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The grammaticalization of reciprocity in Seychelles Creole

Seychelles Creole is one of the few creole languages with a grammaticalized reciprocity marker that is completely innovative compared with the French lexifier (for example: Plant ek plant osi i ed *kanmarad*, enn a lot – ‘The plants also help each other’). The marker *kanmarad* (< Fr. ‘camarade’) can be considered to be “freshly grammaticalized” material. This specificity is mentioned in the grammars of Seychelles Creole (Bollée 1977, Choppy 2009, Corne 1977) and in several articles (eg. Michaelis & Haspelmath, to appear) but its evolution, synchronic distribution, and semantics have never been analyzed in any detail.

In the first part of this contribution, I will compare data from spoken and written corpora of Seychelles Creole with the data published in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2013). Only seven of the 69 represented languages have a special reciprocal marker based on ‘companion’ like Seychelles Creole.

I then will analyze in depth some of the Seychelles Creole data with the use of *kanmarad* in Modern Mauritian Creole and in the diachrony of Mauritian and Seychelles Creole. This comparison will allow me to trace back the grammaticalization process of the marker, a process that is not very advanced in Mauritian Creole.

In the last part, after having excluded the influence of the substrate languages, I will show that the evolution of *kanmarad* can be considered to be an instance of accelerated functionalisation in accordance with Haspelmath & Michaelis (2017) who claim that creoles show more accelerated functionalisation than their lexifiers. With respect to the possible reasons for the acceleration of functionalization of *kanmarad*, I will discuss the two hypothesis discussed by Haspelmath & Michaelis (2017), the “loss and replacement hypothesis” and the “extra transparency hypothesis” favored by the authors. I will suggest a third possibility that takes into account the very specific sociolinguistic situation of Seychelles where Creole has been the first national language since 1981.

Bollée, Annegret (1977): *Le créole français des Seychelles. Esquisse d’une grammaire - textes - vocabulaire*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Choppy, Marie-Thérèse (2009): *Gramer Kreol Seselwa*, Mahé: Lenstiti Kreol.

Corne, Chris (1977): *Seychelles Creole Grammar*, Tübingen: Narr.

Haspelmath, Martin & the APiCs Consortium (2013): “Reciprocal constructions”, in: Michaelis, Susanne Maria & Maurer, Philippe & Haspelmath, Martin & Huber, Magnus (edd.), *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Haspelmath, Martin & Michaelis, Susanne Maria (2017): “Analytic and synthetic. Typological change in varieties of European languages”, in: Buchstaller, Isabelle & Siebenhaar, Beat (2017) (edd.), *Language Variation – European Perspectives VI. Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 8)*, Leipzig, May 2015, John Benjamins, Amsterdam etc.

Michaelis, Susanne & Haspelmath, Martin (to appear in 2019): “Grammaticalization in creole languages: Accelerated functionalization and semantic imitation”, in: Malchukov, Andrej & Walter Bisang, *Handbook of areal patterns of grammaticalization and cross-linguistic variation in grammaticalization scenarios*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Michaelis, Susanne Maria & Maurer, Philippe & Haspelmath, Martin & Huber, Magnus (éds.) (2013): *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.