1. Introduction
In this paper we give a survey of reduplication in pidgins and creoles based on a broad base of descriptive literature. We give an overview of reduplications in different parts-of-speech, and also discuss cases of partial reduplication in more detail. We draw a number of generalizing conclusions, and propose some explanations for the patterns observed.

We define reduplication as a process in which words or parts of words are repeated to form new words with altered meanings. The process has to be productive, i.e. it should be applicable to most members of a word class, with a more or less predictable meaning relation between the single and the reduplicated form. This definition excludes doubled stems without single equivalents, or where the meanings are unrelated. It should also be noted that we are dealing here with reduplication as a morphological, rather than a syntactic device. We thus exclude the application of a similar process above the word level, often referred to as iteration or repetition.

2. The languages surveyed
We classify the languages in this study in four types on sociological grounds: jargons, pidgins, pidgincreoles and creoles. All four are languages with a lexicon derived from one or more other languages, but with a restructured (recreated) grammatical system. Many of the morphosyntactical and semantic distinctions of the lexifier (and substrate) languages are reduced or absent.

Jargons have been called "pre-pidgins" or "unstable pidgins". The term refers to linguistic forms of interethnic communication in early contact, in which there are no or few lexical or grammatical norms. Pidgins are also known as "stable pidgins". We use it for those systemically and domain-wise reduced languages used in interethnic communication that have norms and (some) stability. Jargons and pidgins never have native speakers, nor are they the main language of a speech community.

Pidgincreoles are pidgins that serve as the main language of a community, sometimes with a restricted number of native speakers. Pidgincreoles are also called "expanded" or "extended pidgins". They are often grammatically similar to creoles, and lack of widespread nativisation may even be the only thing that set them apart from creoles proper. Creoles, finally, are languages presumed to be descended from pidgins, but which have (and have had for a considerable time) native speakers.

As will be shown, there are different patterns of reduplication in these four languages types.

It has to be remarked that linguists’ labels for these languages rarely coincide with the names used by the speakers themselves. Languages called “jargon” are usually pidgins, whereas some languages called “pidgins” are actually creoles.
3. Methodology, limitations
Several methodological problems are encountered in surveying the relevant literature.

Authors follow strikingly different practices (some would for instance consider *papa* or *mama* reduplications), and they hardly ever comment on the productivity of reduplications, and likewise, they often fail to give details on the phonological realizations (something which is especially important when different tone patterns yield different meanings).

Some arbitrariness in the semantic classifications is apparent in the sources, and tried as we have to eliminate that, it quickly proves impossible to succeed completely.

Finally, it is not always possible to distinguish the morphological process of reduplication proper from the higher-level and less grammaticalized process of repetition or iteration.

4. Presence versus absence of reduplication across pidgins and creoles
The first question we discuss is: how common is productive reduplication in jargons, pidgins, pidgincreoles and creoles? It appears that there are many reduplicated forms in use in jargons and pidgins, but only in a very limited number of cases does this represent a productive process. With few exceptions we can state that reduplication does not exist in pidgins, despite many authors not only claiming the opposite, but in fact even mentioning reduplication as typical of pidginization. If we look at pidgincreoles and creoles, it appears that reduplication is very common in both. Thus, reduplication is rare in pidgins, but almost universal in creoles.

The widespread belief that reduplication is common in pidgins is presumably based on its frequency in creoles combined with the (sometimes) iconic nature of the process. Something which is iconic and simple in a creole must surely derive from the even simpler pidgin ancestor, seems to be the underlying assumption.

5. Semantic patterns in (pidgin and) creole reduplications
In our overview of the productive processes found in pidgincreoles and creoles (and in a few pidgins) we compare their semantic functions with on the one hand typological generalisations made by ourselves and others, and on the other hand with data from the relevant input languages (i.e. lexifiers and substrates).

Reduplications of verbs usually has an intensive or augmentative meaning “to V a lot” or an aspectual meaning (“to V habitually/ repeatedly/continually”). Spatial distributives (“to V here and there”) are much less common. Pluralising reduplication is very rare. Some Atlantic English creoles show a derivational reduplication making reduplicated verbs into adjectives or nouns, which is rare elsewhere, but which occurs in the areas of West Africa where their substrate languages are spoken. Some Portuguese creoles in India have associative reduplications (*kume bime* “to eat and all”), which appear to have been copied from similar processes in Indian languages.

Nominal reduplication is used for pluralising, or perhaps more accurately for collectives and distributives, and perhaps also for distributives. Plurality is found mostly in the Portuguese creoles of Asia.

Reduplicated adjectives usually refer to intensification (“very A”) or attenuation (“slightly A”). The latter pattern – which is particularly interesting, since it is all but iconic – is unexpectedly uncommon in the relevant input languages.

Reduplicated numerals are common, and they can usually be translated with
e.g. “Two each, two by two, both of them”. This is typologically relatively frequent, albeit with some areal tendencies.

A few creoles in Asia, and in two pidgins, have the possibility of reduplicating interrogative pronouns to create readings of the type “any X”, or indefinite pronouns.

Finally, there are a few cases of reduplication of closed-class morphemes, for example of tense and aspect particles. This is (also) uncommon in non-creoles.

6. Formal processes: partial reduplication and tonal patterns

In non-creole languages, perhaps a majority of the cases of reduplication show partial reduplication (hypothetical example: *feyu fefeyu, rather than feyufeyu). Creole languages almost always display complete reduplication, even in a few cases where it is clearly substrate-derived and where the substrate has partial reduplication.

Furthermore, partial reduplication is mostly found in the older creoles, such as the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese creoles and the Indian Portuguese creoles. A possible reason for this is of course that creoles are relatively young languages, and that partial reduplication represents a more advanced state of grammaticalisation.

Atlantic English creoles often have reduplications with different intonations, yielding either attenuating or intensive readings depending on the suprasegmental features.

7. Some generalizations and conclusions

This survey leads to a number of conclusions. Both historical, contact-related and theoretical conclusions and implications can be formulated.

From a historical point of view we can observe divergent patterns in the four types of contact languages. There are many reduplicated forms in jargons and pidgins, but there is no sign of productivity. This suggests reduplication as a communicative, pragmatically conditioned strategy in early contact, which has not become systematic.

The abundance of reduplication in creoles versus its rarity in creoles suggests that reduplication develops into a favoured grammatical process as soon as a language without reduplication becomes a main language of a group of speakers. On the other hand, there is such a semantic diversity among the patterns observed that it should not be taken as a kind of default feature that surfaces in nativization or vernacularization. More likely it comes about because of the naturalness of the process in a morphologically-challenged language. I addition to this, the types of reduplication (if any) present in the creole's input languages clearly play a role.

It also appears that Atlantic French creoles display much less reduplication than their English (and Portuguese) lexifier counterparts. This suggests that the groups of English- and French-lexicon creoles of the Atlantic each originate from a common source.

The relative rarity of partial reduplication in creoles may be explained by referring to the fact that creoles are younger languages and have not had the time to streamline the full reduplication to partial reduplication. This is for example apparent in the fact that it is in the older creoles that one encounters partial reduplication.

From the point of view of language contact we can conclude that both universal and substrate features play a role. The frequency of different semantic patterns seem to roughly coincide with their frequency in the languages of the world. A minority of the patterns have a clear source in substrate languages. On the other
hand, it should be noted that many reduplicative patterns in substrate languages have not found their way into creoles.

There does not seem to be a relationship between the frequency of reduplication in the substrate languages/first languages and its occurrence in the creoles, although only few of the patterns in creoles are clearly relatable to other languages in the contact situation. As far as pidgins are concerned, the existence of reduplication in the first languages of the pidgin users apparently has no impact on the presence or absence in the pidgins.

From a theoretical point of view we can point to the fact that pidgins and creoles may shed light on the genesis of (partial) reduplication, and on the question of iconicity. Most of the patterns show iconic features. At this point it is not yet possible to make any definite claims on whether the semantic patterns of reduplication in creoles differ in any way from those in older languages.

A more sophisticated theoretical orientation may also shed light on theoretical problems such as the interrelationship between transnumerals (i.e. nouns with no inherent numerality manifestation) and reduplication; collective and distributive forms; the notion of Seinsart and nominal aspect and their correlation with reduplication.