

## ***Satu sama lain*: a not so popular reciprocal marker makes a career in typology**

For expressing reciprocity, Indonesian and Malay use several means, including verbal affixes, reduplication and *saling*. Another marker, *satu sama lain* ‘one together/like other’, is neither very frequent nor has it received much linguistic interest, as shown by a glance in any grammar or dedicated works like Ogloblin and Nedjalkov (2007, four paragraphs on p. 1467). Looking at its structure, *satu sama lain* is a bipartite reciprocal marker from two nominal sources (briefly: BRM) like *each other* and *one another*. BRMs show a strong areal concentration in Northern Africa and Eurasia (excluding East and South-East Asia) and are unattested in large areas like South America and Australia. In many languages, e.g. English, BRMs are very frequent and used for the bulk of reciprocal relations.

*Satu sama lain* (and its alternative *satu dengan yang lain*) is remarkable from a typological viewpoint. It is exemplary for a type which so far has gone unnoticed in general accounts: BRMs inherently confined to a single relation between the parts, namely ‘together / with’. Even better, this special type helps in understanding the more widespread type, BRMs like *each other* expressing a wide range of relations.

A recurrent theme in the study of BRMs is that notorious models from Western Europe do not help: *each other*, *elkaar* and most other West European markers exhibit untypical properties for a number of language-specific reasons. This includes the lack of accusative case, and the position of prepositions before both parts.

This talk proceeds in three steps:

1. an overview of the behavior of *satu sama lain* in colloquial Indonesian. My database consists of grammatical descriptions, native speakers’ judgments and textual frequencies. Besides its use for emphasis with reciprocal verbs (the only function mentioned e.g. by Ogloblin and Nedjalkov 2007), *satu sama lain* can be used in other clause structures, even following prepositions: *Joko dan Budi memberi buku untuk satu sama lain* ‘Joko and Budi give books to each other’. Such a context expansion to NP positions may eventually lead to more frequent use. What is not viable is using other prepositions in place of *sama*: *\*satu untuk lain*, *\*satu kepada lain*.
2. positioning this marker in a typological classification. Most BRMs combine freely with a wide range of relation markers: *one to another*, *one for another*, ... (the usual English position of part 1 after prepositions, *to each other*, is secondary). Single-relation BRMs like *satu sama lain* are found in some Austronesian languages (Javanese, Tagalog *isa’t isa* ‘one:and one’) and Northwest Caucasian languages.
3. correlating the confinement to a single relation with other grammatical properties. BRMs like *satu sama lain* are only found in languages without a case distinction between the primary grammatical relations A and O. This is the counterpart of a strong statistical correlation: multiple-relation BRMs have developed in languages that distinguish the grammatical roles A and O on the NPs themselves.

Finally, I want to propose a historical explanation for the structure of *satu sama lain*. There was no verbless construction available which could unequivocally express a relation between agent and patient: constructions like *\*satu lain* lack explicit marking of the two roles. In fact, the areal distribution of BRMs invites the hypothesis that *satu sama lain* developed under influence from Western languages – in a wide sense: multiple-relation BRMs are used in (Classical) Arabic and South Asian languages of several families.

### References

Ogloblin, A. K., and V. P. Nedjalkov. 2007. Reciprocal constructions in Indonesian. In: V. P. Nedjalkov, ed., *Reciprocal Constructions*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 1437-1476.