

## REDUPLICATION IN TAWALA

Bryan Ezard  
Summer Institute of Linguistics

### 0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the possible value of reduplication as a typological tool in Austronesian comparative studies. New data are presented from Tawala<sup>1</sup>, an Austronesian language of the Milne Bay Province. The comparison of the data with Motu suggests various possibilities for a reduplication typology.

Some years ago I read A.J. Taylor's "Reduplication in Motu" and was impressed by the variety of uses that Motu makes of reduplication. When I next referred to Taylor's article I had already prepared an outline of Tawala reduplication and was surprised to find just how divergent the two systems are. Tawala reduplication is presented (sections 1 & 2) and then briefly compared with Motu (section 3). The resultant typological possibilities are then discussed (section 4).

Motu and Tawala share some 21% common cognates based on 100 words<sup>2</sup> (Ezard 1977a) and yet their systems of reduplication are quite divergent. It therefore seems likely that reduplication both in form and function could well prove useful as a typological feature in determining groupings within an area such as Milne Bay, and perhaps on a wider scale. It is hoped that this paper will stimulate others to write language specific papers on reduplication, making typological studies possible at depth.

Early linguistic studies in the Melanesian area concentrated on the similarities between languages and glossed over the differences. Codrington (1885:147) in discussing the reduplication of nouns in eastern Melanesia states, "Reduplication, of the whole word or of a part, magnifies, intensifies, expresses size and number .... There is also a diminutive power in reduplication, or rather depreciatory." Ray (1907:445) found the situation to be the same along the south coast of Papua New Guinea and the islands of the Milne Bay Province. After quoting Codrington he states, "These statements exactly describe the effect of reduplication in the Melanesian languages of New Guinea." In particular he illustrates (1) Plural by reduplication (2) Size by reduplication and (3) Diminution or Depreciation by reduplication. Only one example of the second type is given.

Cape11 (1937-39:770)<sup>3</sup> lists nine functions for reduplication in "South-Eastern Papua": (1) Intensification (2) Formation of nouns from verbs (3) Diminution (4) Plurality including a collective function (5) Formation of adjectives (6) Continuous tense (7) "Modification of meaning" (8) Formation of nouns of instruments and (9)

Negative aspect (attested only in Dobu). Over half of these functions are found in Tawala, and Taylor (1970) found seven in Motu.

Johnston (1977) mentions two well attested functions of reduplication in Austronesian which are not mentioned in Capell's list: (1) The formation of intransitive from transitive verbs. This feature is found in Motu e.g. inua - 'to drink something' inuinu - 'to drink'. Blust (forthcoming) also states that there is a "wide-spread correlation of reduplication and transitivity in Oceanic languages." This feature is not found in Tawala, though it seems to lie behind the formation of modifiers, some of which still retain an active relationship with transitive verbs, e.g. hogo-ya - 'to fill something' hogohogo-na - 'full'. (2) Non-singular subject-NP agreement marking on the verb by reduplication of the root. For example the Samoan savali 'walk' (sg. subject), savavali 'walk' (pl. subject). This is not found in Tawala.

## 1. Inflectional Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive process in Tawala. The reduplication morpheme carries a specific meaning which can be contrasted with the non-reduplicated form. I have called this 'inflectional reduplication'. Two functions of inflectional reduplication are found in Tawala: (1) progressive aspect in verbs and (2) plurality in certain nouns.

Non-productive reduplication is handled in the second section of this paper where it is called 'Lexical Reduplication'.

### 1.1 Reduplication of Verbs

In Tawala the inflectional reduplication of verbs has as its single function the marking of the progressive aspect. Various shades of meaning are to be found under the heading 'progressive aspect', such as continuous action, or repeated action, but these are determined by the meaning of the verb and not by separate inflections. All verbs, except those beginning with modal prefixes<sup>4</sup> have a reduplicated form for the progressive aspect. However, there are different types of reduplication depending on the phonetic shape of the verb.

#### 1.1.1 Complete Reduplication

Verbs whose roots have a CVCV pattern normally reduplicate the first two syllables. As most Tawala roots have a CVCV pattern, this is the most common form of reduplication, especially as most compound verbs and a good many prefixed verbs follow this pattern. The following examples are given with a single gloss, as the reduplicated form is the progressive or continuous aspect of the given meaning.

<u>hopu</u>	<u>hopuhopu</u>	'to go down'
<u>geleta</u>	<u>gelegeleta</u>	'to arrive'
<u>hune-ya</u>	<u>hunehune-ya</u>	'to praise (tr.)'
<u>kima-ya</u>	<u>kimakima-ya</u>	'to bite (tr.)'
<u>paliwele-ya</u>	<u>palipaliwele-ya</u>	'to speak to someone'
<u>hanahaya</u>	<u>hanahanahaya</u>	'to bite'
<u>bahanae</u>	<u>bahabahanae</u>	'to speak' (talk-go)
<u>kawamoina</u>	<u>kawakawamoina</u>	'to proclaim true' (proclaim-true)
<u>nugotuhu</u>	<u>nugonugotuhu</u>	'to think' (mind-#)
<u>hinimaya</u>	<u>hinihinimaya</u>	'to be ashamed' (skin- feel)
<u>menamaga</u>	<u>menamenamaga</u>	'to be two-faced' (tongue-many)
<u>lupahopu</u>	<u>lupalupahopu</u>	'to jump down' (jump-down)

### 1.1.2 Partial Reduplication

There are two types of partial reduplication:

- 1) Verbs which have a CVV pattern at the beginning of the root are normally reduplicated by prefixing the consonant with the second vowel.

<u>gae</u>	<u>gegae</u>	'to go up'
<u>houni</u>	<u>huhouni</u>	'to put it'
<u>beiha</u>	<u>bibeiha</u>	'to search'
<u>tou</u>	<u>tutou</u>	'to weep'
<u>wao</u>	<u>wowao</u>	'to dig a hole for planting'

However a few verbs take a different vowel from the second.

<u>nei</u>	<u>nenei</u>	'to come'
<u>peu</u>	<u>pipeu</u>	'to fall'

A small number of CVV verbs show complete reduplication.

<u>hoe-ya</u>	<u>hoehoe-ya</u>	'to open (tr.)'
<u>bui</u>	<u>buibui</u>	'to turn over'
<u>woe</u>	<u>woewoe</u>	'to paddle'

- 2) Verbs which commence with a vowel form their reduplication with the first vowel and consonant. There are no verbs with an initial VVC pattern.

<u>apu</u>	<u>apapu</u>	'to bake'
<u>eno</u>	<u>eneno</u>	'to sleep'
<u>am</u>	<u>amam</u>	'to eat'
<u>uma</u>	<u>umuma</u>	'to drink'
<u>atuna</u>	<u>ataatuna</u>	'to rain'
<u>otowi</u>	<u>ototowi</u>	'to make an appointment'

Finally, to give exceptions, there are a very few CVCV verbs which have only partial reduplication.

<u>hale</u>	<u>hahale</u>	'to throw'
<u>nīye-ya</u>	<u>nīnīye-ya</u>	'to bring (tr.)'
<u>waya</u>	<u>wīwaya</u>	'to take it'

(some dialects say waiya      wīwaiya)

### 1.1.3 Vowel Reduplication

When the first two syllables of a stem are the same then reduplication is accomplished by lengthening the first vowel.

<u>totogo</u>	<u>tootogo</u>	'to be sick'
<u>guguya</u>	<u>guuguya</u>	'to preach'
<u>tatawa</u>	<u>taatawa</u>	'to tremble'
<u>tete</u>	<u>teete</u>	'to cross a bridge'
<u>kiki</u>	<u>kiiki</u>	'to strangle'

## 1.2 Reduplication of Nouns

Tawala is typically Austronesian in that pluralisation of nouns is normally marked by context and not by inflection. However, certain nouns are reduplicated to form the plural and the various types are listed below.

The rules that apply to verbs for the formation of the reduplicated forms also apply in general to nouns. However, there are exceptions.

### 1.2.1 Relationship Terms

All relationship terms have a plural form. The person/number suffix is included as it is obligatory in Tawala. I have chosen the 1st person singular form (-we following u, and -u elsewhere).

<u>ama-u</u>	<u>amama-u</u>	'my father/s'
<u>hina-u</u>	<u>hinahina-u</u>	'my mother/s'
<u>nou-we</u>	<u>nounou-we</u>	'my sister/s'
<u>natu-we</u>	<u>natunatu-we</u>	'my child/ren'
<u>iwa-u</u>	<u>iwiwa-u</u>	'my brother/s-in-law'
<u>goga-u</u>	<u>gogoga-u</u> <sup>5</sup>	'my ancestor/s'
<u>au-we</u>	<u>auau-we</u> <sup>6</sup>	'my uncle' (avunculate)

### 1.2.2 Referent Terms

The following terms of reference have a plural form. They can be used as terms of address. The first two terms are titles of respect.

<u>bada</u>	<u>babada</u>	'older man/men'
<u>keduluma</u>	<u>kedukeduluma</u>	'older woman/women'
<u>hewali</u>	<u>hewahewali</u>	'unmarried man/men'
<u>hiwape</u>	<u>hiwahiwape</u>	'widow/s'

Many nouns can take the prefix tu- which means 'the person who..'. Some of these forms can be pluralized.

<u>tu-koiba</u>	<u>tu-koikoiba</u>	'pregnant woman/women'
<u>tu-wituwega</u>	<u>tu-wituwetuwega</u>	'the news spreader/s'

### 1.2.3 Other Nouns

Names of branches and similar items are normally referred to in the plural and are almost collective nouns. However, a singular form exists and is used if reference is made to a specific single item.

<u>galu</u>	<u>galugalu</u>	'new shoot/s'
<u>lugu</u>	<u>lugulugu</u>	'leaf/leaves'
<u>laga</u>	<u>lagalaga</u>	'branch/es'
<u>hiliili</u>	<u>hilihiliili</u>	'coral finger/finger coral'
<u>heya</u>	<u>heyaheya</u>	'piece of coral/coral (generic)'
<u>ledu</u>	<u>leduledu</u>	'coconut cup/s'

### 1.2.4 Reduplication of Demonstratives

Demonstratives have an optional reduplicated form:

<u>geka</u>	'this'	<u>gegeka</u>	'this' (in continuous view)
<u>noka</u>	'that'	<u>nonoka</u>	'that' ( " " " " )

## 2. Lexical Reduplication

Many lexical items in Tawala are reduplicated in their basic form. That is to say, it is not possible to subdivide these words into smaller parts without losing their meaning. In some cases we can recognize the root from which the reduplicated root has been derived.

<u>kehoi</u>	'white cockatoo'	<u>kehokehoi</u>	'albino'
<u>balu</u>	'to join'	<u>balubalu-hi</u>	'big' (plural of <u>baneina</u> 'big')
<u>liya-</u>	'to (go) together'	<u>liyaliya-na</u>	'near'

However, in most cases it is no longer possible to find any possible derivation by synchronic methods.

Three patterns of reduplication have been observed in lexical items. The most common form is the complete reduplication of a CVCV,

then there is the occasional reduplication of a CVV, and thirdly, a three-fold repetition of a single CV<sup>7</sup>. Two examples of each are given.

<u>bonabona</u>	'island'
<u>kawakawalu</u>	'engaged person'
<u>goigo</u>	'mango'
<u>waewae</u>	'crow'
<u>dedede</u>	'story'
<u>kukuku</u>	'pheasant coucal'

In seeking a rationale for Tawala lexical reduplication I have diverged slightly from earlier models in an attempt to account for all the data in the Tawala dictionary. (I present the data in considerable detail in order to allow others to see possible discrepancies.)

Lexical items often have reduplication in the middle or end of the word. For example:

<u>niuhamahamaga</u>	'handkerchief'	(nose-wipe)
<u>paliluwaluwa</u>	'parable'	(talk-double)
<u>nugohiyahiyawa</u>	'research'	(mind-count)
<u>bolikuwekuwe</u>	'rattan cane belt'	(cut-rattan)
<u>nimagadogadou</u>	'elbow'	(arm-neck)

While these words cannot be subdivided without loss of meaning, they really consist of two parts (meanings in brackets), with the latter modifying the first. Thus no special treatment has been given to these words.

## 2.1 Nouns

The main reason for nouns having a reduplicated form is that they refer to a problem condition, a multiple item or a repeated activity. However, other lesser reasons are also presented.

### 2.1.1 Problem-condition Nouns

The following words refer to a continuous state or condition which is considered undesirable. The words are commonly used as terms of address to any person who suffers from the particular condition. These words differ from modifiers (2.2) in that the problem-condition nouns cannot be used as verbs unless the prefix wo- or wai-, meaning 'to be in a condition of...', is added.

<u>badebade</u>	'deaf and dumb, mad'
<u>dayadayabu</u>	'poor'
<u>gonogono</u>	'cough'
<u>gwalugwalu</u>	'only person left to carry on a clan'
<u>hanuhanu</u>	'parents of a deceased child'
<u>hewahewa</u>	'person living as a stranger in an area'
<u>higohigoe</u>	'orphan'

<u>hilihilili</u>	'dead person who brings spirits'
<u>kamakama</u>	'scabies'
<u>kebekebe</u>	'shrivelled limb'
<u>kulekule</u>	'pimples'
<u>puhipuhi</u>	'abcess'
<u>wakewake</u>	'scar'

### 2.1.2 Multiple-item Nouns

The following words refer to items which are normally composed of many individual items and thus could be called multiple nouns. The words marked with an asterisk can be used as transitive verbs, with the appropriate inflections. The remaining words do not function as verbs although about half of them can be verbalised by use of a prefix.

<u>dinodino</u>	'coconut-rib broom'
<u>dubudubu</u>	'dust, sawdust'
<u>ginaginahi</u>	'sago wall slats'
<u>gotegote*</u>	'rubbish washed up on beach'
<u>libelibe*</u>	'floating rubbish'
<u>logulogu*</u>	'shade under trees'
<u>modumodu</u>	'abdomen, intestines'
<u>nudanuda</u>	'rubbish'
<u>napinapi</u>	'sucker growth'
<u>pelopelo</u>	'decorations'
<u>pulopulo</u>	'froth from mouth'
<u>sapisapi</u>	'earrings made from a number of red shell circles'
<u>tolotolo</u>	'ribs'
<u>tulituli</u>	'woven body band'
<u>yaniyani</u>	'vegetable food'
<u>yopeyope*</u>	'food portion at feast'

### 2.1.3 Repetitive Nouns

Certain nouns refer to a continuous or repeated activity and this is reflected in their reduplicated form. The asterisked forms require a verbal prefix (wi-) to function as verbs. The remainder require only the appropriate inflections.

<u>bolibolima</u>	'southeast trade winds'
<u>bagibagi</u>	'work'
<u>dawidawi</u>	'intense irritation'
<u>dedede*</u>	'story' (some dialects use the form <u>dede</u> )
<u>gohagoha*</u>	'play'
<u>guhuguhu</u>	'earthquake'
<u>koyakoyama</u>	'lie'
<u>lepolepo*</u>	'wake of boat'
<u>gaogao</u>	'week'

### 2.1.4 Instrumental Nouns

This class is held together by the idea that the 'instrument' is used over and over again for a particular purpose. It is a broader category than the title suggests, including means of transport, and containers, as well as instruments proper. The words marked with asterisks are verbalised by the use of various prefixes. The remainder cannot function as verbs.

<u>kadikadima</u>	'adze'
<u>kewokewou</u>	'outrigger canoe'
<u>kubukubu</u>	'small basket type'
<u>kwasiawasi</u>	'machete'
<u>nakanaka</u>	'shelf'
<u>nebaneba*</u>	'piece of broken pottery'
<u>niganigala</u>	'stretcher'
<u>wekiwakilala*</u>	'sign of ownership, token'
<u>yabiyabi*</u>	'rudder'

### 2.1.5 Natural Species

Many natural species have names with a reduplicated form. This is by far the largest class of reduplicated nouns in Tawala and only a representative array is presented in this paper. None of these words, to my knowledge can be used as verbs.

The following classification is presented as a tentative rationale for the reduplicated forms. None of these suggestions is meant to point to a productive grammatical relationship.

#### (1) Diminution

<u>dunadunala</u>	'small white cowrie'	( <u>dunala</u> 'white cowrie')
<u>halehalewa</u>	'pineapple'	( <u>halewa</u> 'pandanus')
<u>howahowa</u>	'sprinkle'	( <u>howa</u> 'spit')
<u>kapekapeu</u>	'small moths'	( <u>kapeu</u> 'butterfly')
<u>kukakuka</u>	'moorish idol' (fish type)	( <u>kuka</u> 'sail')
<u>mogamogaya</u>	'sea-horse'	( <u>mogaya</u> 'crocodile')
<u>motamota</u>	'worm'	( <u>mota</u> 'snake')

#### (2) Onomatopoeia

<u>mukumuku</u>	'pigeon type'
<u>bunebune</u>	'pigeon' (generic)
<u>kukuku</u>	'pheasant coucal'
<u>kukou</u>	'dog' (Kehelala dialect word)

#### (3) Continuous state

<u>gumaguma</u>	'hermit crab' (from <u>guma</u> 'empty')
<u>yuwayuwa</u>	'poisonous cone shell' (from <u>wiyuwa</u> 'to pain')
<u>buhubuhu</u>	'borer beetle' (from <u>buhu</u> 'to bore')
<u>guliguli</u>	'waves' (from <u>guli</u> 'to topple')



(4) Multiple parts (suggested rationale is given in brackets)

<u>gabugabu</u>	'stinging plant' (many stings)
<u>habohabo</u>	'sea urchin' (many spikes)
<u>botoboto</u>	'spotted cuscus' (many spots)
<u>telatela</u>	'sugar glider' (many stripes)
<u>goigoï</u>	'mango' (much fruit)

(5) Form groups (normally observed in a group)

<u>diwidiwi</u>	'ants'
<u>halahalamumu</u>	'shining starlings'
<u>kohakoha</u>	'parrot fish'
<u>giwegiwewe</u>	'brown-backed honey-eater'

(6) Collective

<u>yakoyako</u>	'shells' (generic)
<u>hilahila</u>	'pumice' (lies in piles at the high water mark)
<u>gidagida</u>	'kunai grass'

## 2.2 Modifiers

Tawala modifiers are words denoting a state or condition and this function is reflected in the fact that most have a reduplicated form. A suffix is added to indicate person and number to which it refers.

<u>gahu</u>	<u>potopoto-na</u>	'a thick haze', 'it is a thick haze'
haze	thick-it	

<u>lawa</u>	<u>dewadewa-hi</u>	'good people', 'they are good people'
person	good-them	

About three quarters of the modifiers on my list can be used as stative verbs by replacing the suffix with a person/number prefix.

<u>gahu</u>	<u>i-potopoto</u>	'The haze is thick.'
haze	it-thick	

<u>lawa</u>	<u>hi-dewadewa</u>	'The people are good.'
person	they-good	

Some modifiers are related to non-reduplicated verbal forms. Thus the process of derivation is still somewhat productive.

<u>dewadewa-na</u>	'good'	( <u>dewa-ya</u> 'to do it')
<u>balubalu-hi</u>	'big' (plural)	( <u>balu</u> 'to join')
<u>hogohogo-na</u>	'full'	( <u>hogo</u> 'to fill')

Most Tawala modifiers have a reduplicated form. The following are typical:

<u>kayakaya-na</u>	'red'
<u>tokotoko-na</u>	'turbulent'

<u>wasawasa-na</u>	'rich'
<u>yagiyagi-na</u>	'quick'

### 3. Comparison With Motu Reduplication

The form and functions of Tawala reduplication are quite different from the Motu. We now turn to examine the Motu situation as presented by Taylor (1970). In order to make this comparison I have summarized and reshuffled Taylor's material. This comparison highlights the differences between the two languages and points to potential typological features.

#### 3.1 Basic Distinctions

Before presenting detailed distinctions we can make some broad observations.

##### 3.1.1 Total Reduplication

Motu has what Taylor calls 'total' reduplication whereas Tawala has what I have termed 'complete' reduplication (i.e. as complete as it can be) which is reduplication of two syllables only. Motu commonly reduplicates three syllables.

<u>mereki</u>	'plate'	<u>merekimereki</u>	'small plate'
<u>keruma</u>	'cold'	<u>kerumakeruma</u>	'very cold'

##### 3.1.2 A Total/Partial Distinction

Motu has a grammatical distinction between total and partial reduplication, both being able to be used together.

<u>mero</u>	'boy'	<u>memero</u>	'boys'
<u>meromero</u>	'small boy'	<u>memeromemero</u>	'small boys'

There is no parallel to this distinction in Tawala.

##### 3.1.3 More Varied Process

The general impression of Motu reduplication is of a more varied and active process than Tawala reduplication. On the other hand verb reduplication in Tawala is a fully productive inflectional feature, whereas in Motu it is only "found with some verbs" (Taylor 1970:1236).

### 3.2 Grammatical Features of Motu

The following are the main categories of reduplication presented in Taylor's paper. In each case I have included the degree to which the feature is used in Motu as indicated by Taylor.

#### 3.2.1 Verbs

(1) Motu intransitive verbs are commonly formed from the transitive by reduplication:

<u>inu-a</u>	'to drink it'	<u>inuinu</u>	'to drink' (intransitive)
--------------	---------------	---------------	------------------------------

There is no parallel to this in Tawala, where reduplication is used in an identical manner with either the transitive or the intransitive.

e.g. Transitive

<u>nima-u</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>oga-ya</u>	'I washed my hands'
hand-my	I	wash-it	

<u>nima-u</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>og-oga-ya</u>	'I am washing my hands'
hand-my	I	wash-wash-it	

Intransitive

<u>a</u>	<u>oga</u>	'I washed'	<u>a</u>	<u>og-oga</u>	'I am washing'
I	wash		I	wash-wash	

(2) Reduplication is commonly used for 'depreciation' in Motu. This feature does not occur in Tawala.

<u>digu</u>	'to bathe'	<u>digudigu</u>	'to splash around in the sea'
-------------	------------	-----------------	----------------------------------

(3) Repetition and continuation are examples of lexical reduplication in Motu. It is part of the verbal inflection in Tawala (1.1).

#### 3.2.2 Nouns

(1) The function of diminution is common in Motu:

<u>mero</u>	'boy'	<u>meromero</u>	'little boy'
-------------	-------	-----------------	--------------

This feature is absent from Tawala though it has obviously played a part in the derivation of some Tawala nouns. For examples see 2.1.5 (1).

(2) Motu reduplication for plural "applies to a small group of nouns referring to humans":

<u>tau</u>	'man'	<u>tatau</u>	'men'
------------	-------	--------------	-------

On the other hand Tawala noun reduplication pluralises all relationship terms and some other nouns (1.2).

(3) *The derivation of nouns from verbs occurs in both Motu and Tawala, however it is no longer an active process in the latter.*

### 3.2.3 Adjectives and Adverbs

Reduplication in Motu is commonly used for intensification:

keruma 'cold'      kerumakeruma 'very cold'

This has no parallel in Tawala. Intensification in Tawala is achieved by the use of intensifiers (a feature also found in Motu).

### 3.2.4 Plurals

The above grammatical features in Motu are all achieved by "total reduplication". Partial reduplication is used in Motu to form plurals. It is used with all the word classes listed above and appears to be quite common apart from the nouns. There is no parallel to any of these plurals in Tawala except for nouns. The Tawala noun reduplication is important, especially in relationship terms, whereas in Motu it "applies to a small group of nouns referring to humans".

### 3.3 Conclusion

I conclude that at no point are the Motu and Tawala systems the same. They are parallel and there are similarities which point to a common ancestral relationship, but the two grammatical systems are essentially unique.

## 4. Typological Possibilities

In classifying groups within Austronesian, very little use has been made of grammatical features. Broad surveys by Codrington, Ray, Capell and others have tended to note the presence of a feature, without going far into the potential for different functional distinctions indicated by the same feature in different languages. Hence the somewhat commonplace and misleading notions that "Austronesian languages are too much alike to be interesting", or "nobody knows what constitutes a family in Austronesian". The divergence between Tawala and Motu reduplication is an indication of the potential of reduplication as a typological feature. Reduplication is a widespread feature of present-day Austronesian. However, the use that is made of reduplication differs from language to language. It may be possible to capitalise on these differences and find features which are diagnostic for different areas or subgroups.

Certain vital distinctions concerning reduplication, however,

have to be drawn. Johnston (1977:10), for example, states "Productive functions of reduplication are those which are rule-governed and creative. They are to be clearly distinguished from lexicalised reduplication which is fossilised." This is a vital distinction to be kept in mind. It is not enough to quote an example of a feature without also indicating whether it is productive or non-productive in that language. Motu diminution and also derivation of nouns from verbs (3.2.2) are both productive processes and should not be confused with Tawala examples which are no longer part of the productive grammar and illustrated by a mere handful of examples (some more feasible than others).

A further distinction between fully and partially productive features should also be kept in mind, eg. Tawala and Motu verb reduplication (2.1.3).

The absence of a feature may prove to be just as diagnostic as the presence of that feature. The formation of intransitive verbs by reduplicating a transitive root is a widespread feature in Oceanic languages. This feature is present in Motu but absent from Tawala (3.2.1). Indeed, Tawala has only inflectional grammatical reduplication and no productive derivations by reduplication at all. Is Tawala an isolate in omitting this feature? If not, what is the extent of the sub-grouping?

#### 4.1 Typology Based on Meaning

A broad spectrum of meanings is associated with reduplication in Austronesian, none of which is likely to be universal in a productive sense. All of these meanings are candidates for typological studies. Consider for example, the following three:  
(1) Intensification by reduplication is an active feature of Motu grammar, but is absent from Tawala (3.2.3). How widespread is this feature?

(2) Reduplication used with the negative has only been attested in Dobu (Capell 1937-39). Is it a feature of the wider Dobu family?

(3) Plural by reduplication applies to all Tawala relationship terms, however it does not apply to Motu relationship terms. Lithgow (1976) states that it is a feature of many of the languages of the Milne Bay Area.

Having looked at the individual ways in which reduplication is used, patterns may emerge by charting the presence or absence of all the features together (cf. Mosel 1978:11).

## 4.2 Typology Based on Structure

Certain reduplication patterns may also prove useful as typological features:

(1) A grammatical distinction between partial and complete reduplication, as in the Motu (3.1.2, cf. 3.2.4).

(2) Triplication. Harrison (1973) provides some good examples from Micronesia. E.g.,

<u>rik sakai</u>	'to gather stones'
<u>rikrik sakai</u>	'to be gathering stones'
<u>rikrikrik sakai</u>	'to continue to gather stones'

(3) A distinction between prefixed and suffixed reduplication is important. Again Harrison (1973) provides examples from Micronesia. E.g.,

transitive

<u>pina</u>	'to cover'	<u>pinpina</u>	'to be covering'
-------------	------------	----------------	------------------

intransitive

<u>pinapin</u>	'to cover'	<u>pinpinapin</u>	'to be covering'
----------------	------------	-------------------	------------------

(I have given the reduplication morphemes double underlining.) The direction of reduplication needs to be established on sound linguistic argumentation (cf. Johnston 1977).

## 4.3 Conclusion

Reduplication seems to present plenty of scope for comparative work in Austronesian, but it will be dependent on the availability of accurate descriptions of reduplication in many languages. I hope to refine further the reduplication approach to typology in Austronesian, especially in the Milne Bay Province, and would welcome comments and information from others working in that area, and in Austronesian languages generally.

## NOTES

1. Tawala is spoken by some 10,000 people who live around the shores of Milne Bay and nearby islands at the easternmost tip of Papua New Guinea. This paper is based on the dialects spoken at Diwinai and Labe. Grammatically the two dialects do not differ in the area of reduplication, but not all the words used in this paper are common to both dialects.

I wish to express my gratitude to Ray Johnston and John Lynch for their valuable suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper.

2. The 100 words are a revised list based on the S.I.L. list and include 76 words from the Swadesh 100 list (Ezard 1977b).
3. I have not seen Capell 1937-39. These details are culled from Taylor 1970:1241.
4. Verbs with modal prefixes have a special prefix form for progressive aspect (cf. Ezard 1978):

Eg. wi-tona 'to fight'      i-tona 'to be fighting'

5. If reduplication rules for verbs are to be applied here, then we probably have evidence for an earlier form \*gogo-u.
6. Several relationship terms have two initial VV syllables; they all form the plural by complete reduplication. No other word types commencing with two V syllables have been found.
7. I have avoided the problem of syllabic doublets for the purpose of this paper, as to date I have not been able to determine if they are reduplicated forms or not (eg. mimitua 'a spirit being'). The forms dedede and kukuku may be onomatopoeic rather than reduplicated.

## REFERENCES

- Blust, R. Forthcoming. 'A Rediscovered Austronesian Comparative Paradigm.' To appear in Oceanic Linguistics.
- Capell, A. 1937-39. 'Word Building and Agglutination in South-Eastern Papua', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 9:765-80.
- Codrington, R.H. 1885. The Melanesian Languages. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Ezard, Bryan. 1977a. 'Tubetube's Place among the Milne Bay Province Languages: A Synchronic Study', Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages 21:135-153. Ukarumpa, P.N.G.: SIL.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977b. 'A Basic Word List for Papua New Guinea', Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages 21:45-74. Ukarumpa, P.N.G.: SIL.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1978. 'Classificatory Prefixes of the Massim Cluster', in S.A. Wurm and Lois Carrington (eds), Second International Conference in Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings, Pacific Linguistics Series C, No 61, pp 1159-1180.
- Harrison, S.P. 1973. 'Reduplication in Micronesian Languages', Oceanic Linguistics 12:407-54.
- Johnston, R.L. 1977. 'Rationales for Reduplication: An Oceanic Case.' Paper presented to the 9th Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Australia.
- Lithgow, David R. 1976. 'Austronesian Languages: Milne Bay and Adjacent Islands', in S.A. Wurm (ed), New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study, Volume 2, Austronesian Languages, Pacific Linguistics C 39, pp 441-523.
- Mosel, Ulrike. 1978. 'Reduplication in Tolai and Tok Pisin.' Paper presented to the 12th Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.
- Ray, S.H. 1907. Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, Vol III, Linguistics. Cambridge: The University Press.
- Taylor, A.J. 1970. 'Reduplication in Motu', in S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock (eds), Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell, Pacific Linguistics Series C, No 13, pp 1235-43.