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4. Reduplication

Reduplication refers to “the morphological operation in which a new word (form) is created by copying a word or a part thereof, and affixing that copy to the base (Booij 2007: 321). In Papuan Malay, as in other Austronesian languages, reduplication is a very productive morphological device to derive new words (Himmelmann 2005: 121–125).

With respect to lexeme formation, Papuan Malay makes use of three different types of reduplication: (1) full reduplication, (2) partial reduplication, and (3) imitative reduplication. Alternatively, Wiltshire and Marantz (1978: 558) refer to these reduplication types as “exact total reduplication”, “exact partial reduplication”, and “inexact partial reduplication”, respectively. In terms of lexeme interpretation, a variety of meanings can be attributed to the reduplicated lexemes, such as plurality and diversity, intensity, or continuation and repetition.

Reduplication in terms of lexeme formation is described in §4.1 while lexeme interpretation is discussed in §4.2. This discussion is followed by a comparison of reduplication across different eastern Malay varieties in §4.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §4.4.

4.1. Lexeme formation

A phonological approach to reduplication is Marantz’s (1982: 436) prosodic template model which views reduplication as “normal affixation” with “one unique feature”, namely “the resemblance of the added material to the stem being reduplicated”. More specifically, “every reduplication process may be characterized by a ‘skeleton’ of some sort”, either a phonemic melody, “a C-V skeleton, a syllabic skeleton, or a skeleton of morpheme symbols” (1982: 439). The four-tiered representation in (1), taken from Marantz (1982: 437), illustrates how the segments of the four skeleta are linked to each other.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phonemic melody} & : p_1 \quad p_2 \quad p_3 \quad p_4 \quad p_5 \quad p_6 \quad p_7 \quad \ldots \\
\text{C-V skeleton} & : \sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \\
\text{syllabic skeleton} & : \mu \\
\text{morpheme symbol} & : p_1 \quad \text{phoneme} \\
& : \sigma \quad \text{syllable}
\end{align*}
\]

During reduplication, an affixed skeleton receives its phonemic content by “the copying of the stem’s phonemic melody on the same tier as the melody and on the same side of the stem melody to which the affix is attached … along with some specific constraints on the autosegmental association of the phonemes of the copied melody with the Cs and Vs of reduplicating morphemes” (Marantz 1982: 445).

Full and partial reduplication use two different types of skeleta. In full reduplication, the affix is a morphemic skeleton or, more specifically, the
morphological word. In partial reduplication, the added material is a syllabic skeleton. In Papuan Malay, this syllabic skeleton is a closed, heavy syllable which gets prefixed to the base. This shows, that in Papuan Malay reduplication in general is prefixal rather suffixal.

Both types of lexeme formation are described in §4.1.1.1 and §4.1.1.2, respectively. Imitative reduplication is discussed in §4.1.1.3.129

4.1.1. Full reduplication

In full reduplication, “the reduplicant matches the base from which it is copied without phoneme changes or additions” (Rubino 2011: 2). That is, in terms of Marantz’s (1982) prosodic template model, full morpheme reduplication involves “the addition of a morphemic skeleton to a stem. The morphemic skeleton, lacking a syllabic skeleton, a C-V skeleton, and a phonemic melody, borrows all three from the stem to which it attaches” (1982: 456).

Full reduplication of morphological words is illustrated with the two examples in (2): reduplication of the root *dorang* ‘3PL’, resulting in *dorang–dorang* ‘RDP–3PL’ in (2a), and reduplication of the derived word *tingkatang* ‘level’ (*tingkat-ang* ‘floor-PAT’), resulting in *tingkatang–tingkatang* ‘RDP–level’ in (2b). In each case, the content of the reduplicative affix is obtained by copying the phonemic melody of the base over the morphemic skeleton of the reduplicating affix. This applies to roots as in (2a) as well as to derived words as in (2b).

(2) a. [do.raŋ.'do.raŋ]

\[
\text{C V C V C + C V C V C} \\
\sigma \sigma \mu \sigma
\]

\[d o r a \delta d o r a \delta
\]

\[C V C V C
\]

\[C V C V C
\]

\[\sigma \sigma \mu \sigma
\]

129 An alternative, morphological, approach to reduplication is Inkelas and Zoll’s (2005) Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT). Inkelas and Zoll (2005: 25) view reduplication as a process which “couples morphological constituents which agree in their semantic (and syntactic) specifications”. While Inkelas and Zoll’s (2005) Morphological Doubling Theory seems to be a convenient model to describe full reduplication in Papuan Malay, it appears that the processes involved in partial reduplication are best explained in terms of Marantz’s (1982) prosodic template model. To better compare full and partial reduplication in Papuan Malay, Marantz’s (1982) model with its skeletal framework is applied to both types of reduplication.
In Papuan Malay, only free morphemes are reduplicated; bound morphemes such as prefixes are never reduplicated (see Table 1 in §4.1.1.1). Full reduplication is attested for content words (§4.1.1.1) and some function words (§4.1.1.3). The corpus also includes a few reduplicated items that do not have an unreduplicated single base (§4.1.1.2). Reduplication of reduplicated bases is unattested.

4.1.1.1. Reduplication of content words

Full reduplication most commonly applies to content words. Attested are reduplicated nouns, verbs, adverbs, numerals, and quantifiers, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Reduplication of content words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>ade</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
<td>ade~ade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bua</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
<td>bua~buaang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tingkatang</td>
<td>‘level’</td>
<td>tingkatang~tingkatang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tulang</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>tulang~tulang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>baik</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
<td>baik~baik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ceritra</td>
<td>‘fold’</td>
<td>ceritra~ceritra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talipat</td>
<td>‘fold’</td>
<td>talipat~talipat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tumpuk</td>
<td>‘pile’</td>
<td>bertumpuk~tumpuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>baru</td>
<td>‘recently’</td>
<td>baru~baru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skarang</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td>skarang~skarang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sring</td>
<td>‘often’</td>
<td>sring~sring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>satu~satu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>dua~dua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>lima~lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>banyak</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
<td>banyak~banyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sedikit</td>
<td>‘few’</td>
<td>sedikit~sedikit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sembarang</td>
<td>‘any (kind of)’</td>
<td>sembarang~sembarang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four of the content words listed in Table 1 involve affixation: bua ‘fruit’ and reduplicated bua~bua-ang (suffix -ang ‘PAT’), tumpuk ‘pile’ and reduplicated ber-tumpuk~tumpuk (prefix BER- ‘INR’), tingkat-ang ‘level’ and reduplicated tingkat-ang~tingkat-ang (suffix -ang ‘PAT’), and talipat ‘be folded’ and
Reduplication

reduplicated ta-lipat–ta-lipat (prefix TER- ‘ACL’). The four lexeme pairs illustrate that reduplication may precede affixation as with bua ‘fruit’ or tumpuk ‘pile’ or follow affixation as with tingkatang ‘level’ or talipat ‘be folded’. These examples also show that reduplication only affects free morphemes while affixes are never reduplicated.

Reduplication of content words is demonstrated with the three examples in (3) to (5). Reduplication of a noun is illustrated in (3); in this context reduplicated ade ‘younger sibling’ conveys plurality. The utterance in (4) includes a reduplicated verb; in this context, lari ‘run’ expresses continuation. And the example in (5) illustrates reduplication of an adverb; in this context prohibitive jangang ‘NEG.IMP, don’t’ denotes intensity. The three examples illustrate only three of the different meanings expressed with reduplication. Depending on the context, a reduplicated noun can also signal repetition, to name just one other meaning aspect. Along similar lines, a reduplicated verb can also express aimlessness, among other meanings. This variety of different meanings is discussed in detail in §4.2.

(3) jadi saya saya deng sa pu ade–ade tinggal di ruma
so 1SG 1SG with 1SG POSS RDP–ySb stay at house
‘so I, I and my younger siblings stayed at the house’ [081014-014-NP.0002]

(4) kitong dua lari–lari sampe di Martewar
1PL two RDP–run reach at Martewar
‘the two of us kept running all the way to Martewar’ [080923-010-CvNP.0009]

(5) … tapi jangang–jangang hujang di tenga jalang
but RDP–NEG.IMP rain at middle street
‘[I want to go to (my) gardens,] but let’s hope it won’t rain in the middle of the way’ [Elicited BR120813.031]

4.1.1.2. Reduplication of function words

Some Papuan Malay functions words can also be reduplicated. Attested are reduplicated personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives,130 interrogatives, causative verb kasi ‘give’, and reciprocity marker baku ‘RECP’, as listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Reduplication of function words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>‘1SG’</td>
<td>saya–saya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kamu</td>
<td>‘2PL’</td>
<td>kamu–kamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dorang</td>
<td>‘3PL’</td>
<td>dorang–dorang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>‘D.PROX’</td>
<td>ini–ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>‘D.DIST’</td>
<td>itu–itu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130 While reduplication of sana ‘L.DIST’ is unattested in the present corpus, it does occur, following one consultant.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>sini</td>
<td>‘L.PROX’</td>
<td>sini~sini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>situ</td>
<td>‘L.MED’</td>
<td>situ~situ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sana</td>
<td>‘L.DIST’</td>
<td>sana~sana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatives</td>
<td>siapa</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>siapa~siapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>apa~apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapang</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>kapang~kapang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative verb</td>
<td>kasi</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>kas~kas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocity marker</td>
<td>baku</td>
<td>‘RECP’</td>
<td>baku~baku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplication of three different types of functions words and the different meaning aspects conveyed is illustrated in (6) to (8): personal pronouns in (6), locatives in (7), and interrogatives in (8).

(6) kamu-kamu ini bangung, bangung
    RDP~2PL D.PROX wake.up wake.up
    Collectivity: ‘you all here wake-up!, wake-up!’ [081115-001a-Cv.0330]

(7) ko lari suda ke sana~sana
    2SG run already to RDP~LOC.DIST
    Diversity: ‘you run to somewhere over there’ [Elicited BR120813.016]

(8) … sa tra perna lari ke siapa~siapa
    1SG NEG once run to RDP~who
    Intensity: ‘[even when my children were already sick,] I’ve never run to anyone (for black-magic help)’ [081006-034-CvEx.0028]

4.1.1.3. Reduplication without corresponding single base

Across word classes, some reduplicated forms do not have an unreduplicated single base. Attested are four nouns, three verbs, one quantifier, and one conjunction, as listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Reduplication without corresponding single base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Reduplicated item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>*alang</td>
<td>alang-alang</td>
<td>‘cogonggrass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*kura</td>
<td>kura-kura</td>
<td>‘turtle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*pori</td>
<td>pori-pori</td>
<td>‘pore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*soa</td>
<td>soa-soa</td>
<td>‘monitor lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>*belit</td>
<td>belit-belit</td>
<td>‘curve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*gong</td>
<td>gong-gong</td>
<td>‘bark (at)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tele</td>
<td>tele-tele</td>
<td>‘talk excessively’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>*masing</td>
<td>masing-masing</td>
<td>‘each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>*gara</td>
<td>gara-gara</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.2. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is rare in Papuan Malay. This type of reduplication “involves the reiteration of only part of the semantic-syntactic or phonetic-phonological constituent whose meaning is accordingly modified” (Moravcsik 1978: 304).

That is, the added material is not a morphemic skeleton as in the case of full reduplication but the reduplicant is a C-V skeleton or a syllabic skeleton which gets prefixed to the base. If the reduplicant is a C-V skeleton, the “entire phonemic melody of the stem is copied over the affixed C-V skeleton and linked to C and V ‘slots’ in the skeleton” (Marantz 1982: 437) (concerning the principles involved in this linking see Marantz 1982: 446–447). A “syllabic skeleton, lacking a phonemic melody and a C-V skeleton, borrows both from the stem to which it attaches” (1982: 437).

In Papuan Malay, the reduplicant is a closed heavy syllable which is prefixed to the stem from which it borrows the phonemic melody and C-V skeleton, as shown in (9). In (9a), for example, the initial closed syllable [bap] is copied over the reduplicating syllabic skeleton. With vowel-initial stems, the initial VC is copied over the reduplicating syllabic skeleton. This is shown in (9c) with the initial VC [an] which is copied over the prefixed CVC syllable. These examples also show that the prefixed syllable does not take into account the syllable structure of the base.

(9) a. b a p a + b a p a
   \[\begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \text{C V C} \quad \text{C V C V}
   \end{array}\]
   \(= [\text{bap.'ba.pa}]\)

b. b a r u + b a r u
   \[\begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \text{C V C} \quad \text{C V C V}
   \end{array}\]
   \(= [\text{bar.'ba.ru}]\)

c. a n a + a n a
   \[\begin{array}{c}
   \sigma \\
   \text{C V C} \quad \text{C V C V}
   \end{array}\]
   \(= [\text{a.'na.na}]\)
Reduplication

In Papuan Malay, partial reduplication is only attested for disyllabic lexical roots with penultimate stress. It always involves the partial reduplication of the stressed penultimate syllable of the base, as shown in Table 4. The results are trisyllabic words with penultimate stress. If the base has a CV.CV(C) syllable structure, stress in the reduplicated word remains on the penultimate syllable of the base, as in *bapa~bapa* [bap. ba.pa] ‘fathers’. With vowel-initial stems, Papuan Malay copies the initial VC sequence, as in *ana~ana* [a.ˈna.na] ‘children’. In this case, the reduplicant’s segments do not originate from one and the same syllable of the base. That is, partial reduplication in Papuan Malay – as is the case in other languages – can be “oblivious to the prosodic structure of the base from which it copies a melody” (Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 562). The partially reduplicated forms are alternants of fully reduplicated ones and have the same semantics; [a.ˈna.na] ‘children’, for instance, is an alternant of [a.ˈna.ˈna] ‘children’.

Table 4: Partial reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplicated item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td><em>ana~ana</em> [a.ˈna.na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td><em>apa~apa</em> [a.ˈpa.pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapa</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td><em>bapa~bapa</em> [bap.ˈba.pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru</td>
<td>‘be new, recently’</td>
<td><em>baru~baru</em> [bar.ˈba.ru]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3. Imitative reduplication

The third attested type of reduplication is imitative or rhyming reduplication. Also being referred to as “echo construction”, this type “involves reduplication with some different phonological material, such as a vowel or consonant change or addition, or morpheme order reversal” (Rubino 2011: 2).

Imitative reduplication in Papuan Malay is unproductive and rare; attested are only the three lexemes listed in Table 5. The reduplicated component resembles the base in part but also differs from it, in that imitative reduplication involves a vowel change. For one of the attested lexemes, the bare base is also inexistent: *ngyaung*.

Table 5: Imitative reduplication with vowel change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngying~ngyaung</em></td>
<td>ideophone: cockatoo call</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuk~tak</em></td>
<td>ideophone: bang!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bola~balik</em></td>
<td>‘move back and forth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngyaung</em></td>
<td>ideophone: bang!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tak</em></td>
<td>ideophone: bang!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>balik</em></td>
<td>‘return’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. Lexeme interpretation

In Papuan Malay, as in other languages, reduplication conveys a variety of different meanings, such as plurality and diversity, intensity, or continuation and repetition. Some of these meaning aspects tend to be limited to certain word classes, while others are conveyed by a variety of different word classes.

The meaning aspects of reduplicated Papuan Malay content words are examined in §4.2.1 to §4.2.4, those of reduplicated function words in §4.2.5. The underlying general meaning or gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is explored in §4.2.6.

4.2.1. Reduplication of nouns

Across languages, reduplication of nouns has been found to express a variety of meanings such as “number […], case, distributivity, indefiniteness, reciprocity, size (diminutive or augmentative), and associative qualities” (Rubino 2011). In Papuan Malay, the following meaning aspects are attested: plurality and diversity (§4.2.1.1), repetition (§4.2.1.2), and indefiniteness (§4.2.1.3). Reduplicated nouns can also undergo an interpretational shift and receive a verbal or adverbial reading (§4.2.1.4).

4.2.1.1. Plurality and diversity

A major function of noun reduplication is to signal plurality, given that in Papuan Malay bare nouns are not marked for number. Instead, speakers express plurality as deemed necessary. Depending on the context, the lexical item ana ‘child’, for instance, could also be read as ‘children’. One strategy to express plurality overtly is reduplication of nouns. Overall, however, speakers use reduplication only when an unambiguous plural reading is important to them and when the context does not allow such an unambiguous interpretation.

Cross-linguistically, three types of plurality have been identified which are encoded by noun reduplication (Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 561): collectivity, diversity (or variety), and distributivity. Of these three types, Papuan Malay uses two, namely collectivity as in (10) and (11), and diversity as in (12) and (13). Another type of plurality is indefiniteness (Rubino 2011), which is also found in Papuan Malay, as demonstrated in (16) and (17) in §4.2.1.3.

Reduplication of nouns most often indicates collectivity in the sense of ‘all BASE’, as shown with ana–ana ‘children’ in (10) and orang–orang ‘people’ in (11).

Reduplicated nouns: Collectivity

(10) ana–ana su pergi kerja ana–ana su kawin
    RDP–child already work RDP–child already marry
    [About lonely parents:] ‘all the children already went to work (elsewhere),
    all the children are already married’ [080917-010-CvEx.0071]
Reduplication

(11) e, **orang-orang** itu dong **mara-mara**
    hey! RDP~person D.DIST 3PL RDP~feel.angry(.about)
    ‘hey, all **those people**, they’ll be really angry (with you)’ [080917-008-NP.0053]

Less often, reduplicated nouns signal diversity such as **bua-bua** ‘various fruit (trees)’ in (12), or **pohong-pohong** ‘various trees’ in (13).

Reduplicated nouns: Diversity

(12) **bua-bua** di sini banyak
    RDP~fruit at L.PROX many
    ‘there are a many different kinds of fruit (trees) here’ (Lit. ‘the various fruit (trees) here are many’) [080922-001a-CvPh.0425]

(13) … ini suda tida begini lagi suda ada
    D.PROX already NEG like.this again already exist
    **pohong-pohong**
    RDP~tree
    ‘[in five years, yes,] this (garden) won’t be same (as) there are already various trees (here)’ [081029-001-Cv.0007]

4.2.1.2. Repetition

Reduplication of nouns denoting periods of the day can indicate repetition. This is illustrated with **pagi-pagi** ‘every morning’ in (14), and **malam-malam** ‘every evening’ in (15). (For alternative readings of reduplicated nouns expressing time divisions, see (17) in §4.2.1.3, and (23) and (24) in §4.2.1.4.)

(14) **pagi-pagi** biking te
    RDP~morning make tea
    ‘every morning (they) made tea’ [081025-009a-Cv.0023]

(15) ko jangang ikut~ikut orang tua **malam-malam**
    2SG NEG.IMP RDP~follow person old RDP~night
    ‘don’t keep hanging out with the grown-ups every evening’ [081013-002-Cv.0005]

4.2.1.3. Indefiniteness

Depending on the context, reduplicated nouns may signal indefiniteness by referring “to an unspecified member of a group” (Brown 2006), in the sense of ‘any’ or ‘some’. This is illustrated with **om–om** ‘any one of the uncles’ in (16), and **malam–malam** ‘at some point in the evening’ in (17). (For alternative interpretations of reduplicated nouns signaling time divisions, see (14) and (15) in §4.2.1.2, and (23) and (24) in §4.2.1.4.)
Reduplication

(16) baru titip di, ini, om~om dorang
and.then deposit at D.PROX RDP~uncle 3PL
‘leave (the letter) with, what’s-its-name, any one of the uncles’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0602]

(17) dia lewat pante malam~malam
3SG pass.by coast RDP~night
‘he drove along the beach at some (point in) the evening’ [081006-020-Cv.0016]

4.2.1.4. Interpretational shift
Reduplicated nouns can also undergo an “interpretational shift” or “type coercion” (Booij 2007: 212). Depending on the larger linguistic context, such a shift can result in a stative verbal reading of reduplicated nouns as in (18) to (20), or in an adverbial reading as in (21) to (24).

Interpretational shift resulting in a stative verbal reading of reduplicated nouns usually applies to reduplicated kinship terms, taking the predicate slot in nonverbal clauses. This is illustrated with ana ‘child’ in (18) and tete ‘grandfather’ in (19). In this context, the reduplicated nouns receive a stative verbal rather than a nominal reading. That is, referring to specific age groups, they designate pertinent attributes of their base words, as in ana~ana ‘be quite small’ (literally ‘RDP~child’) in (18), or tete~tete ‘be quite old’ (literally ‘RDP~grandfather’) in (19). In addition, the corpus contains one example in which a non-kinship term, namely the common noun rawa ‘swamp’, undergoes a similar interpretational shift, receiving a stative verbal reading in rawa~rawa ‘be swampy’ in (20).

Reduplicated nouns: Stative verbal reading

(18) waktu itu sa masih ana~ana
time D.DIST 1SG still RDP~child
‘at that time I was still quite small’ [080922-008-CvNP.0004]

(19) pace ni de su tete~tete tapi masih
man D.PROX 3SG already RDP~grandfather but still
maing deng ana~ana muda
play with RDP~child be.young
‘this guy, he’s already quite old but he still hangs out with the young people’ [Elicited BR120813.003]

(20) masih rawa~rawa
still RDP~swamp
[About a road building project:] ‘(the area is) still swampy’ [081006-033-Cv.0027]

Interpretational shift can also affect reduplicated location nouns or nouns denoting periods of the day, with the reduplicated nouns receiving an intensified or emphatic adverbial reading. This is illustrated with the location nouns depang ‘front’ in (21) and samping ‘side’ in (22), and the temporal nouns pagi ‘morning’ in (23) and
Reduplication

malam ‘night’ in (24). (For alternative readings of reduplicated nouns designating time divisions, see (14) and (15) in §4.2.1.2, and (17) in §4.2.1.3.)

Reduplicated nouns: Adverbial reading

(21) sa tunjuk depang–depang muka blajar untuk mandiri
1SG show RDP–front front study for stand.alone
‘I point right into (their) faces (and tell them), ‘study to become independent’’ [081115-001a-Cv.0054]

(22) jalang di samping–samping itu pagar itu
walk at RDP–side D.DIST fence D.DIST
‘(he/she) walked right next to, what’s-its-name, that fence’ [081025-006-Cv.0094]

(23) … pagi–pagi jam lima sa su masuk di kamar
RDP–morning hour five 1SG already enter at room
[About disciplining ill-behaved teenagers:] ‘[tonight I’ll still sleep,] (but tomorrow) early in the morning at five o’clock I will already have gone into (their) room’ [081115-001a-Cv.0325]

(24) malam–malam Ise bawa pulang dia pi tidor dengang
dep F.Poss mother
‘late at night Ise brought (her) home so that she (would) go and sleep with her mother’ [081006-025-CvEx.0007]

4.2.2. Reduplication of verbs

Cross-linguistically, reduplication of verbs tends to encode meaning aspects such as “distribution of an argument, tense, aspect (continued or repeated occurrence; completion; inchoativity), attenuation, intensity, transitivity (valence, object defocusing), or reciprocity” (Rubino 2011; see also Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 561). In Papuan Malay, the following meaning aspects are attested: continuation, repetition, and habit (§4.2.2.1), plurality and diversity (§4.2.2.2), intensity (§4.2.2.3), immediacy (§4.2.2.4), aimlessness (§4.2.2.5), attenuation (§4.2.2.4), and imitation (§4.2.2.7). Reduplicated verbs can also undergo interpretational shift, in that they can receive an adverbial or nominal reading (§4.2.2.8).

4.2.2.1. Continuation, repetition, and habit

A major function of verb reduplication is to indicate continuation, repetition, or habit.

The function of signaling continuation is demonstrated with a dynamic verb in (25) and a stative verb in (26). The function of signaling repetition of an action is shown in (27).
Reduplicated verbs: Continuation and repetition

(25) … ada setan datang ganggu~ganggu kitorang exist evil.spirit come RDP~disturb 1PL
‘[when (we) sleep at night,] there is an evil spirit (who) comes and continuously bothers (us)’ [081006-022-CvEx.0168]

(26) sa pu temang de sakit~sakit di Dok-Dua 1SG POSS friend 3SG RDP~be.sick at Dok-Dua
‘my friend is being sick continuously in the Dok-Dua (hospital)’ [Elicited BR120813.036]

(27) baru de pi bicara~bicara sa begini and.then 3SG go RDP~speak 1SG like.this
‘but then he went to talk about me like this again and again’ [081025-009b-Cv.0006]

As an extension of marking continuation or repetition, reduplicated verbs may also signal habit, as shown in (28).

Reduplicated verbs: Habit

(28) begitu de besar baru de nakal~nakal begini like.that 3SG be.big and.then 3SG RDP~be.mischievous like.this
‘he grew up like that, and now he’s mischievous like this all the time’ [080917-010-CvEx.0044]

4.2.2.2. Plurality and diversity

Verb reduplication may also indicate plurality or diversity of the clausal subject. The function of signaling plurality is illustrated with the examples in (29) and (30), while the diversity-marking function of reduplicated verbs is shown in (31) and (32).

(29) dong taru piring~piring kaleng yang piring yang bagus~bagus 3PL put RDP~plate tin.can REL plate REL RDP~be.good
[About honoring guests:] ‘they place tin plates (in front of them) that are plates that are good’ [081014-010-CvEx.0015]

(30) pisang Sorong sana tu, iii, besar~besar manis banana Sorong L.DIST D.DIST oh! RDP~be.big sweet
‘those bananas (from) Sorong over there, oooh, (they) are all big (and) sweet’ [081011-003-Cv.0017]

(31) ko pu kwe kras~kras 2SG POSS cake RDP~be.harsh
‘your various cakes are hard’ [Elicited BR120813.034]

(32) mobil di jalang rusak~rusak karna banjir car at street RDP~be.damaged because flooding
‘the various cars in the street were broken because of the flooding’ [Elicited BR120813.035]
4.2.2.3. **Integrity**

Also, quite commonly reduplicated verbs signal intensity. In such cases, reduplicated dynamic verbs receive the reading ‘BASE intensely’, as in (33) and (34), while reduplication of stative verbs translates with ‘very BASE’, as in (35) and (36).

Reduplicated verbs: Intensity

(33) baru dia tertawa de **tertawa-tertawa** 
and.then 3SG laugh 3SG RDP~laugh
‘but then he laughed, he **laughed intensely**’ [080916-001-CvNP.0004]

(34) orang **bertriak-triak** tu 
person RDP~scream D.DIST
‘the people were really **screaming intensely**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0007]

(35) sa jalang sampe sa **swak-swak** 
1SG walk until 1SG already RDP~be.exhausted
‘I walked until I was already **very exhausted**’ [081025-008-Cv.0038]

(36) ... dong tu **pintar-pintar** 
3PL D.DIST RDP~be.clever
‘they (EMPH) are **very clever**’ [081109-001-Cv.0117]

When reduplicated verbs are negated with **tra** ‘NEG’ or **jangang** ‘don’t’, they express an intensified negative in the sense of ‘not BASE at all’, as shown in (37) and (38).

Negation of reduplicated verbs

(37) sa **tra takut-takut** siapa pun 
1SG NEG RDP~feel.afraid(.of) who even
‘I’m **not afraid at all** of anybody’ [081006-034-CvEx.0026]

(38) **jangang bli-bli** di sini ini su malam 
NEG.IMP RDP~buy at L.PROX D.PROX already night
‘(you) **shouldn’t buy** (your sweets at the kiosk) here **at all** (because) it is already night’ [080917-008-NP.0061]

4.2.2.4. **Immediacy**

Reduplicated verbs can indicate immediacy in the sense of ‘as soon as BASE’, for example. This is illustrated with the reduplicated dynamic verbs in (39) and (40).

(39) **pulang-pulang** dari kantor pace de tidor 
RDP~go.home from office man 3SG sleep
‘as soon as (he) **came home** from the office, the man slept’ [Elicited BR120813.007]
4.2.2.5. **Aimlessness**

Quite often, reduplication adds the connotation of aimlessness or casualness. That is, reduplicated verb may signal that an activity is done repeatedly without a specific goal, as in (41) and (42).

(41) *sa itu sa pegang sagu sa makang jalang–jalang*

1SG D.DIST 1SG hold sago 1SG eat RDP~walk

‘as for me, I was holding (some) sago, I ate (it) while strolling around’ [081025-009a-Cv.0073]

(42) *malam kitong duduk–duduk kitong menyanyi–menyanyi*

night 1PL RDP~sit 1PL RDP~sing

‘in the evening we were sitting around, we were singing casually’ [081025-009a-Cv.0001]

4.2.2.6. **Attenuation**

Depending on the context, reduplicated stative verbs may signal attenuation in the sense of ‘rather BASE’, as demonstrated in (43) and (44).

(43) *… biking macang kam pu Jayapura pu sayur make variety 2PL POSS Jayapura POSS vegetable gnemo yang pahit–pahit itu melinjo REL RDP–be.bitter D.DIST*

‘[then she asked, ‘you don’t fear the bitter (taste of melinjos)?, then mama Pawla said,] ‘do you think this (melinjo) is like your Jayapura melinjo vegetable which is somewhat bitter?’’ [080923-004-Cv.0016]

(44) *badan kurus–kurus rambut ini tebal de pu body RDP–be.thin hair D.PROX be.thick 3SG POSS kuku ini panjang–panjang kaki kurus–kurus digit.nail D.PROX be.long foot RDP–be.thin*

‘(his) body was somewhat thin, (his) hair was thick, his fingernails were rather long, (and his) legs were rather thin’ [081006-035-CvEx.0077]

4.2.2.7. **Imitation**

Reduplicated verbs may mark imitation in the sense of ‘something is an imitation of X’ or ‘something is similar to X’. This is illustrated with the dynamic verbs in (45) and (46), and the stative verbs in (47) and (48).
Reduplication

4.2.2.8. Interpretational shift

Reduplicated verbs can also undergo an interpretational shift (Booij 2007: 212). Such a shift can result in a nominal reading of reduplicated verbs, as in (49) and (50), or an adverbial reading, as in (51) to (53).

Reduplicated verbs with a nominal reading typically denote the instrument of the action specified by the verbal base, such as garo~garo ‘rake’ (literally ‘RDP~scratch’) in (49) or gait~gait ‘pole’ (literally ‘RDP~hook’) in (50).

Reduplicated verbs: Nominal reading

(49) tadi de pake garo~garo buat garo rumput
earlier 3SG use RDP~scratch for scratch grass
‘earlier he took a rake to rake the grass’ [Elicited BR120813.010]

(50) sa gait mangga deng gait~gait
1SG hook mango with RDP~hook
‘I plucked mangoes with a pole’ [Elicited BR120813.033]

Reduplicated verbs can also receive an adverbial reading, as in (51) to (53). Certain reduplicated dynamic verbs may take on the function as modal adverbs, such as taw~taw ‘suddenly’ (literally ‘RDP~know’) in (51). Some reduplicated stative verbs are used as temporal adverbs such as lama~lama ‘gradually’ (literally ‘RDP~be.long (of duration)’) in (52), while others are used as manner adverbs, such as cepat~cepat ‘quickly’ (literally ‘RDP~be.fast’) in (53).
Reduplication of adverbs: Adverbial reading

(51) **taw~taw** orang itu tida keliatang  
RDP~think person D.DIST NEG be.visible  
‘suddenly, that person wasn’t visible (any longer)’ [080922-002-Cv.0123]

(52) **lama~lama** de padat itu macang aspal  
RDP~be.long(.of.duration) 3SG be.solid D.DIST variety asphalt  
‘gradually, the lime stone becomes solid like asphalt’ [081011-001-Cv.0304]

(53) yo, pak Hendrik ini de bilang mandi **cepat~cepat**  
yes father Hendrik D.PROX 3 SG say bathe RDP~be.fast  
‘yes, Mr. Hendrik here, he said, ‘bathe quickly’’ [080917-008-NP.0133]

4.2.3. Reduplication of adverbs

Reduplication of adverbs typically signals intensity, similar to the reduplication of verbs, discussed in §4.2.2 (concerning the similarities between adverbs and verbs, see also §5.4). This is illustrated with the three examples in (54) to (56).

(54) de bilang de mo kerja tapi **paling~paling** de tidor  
3SG say 3 SG want work but RDP~most 3SG sleep  
‘he says, he wants to work but most likely he’ll sleep’ [Elicited BR120813.015]

(55) **skarang~skarang** de ada di polisi  
RDP~now 3SG exist at police  
‘right now he/she is at the police (station)’ [Elicited BR131231.002]

(56) sa pu kaka **sring~sring** ke Jayapura  
1SG POSS oSb RDP~often to Jayapura  
‘my older sibling (travels) to Jayapura very often’ [Elicited BR131231.001]

4.2.4. Reduplication of numerals and quantifiers

Across languages, reduplication of numerals “has been found to express various categories including collectives, distributives, multiplicatives, and limitatives” (Rubino 2011). In Papuan Malay, reduplicated numerals typically express collectivity or distributiveness, while quantifiers signal distributiveness.

Reduplicated numerals have two meaning aspects. They may express collectivity in the sense of ‘all BASE’ as in (57) and (58), or signal distributiveness in the sense of ‘BASE by BASE’ as in (59) and (60).

Reduplication of numerals: Collectivity and distributiveness

(57) **yo, kas tinggal dua~dua**  
yes give stay RDP~two  
‘yes, let both of them stay’ [080919-006-CvNP.0018]
Reduplication

Reduplication occurs considerably less often than that of content words. This section describes reduplication of the following function words: personal pronouns (§4.2.5.1), demonstratives and locatives (§4.2.5.2), interrogatives (§4.2.5.3), and causative verb kasi ‘give’ and reciprocity marker baku ‘RECP’ (§4.2.5.4).

4.2.5.1. Personal pronouns

Reduplication of personal pronouns has three meaning aspects. Depending on the context, reduplicated personal pronouns signal collectivity as in (64), disparagement as in (65), or imitation as in (66).

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133 As mentioned in §4.2.7, the term imitation includes meanings such as ‘something is an imitation of X’ or ‘something is similar to X’.
Reduplication

4.2.5.2. Demonstratives and locatives

Reduplicated demonstratives express diversity as in (66) and (67).134 Depending on the context, reduplicated locatives may signal diversity as in (68), or emphasize the core meaning of the respective locative, as in (69).

(66) setela itu nanti buat ini–ini after D.DIST very.soon make RDP~D.PROX
‘soon after that (they) did these various (things)’ [080923-013-CvEx.0030]

(67) … yang laing itu–itu honorer smua itu REL be.different RDP~D.DIST be.honorary all D.DIST
‘[there are no school teachers, only him and Markus,] (as for) the others, those various (teachers) are all honorary (teachers)’ [081011-024-Cv.0054]

(68) jadi de bapa ke Jayapura tinggal situ–situ so 3 SG father to Jayapura stay RDP~L.MED
‘so her father (went) to Jayapura and lived there in a number of different places’ [081011-023-Cv.0163]

(69) … di sini ada air mari sini–sini at L.PROX exist water hither RDP~L.PROX
‘[(you) may fish from up here,] here is water, (come) here, right here’ [081025-003-Cv.0093]

134 Demonstrative sequences such as itu tu ‘D.DIST D.DIST’ also convey intensity or emphasis, as discussed in detail in §7.1.2.3. Given its phonological properties, however, juxtaposed itu tu ‘D.DIST D.DIST’ is not taken as an instance of partial reduplication. As discussed in §4.1.1.2, partial reduplication of the stem itu ‘D.DIST’ should result in the reduplicated form it–itu ‘D.DIST–D.DIST’. Therefore, itu tu ‘D.DIST D.DIST’ is taken as an instance of demonstrative stacking (see §5.6.4).
4.2.5.3. **Interrogatives**

Reduplication of interrogatives signals indefiniteness, as shown in (70) to (73). That is, speakers employ reduplication “when not all members of a class of objects are referred to, but when any one or some one member of it is” (Moravcsik 1978: 319), such as *siapa–siapa* ‘anybody’ in (70) or *mana–mana* ‘wherever’ in (72).

(70) yo, tida bole kas taw *siapa–siapa* yes NEG may give know RDP~who

‘yes, (you) must not tell anybody’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0288]

(71) saya tida biking *apa–apa* karna babi suda mati 1SG NEG make RDP~what because pig already die

[About hunting a wild pig:] ‘I didn’t do anything because the pig was already dead’ [080919-004-NP.0023]

(72) di *mana–mana* smua pake ini tajam besi ini at RDP~where all use D.PROX be.sharp metal D.PROX

[About sagu production:] ‘no matter where everybody uses it, this sharp metal’ [081014-006-CvPr.0059]

(73) nanti *kapang–kapang* ka ko jalang–jalang ke mari very.soon RDP~when or 2 SG RDP~walk to hither

‘later whenever (you have time) you come here’ [Elicited BR120813.029]

Alternatively, speakers may use the bare interrogative followed by the focus adverb *saja* ‘just’ to encode indefinite referents, as discussed in §5.8.8.

4.2.5.4. **Causative verb *kasi* ‘give’ and reciprocity marker *baku* ‘RECP’**

Reduplication of the causative verb *kasi* ‘give’ and reciprocity marker *baku* ‘RECP’, as in (74) and (75) respectively, signals repetition or continuation. (For more details on causative and reciprocal constructions, see §11.2 and §11.3, respectively.)

(74) knapa kam *kas–kas* bangung dia de masi mo tidor why 2PL RDP~give wake.up 3SG 3SG still want sleep

‘why do you keep waking him up?, he still wants to sleep’ (Lit. ‘give–give to wake up’) [080918-001-CvNP.0039]

(75) itu sampe tong *baku–baku* tawar ini deng dosen D.DIST reach 1PL RDP~RECP bargain D.PROX with lecturer

‘it got to the point that we and the lecturer were arguing constantly with each other’ [080917-010-CvEx.0177]

4.2.6. **Gesamtbedeutung of reduplication**

Reduplication in Papuan Malay conveys a number of different meaning aspects ranging from plurality and diversity to disparagement and imitation. This variety in meaning raises two questions: first, does reduplication have a “gesamtbedeutung” or
underlying “general meaning” (Jakobson 1984), and second, is there a specific relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word.

Table 6 lists the Papuan Malay word classes which attract reduplication and the meaning aspects they convey.

Table 6: Word classes and meaning aspects in reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Meaning aspects</th>
<th>Word class of base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augmentation</td>
<td>Continuation/repetition/habit</td>
<td>N, V, CAUS, RECP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Plurality/diversity</td>
<td>N, V, DEM, LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Collectivity</td>
<td>NUM, PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Distributiveness</td>
<td>NUM, QT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>V, ADV, LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>Immediacy</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminution</td>
<td>Disparagement</td>
<td>PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefiniteness</td>
<td></td>
<td>N, INT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimlessness</td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attenuation</td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td></td>
<td>V, PRO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the meaning aspects which reduplication in Papuan Malay conveys include “contradictory senses” (Moravcsik 2013: 130). The aspect immediacy, for instance, represents an increase in intensity, while the aspect aimlessness refers to a decrease in intensity. This phenomenon that reduplication brings together a variety of meanings, some of which are opposite, is quite common cross-linguistically (see, for instance, Kiyomi 2009: 1151, Mattes 2007: 124–125, Moravcsik 2013: 129–133, and Regier 1994).

Examining the “crosslinguistically recurrent semantic properties of reduplication”, Moravcsik (2013: 131) comes to the conclusion that reduplication may be viewed as a marking device to indicate that the word is to be understood in an out-of-the-ordinary sense: the meaning deviates from the normal sense of the base either by being “more” or by being “less”.

These contradictory meaning aspects of augmentation and diminution have also been noted for Malayo-Polynesian languages. In her study on reduplication in 30 of these languages, Kiyomi (2009: 1151) considers these two meanings of reduplication to be two manifestations of the same semantic principle of ’a …er degree of …’, which is projected in the opposite directions. Then one can postulate that the prototypical meanings of reduplication represent the semantic principle ’A HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …’

The overview presented in Table 6 indicates that this semantic principle of “a …er degree of …” in terms of augmentation or diminution also accounts for the different meaning aspects of reduplication in Papuan Malay.

In Papuan Malay, the notion of ‘higher degree of …’ involves augmentation in terms of quantity or intensity. Moravcsik (1978: 317, 321) specifies that in the
context of reduplication quantity can refer to the “participants of [an] event or the events themselves”, while intensity refers to the amount of “energy investment or size of effect”. In Papuan Malay, augmentation of quantity includes meaning aspects such as plurality or repetition, while increase in intensity includes the meaning aspects of intensity and immediacy, as listed in Table 6.

The notion of ‘lesser degree of …’ involves diminution which typically “adds the meaning of smallness to the stem meaning” (Kiyomi 2009: 1153). As Jurafsky (1993: 424) points out, however, the diminutive exhibits a variety of “metaphorical extensions” which involve “meaning shifts from the physical world to the social domain, and from the physical world to the conceptual or category domain”. Such semantic extensions of the diminutive are also found in Papuan Malay, in that the semantic effect of diminution brings together the meaning aspects of disparagement, indefiniteness, aimlessness, attenuation, and imitation.

The disparagement sense is linked to the notion of diminution metaphorically in that it has to do with social importance or power. The indefiniteness sense is also a metaphorical extension in that it conveys toned-down reference. Likewise, the aimlessness sense is linked to the notion of diminution in that it denotes actions which are done with less intensity. The attenuation sense is a metaphorical extension of the core sense size in that it denotes properties which are weaker, or activities which are carried out less intensely. The imitation sense refers to objects or activities which copy or imitate what the base denotes. This sense is linked to the core sense of diminution in that the objects and activities are not identical with their models but merely resemble them a little bit. (See Jurafsky 1993: 426, 430, Mattes 2007: 125, and Moravcsik 2013: 129–130; see also Mattes, p.c. 2013.)

In summarizing the above and in applying Kiyomi’s (2009: 1151) terminology, it is concluded that in Papuan Malay, the gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is ‘a higher/lower degree of …’. Table 7 gives examples for the two dimensions of augmentation and diminution conveyed by reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augmentation</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>ana–ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>pintar–pintar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminution</td>
<td>Attenuation</td>
<td>kurus–kurus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td>mati–mati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to the relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word, two major observations are made. First, across word classes, reduplicated lexemes differ in terms of the meaning aspects which they convey. Second, meaning aspects differ as regards the range of word classes they attract for reduplication.

First, concerning the reduplicated lexemes and the meaning aspects they convey, the gathered data indicates that within certain word classes reduplication tends to convey more than one specific meaning. Reduplication in certain verbs, for example, can express immediacy while in other verbs it signals continuation or repetition. It is notably content words which carry this variety of different meanings, that is, nouns, verbs, and numerals. In addition, reduplication within two classes of function words
also conveys more than one meaning aspect, namely in the classes of personal pronouns and locatives. Reduplication within the other three classes of function words, by contrast, tends to carry specific meanings: reduplicated demonstratives express diversity, interrogatives indicate indefiniteness, and the causative and reciprocity markers signal continuation or repetition. In relating the word classes which attract reduplication to certain meaning aspects, it is noted, however, that the meaning of a given reduplicated form is more than the meaning of its constituents. The fact that the entire reduplicated form and not its individual constituents carry this meaning, indicates a “holistic” or constructional meaning of the reduplicated forms (Booij 2013: 260–261).

Second, regarding the meaning aspects and the range of word classes they attract for reduplication, the continuation/repetition/habit meaning aspect brings together the largest number of different word classes, namely nouns, verbs, and the causative and reciprocity markers. The meaning aspect of plurality/diversity also brings together several word classes, namely nouns, verbs, demonstratives, and locatives. Another pertinent meaning aspect is intensity, which attracts three different word classes for reduplication. Four more meaning aspects, which attract two word classes each for reduplication, are collectivity, distributiveness, indefiniteness, and imitation. The remaining meaning aspects seem to attract only one word class each for reduplication, that is, verbs for casualness, immediacy, and attenuation, and personal pronouns for disparagement. These observations suggest that there is not a specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word.

4.3. Reduplication across eastern Malay varieties

Reduplication is also very common in other eastern Malay varieties, such as Ambon Malay (AM) (van Minde 1997: 112–140), Banda Malay (BM) (Paauw 2008: 160, 206), Kupang Malay (KM) (Paauw 2008: 160, 171–173, 206, 252–253), Larantuka Malay (LM) (Paauw 2008: 161, 171–173, 206, 256–258), Manado Malay (MM) (Stoel 2005: 25–28), or Ternate Malay (TM) (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–139). This section compares reduplication across these Malay varieties in terms of lexeme formation (§4.3.1), lexeme interpretation (§4.3.2), and interpretational shift (§4.3.3), as far as mentioned in the literature. For comparison, reduplication in Papuan Malay is also included. Also included for comparison is Standard Indonesian (SI) (MacDonald 1976, Mintz 2002, and Sneddon 2010).

4.3.1. Lexeme formation

Similar to Papuan Malay, the above-mentioned six Malay varieties also employ full reduplication, as shown in Table 8. Typically, reduplication affects content words, while reduplication of function words does not occur everywhere. Manado and Ternate Malay also employ reduplication of bound morphemes. The data in Table 8 also shows which varieties use a combination of reduplication and affixation, and in which varieties reduplicated forms without corresponding base words are found. Besides Papuan Malay, only two of the six other eastern Malay varieties use partial and imitative reduplication, namely Ambon and Larantuka Malay.
Table 8: Lexeme formation across eastern Malay varieties and Standard Indonesian

1. Full reduplication
   a) Content words (productive)
      
      |   | PM | AM | BM | KM | LM | MM | TM | SI |
      | N | PM | AM | KM | LM | MM | TM | SI |
      | V | PM | AM | KM | LM | MM | TM | SI |
      | ADV | PM | AM | MM | SI |
      | NUM | PM | AM | KM | MM | SI |
      | QT | PM | LM |

   b) Function words (unproductive)
      
      |   | PM | AM | KM | LM | MM | SI |
      | PRO | PM | AM |
      | DEM | PM | AM |
      | LOC | PM | AM |
      | INT | PM | AM | KM | LM |
      | CAUS | PM |
      | RECP | PM | MM | TM |

   c) Bound morphemes (unproductive)
      
      |   | MM | TM |
      | PFX |   |

   d) Reduplication and affixation (productive)
      
      |   | PM | AM | KM | LM | MM | SI |
      | RDP prec. AFFX | PM | AM |
      | AFFX prec. RDP | PM | AM | KM |

   e) No corresponding base words (unproductive)
      
      |   | PM | AM | SI |
      | N | PM | AM |
      | V | PM | AM |
      | QT | PM |
      | ADV | AM | SI |
      | CNJ | PM | AM | SI |

2. Partial reduplication
   
   productive PM | AM | LM | SI
   unproductive

3. Imitative reduplication (unproductive)
   
   PM | AM | LM | SI

The data given in Table 8 shows that reduplication in Ambon Malay is about as pervasive as in Papuan Malay, with both varieties sharing many features. This applies to the attested reduplication types (full, partial, and imitative), as well as to the attested morpheme types which can be reduplicated. For the five other eastern Malay varieties and Standard Indonesian, reduplication seems to play a much lesser role, as shown by the gaps in Table 8. For the eastern Malay varieties, this applies

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135 Abbreviations: AFFX = affixation; prec. = precedes.
especially to the reduplication of function words; furthermore, these varieties appear not to have reduplicated forms which lack a corresponding unreduplicated base. Two explanations present themselves for these observations. One explanation is that the commonalities between Papuan Malay and Ambon Malay, together with the lack of overlap with the five other eastern Malay varieties, are due to the distinct history of Papuan Malay, argued for in §1.2. An alternative explanation is that the differences among the eastern Malay varieties are due to differing degrees of depth with which the different authors describe reduplication in the Malay varieties presented in Table 8. This grammar on Papuan Malay, as well as that of Ambon Malay, and also those of Standard Indonesian, describe reduplication as a word-formation process rather thoroughly, while the descriptions of the five other eastern Malay varieties mention only the most salient features of reduplication in these varieties; hence, the rather large number of gaps in Table 8.

### 4.3.2. Lexeme interpretation

As in Papuan Malay, the gesamtbedeutung of reduplication in the six other eastern Malay varieties is ‘a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …’. Table 9 gives examples for this gesamtbedeutung across the seven Malay varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUG.QUANT</td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>bua~bua</td>
<td>RDP~fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>kata~kata</td>
<td>RDP~word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>orang~orang</td>
<td>RDP~person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KM</td>
<td>buku~buku</td>
<td>RDP~book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>ana~ana</td>
<td>RDP~child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MM</td>
<td>dua~dua</td>
<td>RDP~two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TM</td>
<td>ular~ular</td>
<td>RDP~snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG.INTENS</td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>pintar~pintar</td>
<td>RDP~be.clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>biru~biru</td>
<td>RDP~be.green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>uma~ame</td>
<td>RDP~chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MM</td>
<td>kita~kita</td>
<td>RDP~1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TM</td>
<td>ba<del>ba</del>diang</td>
<td>RDP~INT–be.quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>kurus~kurus</td>
<td>RDP~be.thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>malu~malu</td>
<td>RDP~be.ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KM</td>
<td>apa~apa</td>
<td>RDP~what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>apa~apa</td>
<td>RDP~what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MM</td>
<td>saki~saki</td>
<td>RDP~be.sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 demonstrates in more detail which word classes attract reduplication and which meaning aspects they convey in all seven Malay varieties.

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136 Abbreviations: AUG = augmentation, DIM = diminution, QUANT = quantity, INTENS = intensity.
First, the data in Table 10 shows that across the seven Malay varieties, reduplication of content words tends to convey more than one meaning aspect, while reduplicated function words tend to carry specific meaning aspects, such as indefiniteness for interrogatives. The exception is Manado Malay, where reduplication of content words tends to carry a specific meaning, such as plurality for nouns.

Second, the data in Table 10 illustrates that in the other eastern Malay varieties some meaning aspects also attract a wider range of word classes for reduplication than other meaning aspects. This applies to the plurality/diversity, the intensity, the continuation/repetition/habit, and the indefiniteness meaning aspects.

Of all the eastern Malay varieties, the different meaning aspects attested in Papuan attract the widest range of different word classes. For Ambon Malay, the range of attracted word classes is also rather large. In the other eastern Malay varieties, however, the attracted range of word classes is much smaller. At this point, it remains unclear, though, whether these smaller ranges are due to inherent properties of these varieties or due to incomplete documentation in the respective literature.

Table 10: Word classes and meaning aspects in reduplication across eastern Malay varieties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augmentation (quantity)</th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>KM</th>
<th>LM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>TM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuation/repetition/habit</td>
<td>N, V, ADV, RECP, CAUS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V, PFX</td>
<td>V, PFX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurality/diversity</td>
<td>N, V, DEM, LOC</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N, V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivity</td>
<td>NUM, PRO</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributiveness</td>
<td>NUM, QT</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casualness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Augmentation (intensity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity/Immediacy</th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>KM</th>
<th>LM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>TM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V, ADV, LOC</td>
<td>V, ADV</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>V, PFX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diminution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disparagement/Indefiniteness</th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>KM</th>
<th>LM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>TM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>N, INT</td>
<td>DEM, INT</td>
<td>PRO, INT</td>
<td>PRO, INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attenuation</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

137 In Table 10, the category of prefixes (PFX) in Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 27) and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012: 139) includes the reciprocal marker baku ‘RCP’.

Reduplicated Ternate Malay “activity words” (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–138) are included in the word class of verbs.
Overall, there is not a specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words in any of the Malay varieties discussed here.

4.3.3. Interpretational shift

Interpretational shift of reduplicated lexemes, as described for Papuan Malay (see §4.2.1.4 and §4.2.2.8), is also attested for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 118, 123, 125), Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2008: 126, 270), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 26), and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012: 220).

With respect to the patterns of interpretational shift, two observations are made, summarized in Table 11. First, in each of the varieties for which interpretational shift is mentioned, it is content words that may undergo such a shift. Second, the Malay varieties differ in terms of the syntactic categories of the base and the readings which the reduplicated forms can receive. In Papuan and Ambon Malay, nouns and verbs can undergo interpretational shift, while in Manado Malay only nouns and in Larantuka and Ternate Malay only verbs are affected. Most often, such shifts result in the reduplicated form receiving an adverbial reading. Such is the case in Papuan, Ambon, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay; the exception is Manado Malay. Considerably less often the shift results in a nominal reading (Papuan and Ambon Malay) or verbal reading (Papuan Malay) of reduplicated lexemes.

Table 11: Patterning of interpretational shift across eastern Malay varieties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic category</th>
<th>Reduplicated forms and their meanings</th>
<th>Received reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns PM</td>
<td>rawa<del>rawa RDP</del>swamp</td>
<td>verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malam<del>malam RDP</del>night</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>malang<del>malang RDP</del>night</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>opa<del>opa RDP</del>grandfather</td>
<td>verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs(^{138}) PM</td>
<td>gait<del>gait RDP</del>hook</td>
<td>verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baru<del>baru</del> RDP~be.new</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{138}\) The ‘verb’ category includes Manado Malay adjectives and Ternate Malay “quality words” (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–138).
The ability of reduplicated lexemes to undergo interpretational shift seems to be best explained in terms of a slot filling-function of reduplication. Cross-linguistically, temporal noun phrases, for instance, are prone to fill adverbial slots; an example is the English sentence ‘she came home late at night’.

Hence, in this grammar of Papuan Malay, the interpretational shifts described in §4.2.1.4 and §4.2.2.8 are taken to result from a slot filling-function of reduplication. That is, reduplication enables base words to fill different syntactic slots, such as an adverbial or nominal slot.

In Ternate Malay, interpretational shifts also seem to be the results of a slot-filling function of reduplicating, with Litamahuputty (2012: 220) noting that “both reduplicated quality words and activity words may serve to express manner when they immediately follow an activity”. For Ambon Malay, by contrast, van Minde (1997: 118, 123, 125) considers the observed interpretational shifts as “transpositions” which result from “derivational” processes. For Manado Malay, Stoel (2005: 26) notes that when kinship terms or similar words are reduplicated “then the reduplicated form is an adjective referring to a certain age group”. This statement suggests that Stoel (2005) considers interpretational shifts to result from a category-changing function of reduplication. For Larantuka Malay, Paauw (2008: 126, 270) does not discuss the attested interpretational shifts.

### 4.4. Summary

Reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive morphological device for deriving new words. In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication, which involves the repetition of an entire root, stem, or word; bound morphemes are not reduplicated. Full reduplication usually applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication are rare. The gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is “a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …” in the sense of augmentation and diminution (Kiyomi 2009: 1151). There is, however, no specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words.

A comparison of reduplication in Papuan Malay and five other eastern Malay varieties shows that Papuan Malay shares many features with Ambon Malay. In both
varieties, reduplication plays an important role. In Banda, Manado, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay, by contrast, reduplication seems to be much less pervasive. These commonalities and differences may well point to the particular history of Papuan Malay, argued for in §1.2. The observed differences could, however, also result from gaps in the descriptions of Banda, Manado, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay.