or **collective actions** are *profiled* as **one event** in a **holistic** way
- the *root's semantics* select the *strong* or *weakly* reciprocal relations

5. *mal*-urun k-u ma-ramud-ay. (*ma*-urun 'miss s.o.')

REC-miss NOM-NM NAV-marry-NMLZ

'The married couple misses each other.'

6. *mal*-paliw k-uhni a mi-sa-umah. (*mi*-paliw 'help')

REC-collaborate NOM-3PL COMP AV-do-field

'they collaborate with one another to do field-work'

Amis: sub-events profiling

b. Middle marker + *Ca-* reduplication

ma-Ca- also compatible with *strongly* or *weakly* reciprocal actions
but profiled as *plural sub-events* possibly done *in turn*;
& denoting pluractionality.

7. *ma-ca*-curuk k-uhni a *mal*-paliw.
MID-CA-take.turn NOM-3PL COMP REC-collaborate
'They took turns to help one another.'

2. Amis: restricted & extended reciprocals

- 2nd central notion : Distinct types of reduplication
- *RESTRICTED* (**dual**) *reciprocals* with 2 participants
 - > tend to be **more strongly** symmetrical

Ca-reduplication for DUAL **reciprocals** (reconstructed in PAN)

- *EXTENDED* (**plural**) *reciprocals* involve *collective* relationship.
are often *weakly* or *fuzzily* symmetrical or **not** symmetrical.
 - **CVCV** root reduplication
 - e.g. *chaining* (*dance holding hands*)
 - mode of *grouping* (*piled on top of each other*)

2. Amis: reciprocals & reduplication

(1) **holistically** profiled reciprocal **mal(a)-**

mal(a)- : unitary perspective

mal(a)-(Ca-) : dual participants, *RESTRICTED* reciprocal

mal(a)-(Ca-)CVCV : collective participants, *EXTENDED* reciprocal

(2) reciprocal with **sub-events**, **ma-Ca-** red. :

ma-Ca- : dual reciprocals (actions done in turn)

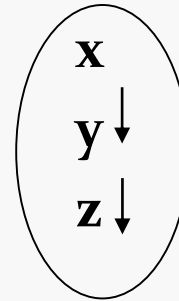
ma-(Ca-)CVCV- : plural relation, **pluriactional**, mode of grouping, chaining, possibly durative, intensive

2. Amis: restricted & extended reciprocals

- **COLLECTIVE** relations or mode of **grouping** are often *weakly* symmetrical

Espec. with entities that are *asymmetrically oriented* :
the wood-planks are piled on top of each other

- **local** scale : asymmetric relations
- **global** domain : **union** of plural relations



Amis : **ma-Ca-** + *entity-denoting* root

√*tungruh* 'top'

10. **ma-ta**-tungruh k-u kasuy. (mi-tungruh 'carry on the head')
- MID-Ca-top NOM-NM wood

'The wood-logs are piled on top of each other.' (asymmetrical)

2. Amis: restricted & extended reciprocals with *mal(a)*-

a. REC *mal(a)*-root $\sqrt{\text{cabay}}$ ‘companion’

11a. *mal(e)*-cabay k-ami.

REC-friend NOM-1PL.EXCL

‘We’re friends’

(**dual**, symmetrical relation)

mal(a)-CVCV-root

b. *mal(e)*-caba.cabay k-uhni.

REC-CVCV.friend NOM-3PL

‘they’re a group of friends.’

(**EXTENDED** symmetrical relation)



2. Amis *mal(a)-*

▪ *Reciprocals + reduplication*

1. *mal-* profiles *holistic* reciprocity (\pm *symmetrical* relations)

12a. *mal-paliw* k-uhni.

REC-collaborate NOM-3PL

‘they collaborate with one another’



CVCV red. profiles **plural** *reciprocal* participants engaged in events
+ *intensive*

mal-CVCV

b. *mal-pali-paliw* k-ami

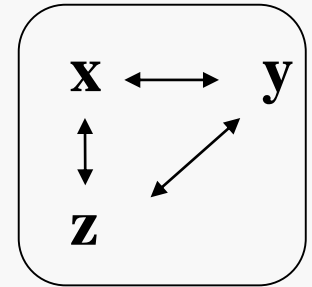
REC-CVCV-collaborate NOM-1PL.EXCL

‘We helped each other in turn (?)’

4. Amis : reciprocal & collective actions

- \pm symmetrical

- 1) REC *mal(a)*- **holistic** reciprocity
mal(a)-kiting 'be linked to each other, tied together'



- 2) MID *ma-Ca*- with **sub-events**

- 13 a. *ma-ka*-kiting k-ita a ra
 MID-Ca-link NOM-1PL.INCL COMP <AV>walk
 'We (2) walk hand in hand.' (**dual**)



ma-Ca-CVCV (+ weakly symmetrical) > **chaining**, mode of grouping
pluriactional, intensive.

- 13b. *ma-ka-kiti*.kiting k-uhni a ma-keru.
 MID-Ca-CVCV.link NOM-3PL COMP NAV-dance
 'They dance holding each other's hands.' (**plural participants,**
chaining)

$x \longleftrightarrow y \longleftrightarrow z$ (indirectly reciprocal)

2. Amis: *ma-Ca-*

b. *ma-Ca-* reciprocals involving **sub-events**

9a. *ma-ba-biyanga* k-ami.

MID-Ca-tug

NOM-1PL.EXC

‘We play tug-of-war.’ (**dual**)

$x \rightleftharpoons y$

MID *ma-Ca-CVCV*

b. *ma-ba-biya.biyanga* k-uhni.

MID-Ca-CVCV.tug

NOM-3PL

‘They play tug-of-war.’ (**plural, pluriactional**)



- Distribution of *-Ca-* & *-CVCV-* **reduplication** over *dual* or *plural* reciprocal relations is fairly regular, but not absolute.
- **Intensity** may prevail.

Some comparison

In other Formosan, Malayo-Polynesian languages (Tagalog, Malay, Indonesian) &

Oceanic languages (Fijian (Dixon 1988), some N. Caledonian lang., Samoan (Milner 1966):

reciprocal-middle prefixes often combine with *reduplication* for

- collective, reciprocal relationship, grouping, chaining
- Pluriactionality, distributive action or mode of grouping
ber-ratus-ratus ‘by hundreds’ (Indonesian)
- intensity.

III. Distribution of reciprocal affixes

3. Distribution of reciprocal affixes

1. **Reciprocal affixes** attach to roots denoting
 - *actions* or *events*
 - **kinship** terms
 - & various types of **± symmetrical relations**
2. The **same** reciprocal affix is generally used for all types of **predicates** (± verbal, ± stative/active) & with **event nominals**.

Affixed to *nouns*, *event nominals* or *verbs*

Nêlêmwa (Bril 2002)

- 14a. Na ni hleeli **pe**-whaayaw-i hla.
LOC in those.ANAPH REC-fight-PREP 3PL
'during their mutual fight' (lit. in those mutual fights of theirs)
- b. hla **pe**-whaayap.
3PL REC-fight
'They fight with each other.'

3. Distribution of reciprocal affixes

Amis

1) REC **mal(a)-** + *ENTITY* or *ACTION-DENOTING* ROOTS

15. **mala-abang** k-u cabay.
REC-put.arm.on.shoulder NOM-NM partner
'The friends held each other by the shoulder.' (dual, symmetrical)

mal-paliw k-uhni.
REC-collaborate NOM-3PL
'They're enemies.' (reciprocal, symmetrical)

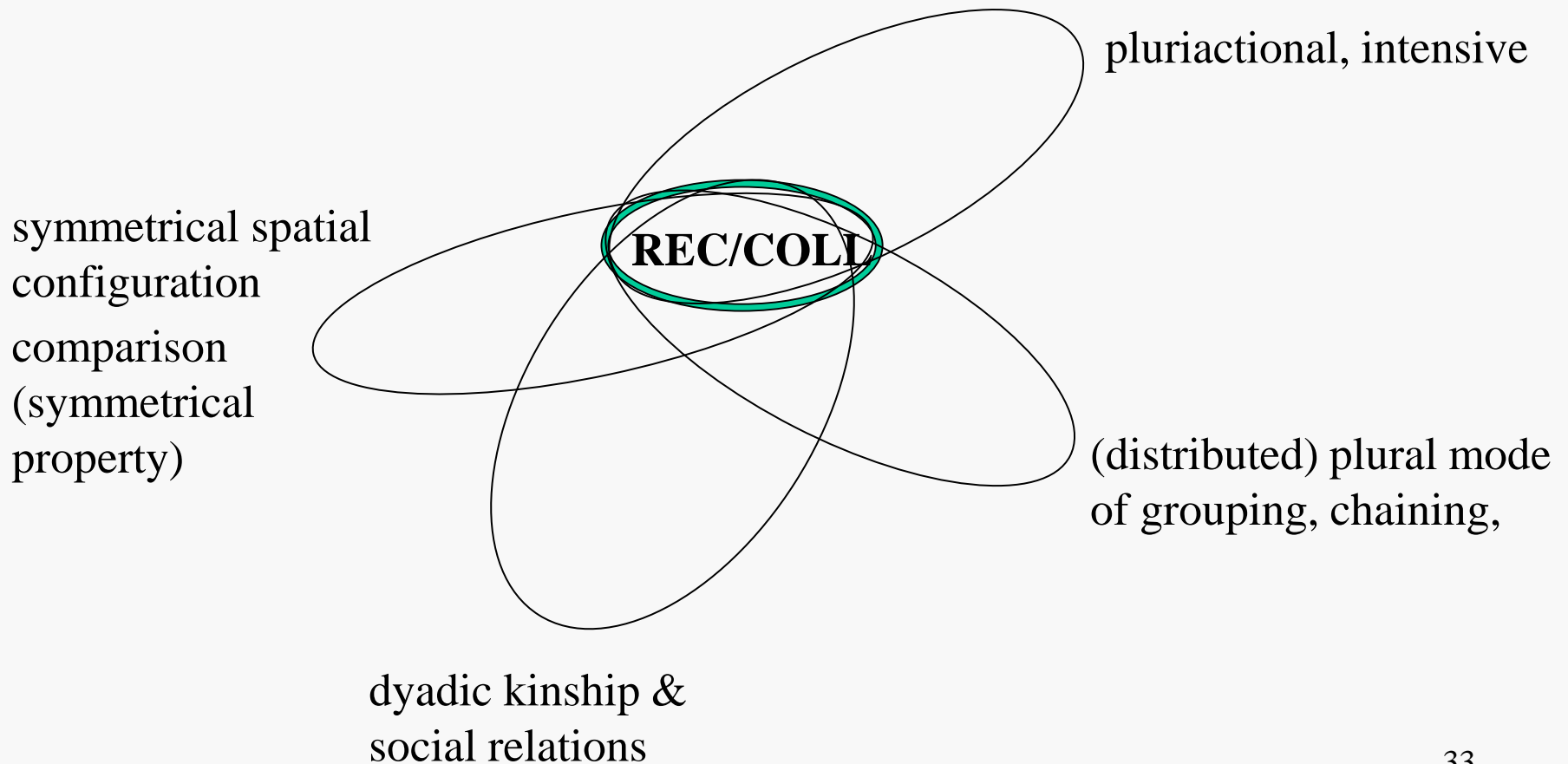
2) **ma-Ca-** + *ENTITY* or *ACTION-DENOTING* ROOTS

16. **ma-ta-tungruh** k-u kasuy. (√ *tungruh* 'top')
MID-Ca-top NOM-NM wood
'The wood-logs are piled on top of each other.' (asymmetrical)

ma-pa-padang k-ami (a pa-tireng tu lumaq)
MID-Ca-help NOM-1PL.EXC
'we helped each other.' (to build the house) (in turn)

IV. Semantics of reciprocal constructions in Austronesian

Austronesian: widely attested patterns of polysemy of reciprocal prefixes



Semantics is **compositional**:

derives from composition of **affix** and **root** type/category

- (i) entity-denoting,
- (ii) property-denoting > comparison
- (iii) action-denoting
- (iv) denoting spatial property > symmetrical positions, location

Also affected by **lexical** semantics (inherent (a)symmetry

4. Spatial configuration : positions, locations

- *weakly symmetrical* & often **not** strictly reciprocal.

1) * *mal-* (unattested)

2) MID *ma-Ca-* (dual & plural)

28. *ma-ŋa-ŋata k-ita.* (*ma-ngata* ‘it’s close-by’)

MID-Ca-close NOM-1PL.INCL

‘We are close to each other.’



29. *ma-ta-tepar k-ita a m-aruaq.*

MID-Ca-side NOM-1PL.INCL COMP NAV-sit

‘We are sitting side by side (or) next to each other.’ (*dual*)

Fijian

vei-taqa.taqa-i ‘piled on top of each other’ (*taqa*: put on top)

REC-CVCV.put.on.top-i

4. Spatial configuration : Nêlêmwa

- Nêlêmwa: all purpose **pe-** (POc *paRi) (no reduplication)
- *Symmetrical positions, locations or points* between landmarks or objects

Nêlêmwa (N. Caledonia, Bril 2002)

20. Ma **pe-aramaa-i**.
1DU.INCL REC-face-R
'We are facing each other.' (dual)

21. **pe-jeuk** awôlô mahleena.
REC-near dwelling these
'These dwellings are close to each other.' (plural)

4. Symmetry & comparison of equality

- Prefixed to **property predicates** (age, size, appearance, quantity, property, etc.) which constitute the parameter of comparison,
- express **comparison** of equality & symmetrical property.

Amis : *mal(e)-* (or) *ma-Ca-*

22. **Mal**-singteb k-u tarakaw n-uhni.
REC-level NOM-NM height GEN-3PL
'They're of equal height.' (lit. their height is REC-level)

23. **Ma-sa**-selal-ay a kaput k-ami.
MID-CA-age.group-MODF LNK team NOM-1PL.EXCL
'We are a team of the same age-group.'

- ***mal(a)-*** profiles a more **global** perspective.
- ***ma-Ca-*** profiles a more **atomistic** perspective

4. Symmetry & comparison : Nêlêmwa

Nêlêmwa (N. Caledonia)

24a Wa **pe**-khooba-wa.
 2PL REC-**number**-POSS.2PL
 ‘You are in equal number.’

b. Hlaabai **pe**-ida-la.
 those REC-**line**-POSS.3PL
 ‘Those (who are) of the same generation.’

c. Hli **pe**-maariik âlô mahliili. (**hli maariik*)
 3DU REC-**be.similar** child those
 ‘These children are similar to each other.’

4. Distributed mode of grouping

- **Distributed** *mode of grouping, plural, weakly symmetrical* relationships.

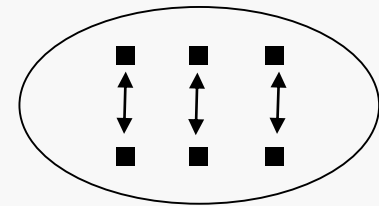
Reciprocity involves **pair** of entities

Nêlêmwa

25. Co na me **pe**-balet.

2SG put AIM REC-companion

‘Put them two by two/in pairs.’ (lit. as mutual companions)



Amis : *distributive* **ha(la)** construction is **different** from reciprocals

25b **ma-ha**-tulu a **mal**-kaput (k-uhni).

NAV-DISTR-three COMP REC-team (NOM-3PL)

‘(they) were grouped by 3/(they) make a team of 3.’

4. Chaining and collective actions

With **motion** & some **action** verbs : **chaining** and *plural* relationship, **weakly symmetrical**, often **not** reciprocal.

Reciprocal domain is the **union** of **local** relations

Nêlêmwa

26. Hla **pe**-oxo-i agu mahleeli.
3PL REC-follow-R people those.ANAPH
'These people walk in line'

x → **y** → **z**

Amis

27. **Ma-ka**-kuku k-u wacu atu nani.
MID-CA-chase NOM-NM dog and cat
'The dog and the cat chase each other.' (dual, in turn)

Fijian

- . **vei**-taratara-vi 'follow each other'
REC-CVCV.follow-VI
vei-sii.sivi 'pass each other in turn' (siivi 'pass, exceed')

5. Dyadic kinship or social relationship

likewise

social relationship
symmetrical & reciprocal
we're friends

dyadic kinship
asymmetrical
we're husband and wife

or

symmetrical
we're sisters

(Evans 2005)

5. Amis *mal(a)-*

- **only** *mal(a)-* (*PAN maR-*) > for relations profiled **holistically**, as **union** of relations
- affixed to **nouns** denoting \pm **symmetrical dyadic kinship**
- or **mutual** social relationship

28. U *mal(e)-*kaka-ay k-ami.
NM REC-elder.sibling-NMZ NOM-1PL.EXCL
'We're elder siblings.' (*symmetrical kinship*)
29. *mal(e)-*kaput k-ami.
REC-team NOM-1PL.EXCL
'We're class mates.' (*symmetrical, social relationship*)
30. *mal(e)-*k-api k-uhni.
REC-STAT-pair NOM-3PL
'They live together as an unmarried couple.' (*symmetrical dual*)

5. Asymmetric dyadic kinship

- Much unpredictable variation on whether the root selects the *higher* or the *lower* term of the dyad.
- In **Formosan** languages, the ROOT tends to be the *higher* term, with some exceptions.

Paiwan (Formosan, Zeitoun, 2002)

may-aʔa-aʔak ‘parent and children’ (*aʔak* ‘child’)

(tri-moraic redup. for plural)

may-ta-təvəʔa ~ *paŋ-ta-təvəʔa* ‘answer each other’ (*t<əʔm>vəʔa* ‘answer’)

N. Amis the ROOT is *always* the *higher* term

31. *Mal(e)-wama k-uhni, mal(e)-wina k-ami.*

REC-father NOM-3PL REC-mother NOM-1PL.EXCL

‘They’re father and child, we’re mother and child.’ (Bril)

5. Asymmetric dyadic kinship

Tagalog, the choice of the *higher* or *lower* term of the dyad has different meanings :

mag-ama ‘mother and child’ (*ama* ‘mother’)

mag-anak ‘parent and child’ (*anak* ‘child’) (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 293)

5. Asymmetric dyadic kinship

- *Higher* term in **Bwatoo**, *lower* term in **Nêlêmwa** (N. Caledonia)
- **Different** affixes

Bwatoo (N. Caledonia, Rivierre & Ehrhart 2007)

28. Lu **xaa**-(ve)-voona-**n**.
3DU DYAD-(ve)-**maternal.uncle**-DYAD
'The maternal uncle and his nephew.'

Nêlêmwa (different from verbal reciprocal *pe*-, Bril 2000, 2002)

29. Hli **am**-xola-**n**.
3DU DYAD-**nephew**-DYAD
'They are maternal uncle/aunt and nephew/niece.'

Hli **a**-maawa-**n**.
3DU DYAD-**spouse**-DYAD
'They are spouses.'

30. Hli **pe**-whan.
3DU REC-agree
'They are married.'

5. Dyadic kinship or reciprocal relationship

Same affixes, dual or plural relationships

31. **Caac** (N. Caledonia)

Pe-abaa-le.

pe-brother-POSS.3PL

‘They are brothers and sisters.’

Fijian (Milner 1972, Dixon 1988)

32a. Keirau **vei**-gane-ni.

1DU.EXCL *vei*-sibling-*ni*

‘We(2) are in sister-brother relationship.’

b. Erau **vei**-tauri liga.

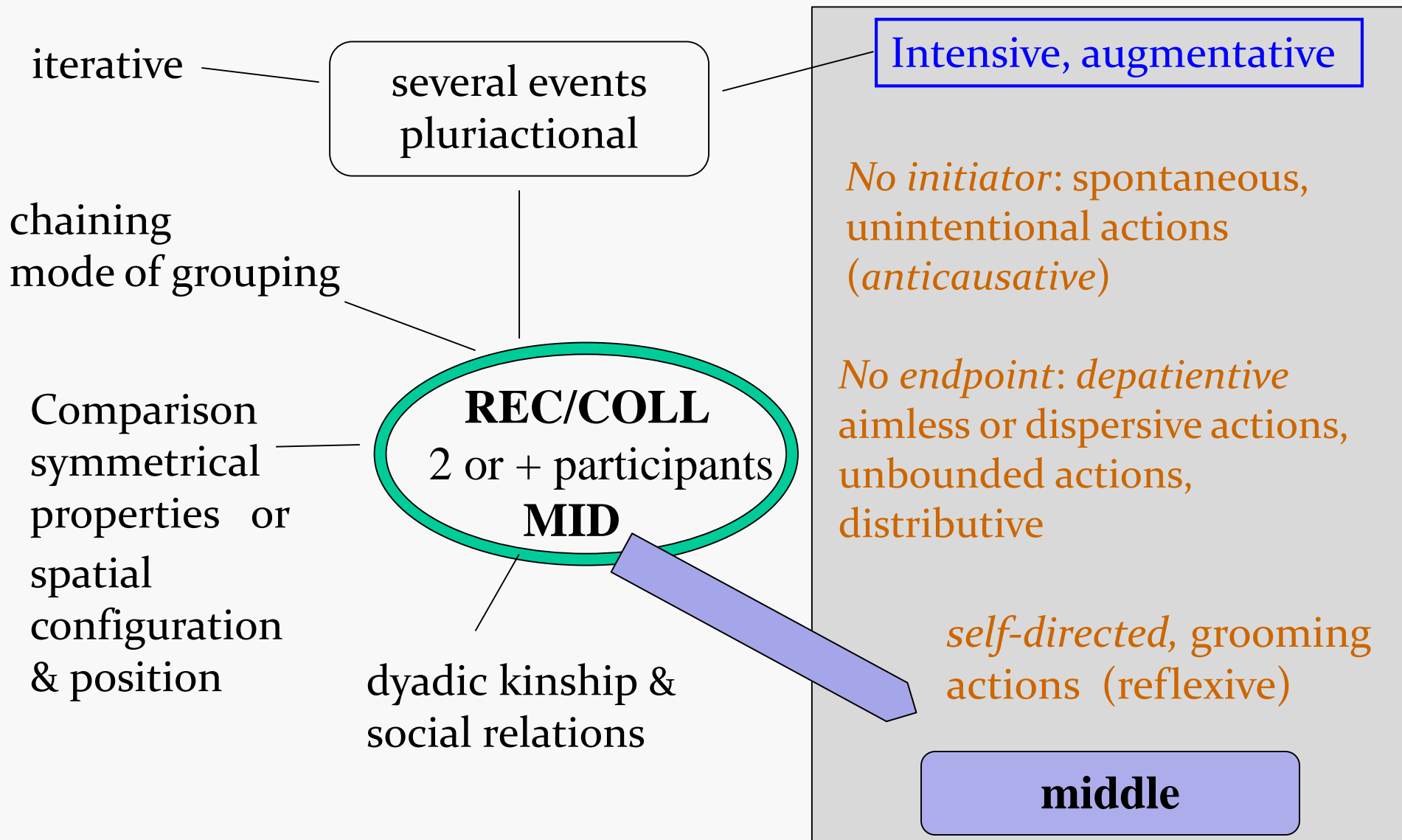
3DU *vei*-take hand

‘They(2) are holding hands.’

To conclude

- Nedjalkov's (2007) pointed out :
affixal reciprocal morphemes are much more polysemous than are *lexical* reciprocal markers.
- true of Austronesian languages
- In **Amis**, the two morphemes *mal(a)-* & *ma-Ca-* profile distinct reciprocal relations :
one **holistic** relation vs. atomistic relations with multiple **sub-events**.
- Strong or weak reciprocity is lexically constrained
- Combination with *-Ca* or with *CVCV-* reduplication
denotes *dual* or *plural relations*, *iterative*, *pluriactionality* & *intensive* meanings.

To conclude : Austronesian patterns of polysemy



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