1. INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a very common phenomenon of Austronesian (AN) languages. Numerous articles have examined the function of reduplication in various AN languages (cf. Gonda 1950, Taylor 1970, Harrison 1973, Johnston 1977, Rosen 1977a, 1977b, Ezard 1980 and Mosel 1978, for examples). In Da'a (Pakawa), an AN language spoken in Central Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia, reduplication occurs as well. The purpose of this paper is to outline and illustrate the functions of this process in Da'a.

2. TYPES OF REDUPLICATION IN DA'A

Languages vary in which part of words may be reduplicated. Some languages reduplicate complete words, including any affixation. Others reduplicate word roots, and still others syllables. Most languages employ one or more such strategies in reduplication. In Da'a only the first two kinds of reduplication occur productively, here termed complete and partial reduplication respectively. Syllable reduplication occurs in only a few rare instances and as such is not a productive process in Da'a.

2.1 Complete reduplication

In Da'a complete reduplication of words is found in which either 1) unaffixed words are completely reduplicated, or 2) roots with affixes are totally reduplicated. Examples of these two types are given below:

- *mpu'u*-*mpu'u* very
- *totu'a*-*totu'a* parents; elders
- *eo*-eo every day
- *tuja*-tuja plants
- *sa-nggani*-sa-nggani once in awhile
- *sa-mpu'u*-sa-mpu'u one plant here and there

Words which can be completely reduplicated include all countable nouns, numerals with accompanying numeral classifiers, certain adverbs (but not all) and a few verbs. Most verbs do not seem to be able to be reduplicated completely with affixation, but are commonly partially reduplicated.
2.2 Partial reduplication

In the second type of reduplication, the root of the word is reduplicated while the affixation is not. This type of reduplication only occurs with verbs and adjectives, not with noun roots.

- na-sae-sae: a long, long time
- mo-tesa-tesa: talk on and on
- nipaka-roo-roo rarana: calmed his heart down
- nosingga-damba-damba: have a good time together
- naka-kata-kata: be very itchy

2.3 Syllable reduplication

- ma-sadia-dia: be continually ready

Let us now examine in some detail the various functions of these types of reduplication in Da'a.

3. REDUPLICATION INDICATING DIFFUSENESS OR INDEFINITENESS

We here use the term diffuse to mean a non-specific number greater than one. The effect of reduplication in Da'a is to mark on verbs and on nouns (countable) the feature diffuse, non-specific, more than one. On certain Da'a verbs this has the effect of indicating a diffuseness of arguments associated with a given predicate. Some AN languages, such as Indonesian, can indicate multiple or diffuse actors or goals by reduplication of the verb root (Rosen 1977b). In Da'a, however, only multiple goals may be thus marked. Multiple actors may be marked by the Da'a prefixes nosi- (realis form) or mosi- (irrealis form).

In addition to multiple goals reduplication in Da'a commonly indicates verbal aspect; repeated action or a continuous action or state. These aspects are thus diffuse in the sense that they indicate not just single, specific actions occurring at only one point in time. Rather they mark actions that are diffused along the time spectrum, occurring either at more than one point on the spectrum (repeated action) or extending over a segment of that spectrum (continuous action or state).

With certain verbs of motion reduplication indicates a kind of locative diffuseness in which the direction or goal of the motion is not specific. In certain verbs alternating directions of the motion are shown (e.g. back and forth, up and down). In others random or indirect, non-specific movement is marked by reduplicating the verb root.

In addition to these functions of reduplication of verb roots, a reduplicated countable noun becomes diffuse, multiple, no longer single. Also certain question words reduplicated mark indefiniteness, non-specific concepts. This concept will be examined in some detail in section 3.3. Each of these various functions of reduplication will be illustrated in the following sections.

3.1 Reduplication of verbs indicating multiple goals

A reduplication of certain verb roots can have the meaning of multiple goals of the action, as in the following examples. (Material under discussion underlined.)
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(1) Pade uma-na nom-bagi-bagi mbara-mbara ka lra romba'a etu. 
then father-his AF,REAL-divide-RED thing-RED to they two that 
Then his father divided his wealth between the two of them (his sons).

(2) Uma-na mang-ala roti pade nomba-bingga-bingga roti etu ante 
father-his AF,REAL-take cake then AF,REAL-break-RED cake that with 
pale-na, 
hands-his 
His father took some cake and then broke the cake into many pieces with 
his hands.

In both examples above the effect of reduplication is to indicate many goals to 
the action. In (1) the father's wealth was divided between two sons, and in (2) 
the cake was broken into many pieces.

3.2 Aspectual reduplication

One very productive use of reduplication in Do'a is to indicate certain types 
of verbal aspect. Three types of aspect can be indicated by reduplication: 
1) repeated action, 2) continuous action or state, and 3) a form of locative 
aspect.

In sentences (3)-(5) REPEATED ACTION is indicated.

(3) Nosi-elo nosi-elo nosi-elo, nosi-njapu. 
REC-look-for REC-look-for REC-look-for REC-wagered 
They looked for each other, and looked for each other and looked for each 
other, having wagered with each other (who would find the other first).

(4) Ni-kita-kita da'a ria sou. 
OF,REAL-look-RED not be house 
He looked and looked (but) there was no house.

(5) Ma-lau i'a neka-wantu-wantu. 
IRR-go he REAL-jump-RED 
He moves by means of jumping.

In each of the examples above the effect of reduplication is to indicate action 
that is repeated. Unreduplicated forms would indicate only an action performed 
once, i.e. looked for each other once, looked once, jumped once.

In sentences (6) and (7) below CONTINUOUS ACTION is indicated by reduplication.

OF,REAL-wait-RED AG turtle REAL-ripe-PERF banana-his 
The turtle waited on and on (until finally) his bananas were ripe.

(7) Tempona ira da no-tesa-tesa bo nosi-njula pekiri wega ira 
while they still SF,REAL-talk-RED and REC-exchange ideas friend their 
na-rata ri ja'i nu lra pade na-lau no-sanggani-nggani. 
REAL-come to them then REAL-go REAL-together 
While they were still talking and exchanging ideas, their friend arrived 
and went on together with them.
The action in both examples above continued on, this being marked by reduplication of the verb root.

CONTINUOUS STATE can also be indicated by reduplication of the root of a predicate of state, as in the following two examples.

(8) Tau ya'a ma-sugi mpu'u. Doi-na da'a ma-opyu-opyu sumpe person that REAL-rich very Money-his not IRR-run.out-RED up.to mpea-mpee. year-RED
That man is very rich. His money won't run out for years.

(9) Nang-uli magau ka batau-na, 'Komi kana ma-sadia-di mbmpo-pee REAL-say king to slave-his you must IRR-ready-RED AF, IRR-wait ka-rata-ku. NON-arrive-my
The king said to his slave, 'You must be continually ready waiting for my arrival!'.

In the examples above the states continue on for some time; in (8) a person's money will not run out, and in (9) a slave is urged to be continually ready.

A type of LOCATIVE ASPECT can also be shown in Da'a by reduplication of certain motion verbs. This indicates an alternation in the direction of the action of the verb. This is illustrated in sentence (10).

(10) Da'a ma-mala ma-na'lu na'lu ngana, not IRR-able IRR-go.down-RED child The child cannot go down (from the house) and come back up (down and up, down and up, etc.). (i.e. he must stay in the house)

Without reduplication of the verb root the sentence does not have the idea of going down and then back up and down. ma-na'lu means merely to go down. It is the reduplication of the root that conveys the idea of alternating directions of the action.

3.3 Reduplication of motion verbs indicating random or indirect action

Action toward a diffuse, non-specific goal, a random moving around is marked by reduplication of roots of certain verbs of motion.

(11) Ane mang-elo panggoni ira tau nmmbua nbua ri lombona ma-nggita when IRR-look.for food they go REAL-fly-RED in air IRR-see a ne nu manu ntau. young of chicken people When they (chicken hawks) look for food they fly around in the air to see people's baby chicks.

(12) Mpaka ri umba? Kami aga ma-njayo-njayo. go where we(exc1) just IRR-walk.around-RED Where are you going? ANS. We are just going for a walk.

In both the examples given above the effect of reduplication is to indicate an action which does not have a definite goal in mind. In (11) nmmbua
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unreduplicated would indicate flight to a specific goal (for example the bird's nest), and in (12) with a specific destination in mind the answer to the question "Where are you going?" would be Mpaka ri ... (specific destination, i.e. market, Palu, etc.) Going to ... (the market, Iala, etc.).

3.4 Reduplication of nouns indicating diffuseness or indefiniteness

What some writers have called a pluralising function of reduplication in some AN languages (cf. Capell 1937-39, Ezard 1980, for examples), we here follow Rosen (1977b) in using the term diffuse. Rosen sees plurality as having a "plus definite" feature which in Indonesian is NOT what reduplication of nouns causes. The notion diffuse, then, conveys the meaning of non-singular, non-definite; or said another way, a non-specific number greater than one. This definition distinguishes a notion of plurality different from that found in English, which is non-singular, but definite. This contrast between the two systems can be seen in the following examples from Indonesian and English (see Rosen 1977b).

(13) la mempunyai tiga anak.
he has three children

(14) *la mempunyai tiga anak-anak.
he has three child-RED

(15) He has three children.

In English children is the plural form of child, and may also be definite when modified by, among other things, a specific (definite) numeral, three. In Indonesian, on the other hand, reduplication of anak child, does not indicate definite plurality. Rather the reduplication marks non-singular, but also non-specific; that is, an indefinite number greater than one. Sentence (14) is ungrammatical because it contains a specific number, tiga three and the reduplicated form anak-anak children which is diffuse, NOT definite as the English might be. Hence the term diffuse is used to indicate non-singular indefinite number.

In Da'a reduplication of countable nouns is a very common occurrence which has the same function as that found in Indonesian described above. That is, it indicates diffuseness. Reduplication of countable nouns in Da'a marks non-singular, indefinite, a non-specific number greater than one. The following examples illustrate this.

(16) Kana ma-rata ma-siromur ri bantaya ante totu'a-totu'a.
(They) must IRR-come IRR-gather.together in meeting.house with elder-RED

(They) must gather together with the elders in the meeting house.

(17) Ju'a-ju'a to na-ria ri kampu bagia nu Da'a.
sickness-RED RM REAL-be in village area of Da'a

The sicknesses that are in the villages in the Da'a area. (title of text)

In each of the examples above the reduplicated form indicates more than one, diffuseness. The unreduplicated forms would indicate only one of the items mentioned, as in (16) one elder and in (17) one kind of sickness.

To indicate definite, non-singular, as in (15) above, in Da'a must be as follows:
3.5 Reduplication of question words

When certain question words are reduplicated INDEFINITENESS is marked, as seen in the following examples.

(19) Tau-tau nompo-k i'ma ngga ri umba-umba nantalili ri setu.
    person-RED AF,REAL-call him from where-RED around there
    People called out to him from all over around there. (an indefinite place, not a specific place, just from all around)

(20) Sema-sema na-rata ri ja'i-na kana ni-tarima-na.
    who-RED REAL-come to-him must OF,REAL-receive-he
    Whoever comes to him will be received by him. (not just one specific person, by whoever)

In sentences (19) and (20) the effect of reduplication is to add a feature of indefiniteness. Without reduplication umba and sema would be considered ordinary question words, where and who respectively, and in these two sentences would not make sense.

4. REDUPLICATION INDICATING INTENSITY

A second major function of reduplication in Da'a is to indicate intensity of something. This occurs in several contexts: 1) with adverbial notions it indicates intensity of the meaning of the adverb; 2) with certain stative verbs reduplication can indicate emotional intensity or immediacy, and 3) with adjectives reduplication shows intensity of degree of the characteristic conveyed by the root. These functions are illustrated below.

4.1 Reduplicated adverbs

Certain adverbs can be intensified by reduplication.

(21) Ane ku-pekiri mpu'u-mpu'u kami ri buluna e'i katuwua kami
    if I-think really-RED we(excl) in mountains this life our(excl)
    da'a na-simbayu nte roa nti nina.
    not REAL-same as friend other
    If I really-really think about it we here in the mountains, our life is not the same as others.

(22) Sabana ana-na samba'a lau, etu ngana besi to tuwu-na sampulu rompae
    because child-his one only that child female RM age-her twelve-years
    mosu-mosu na-mate.
    close-RED REAL-dead
    Because his only child, that is his daughter who was twelve years old, was nearly dead.
In these two examples the reduplicated forms can be used in unreduplicated form as well. The effect of that would be not to indicate the intensity or strength of the adverbial idea. The reduplicated forms are more intense, stronger.

4.2 Reduplicated stative verbs

In the following example the effect of reduplication of the stative verb root is to give the idea of emotional intensity or immediacy. This sentence is in a text about being circumcised, giving the reasons why boys want to be circumcised. Those who are not circumcised once they reach the appropriate age are ridiculed by the other boys.

(23) Ra-njani-na ma-ria-ria ngana ma-tesa e l i, 'Ne'e mpulu mo-ala i'a OF,IRR-know he IRR-be-RED child IRR-say this don't really IRR-take him
ngina.'

later
He knows that with a certainty (with dread in his heart) there will be some boy say (to the girls), 'Don't for sure pick him later'. (i.e. because he is uncircumcised)

The effect of the possibility of this happening is sufficient to motivate the boys to get circumcised. The very thought of someone saying that he is un­circumcised is an emotionally intense thing, and often motivates even the reluctant boy to get up his courage to get circumcised, painful though it is. ma-ria without reduplication means merely there will be. There is not the intenseness of feeling that SURELY this will happen.

4.3 Reduplicated adjectives

With reduplication of an adjective root the characteristic conveyed by the adjective is intensified. This can be seen in the examples below.

(24) Apa ni-kiki san i kada-na naka-kata-kata.

Because OF,REAL-bite mosquito foot-his REAL-itchy-RED
Because he was bitten by a mosquito his foot was really itchy.

(25) Ri ngata ntau i'a na-damba-damba, na-sana-sana.

In town people are REAL-happy-RED REAL-have.fun-RED
In the people's town he really lived it up.

In examples (24) and (25) above the effect of the reduplication is to make the characteristic described more intense in degree than the unreduplicated form would be. In (24) naka-kata would mean only itchy, and in (25) na-damba, na-sana would mean happy and have fun in a normal degree.

4.4 Reduplication of certain time words

The effect of reduplicating time words, such as day, month, year, etc. is an intensifying one as well, indicating every, as seen in the examples below.
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5. SUMMARY

We have seen that reduplication, a common feature of many AM languages, has two major functions in Da'a; 1) indicating diffuseness, indefiniteness, and 2) indicating intensity.

Reduplication of verbs may indicate multiple goals, repeated action, continuous action or state, alternation in the direction of motion verbs, random or indirect action of certain motion verbs, and emotional intensity or immediacy of certain stative verbs. What determines which meaning is conveyed by reduplication is the semantic content of the verb root. For example only certain verb roots can have multiple goals, while only certain verbs of motion can show locative alternation.

Reduplication of countable nouns makes them diffuse, multiple, non-singular, non-definite. Reduplicated forms of certain adverbs, adjectives and certain time words are more intense than unreduplicated forms.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AF Actor Focus PERF Perfective
OF Object Focus AG Agent
REAL Realis Mood NOM Nominaliser
IRR Irrealis Mood excl exclusive
RED Reduplication RM Relative Marker
R2C Reciprocal

NOTE

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