DESCRIPTIVE VS. EXPRESSIVE REDUPLICATION IN KIMARAGANG

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In addition to the familiar use of CV-reduplication in Philippine-type languages to mark imperfective aspect, a distinct but partially homophonous category of CV-reduplication is found in Kimaragang which we label EMPHATIC REDUPLICATION. Emphatic reduplication contributes primarily expressive rather than descriptive (truth-conditional) meaning, as indicated by the fact that its semantic contribution is "immune" to negation and questioning. We suggest that the primary function of emphatic reduplication is to mark the current proposition as being "newsworthy" in some sense, but a number of secondary functions are observed as well.

1.   Introduction

This paper discusses the functions of CV-reduplication in Kimaragang Dusun, an endangered Philippine-type language of northeastern Borneo. Many Philippine-type languages use CV-reduplication in verbs to mark imperfective or non-completive aspect. CV-reduplication has aspectual functions in Kimaragang as well, specifically marking the continuous and habitual aspects. However, many instances of CV-reduplication in Kimaragang do not encode any specific aspectual meaning. In this paper we provide evidence for a distinct category, which we label EMPHATIC REDUPLICATION, that contributes primarily expressive (or "affective") meaning, rather than descriptive (truth-conditional) meaning.

There are several reasons to expect that expressive uses of reduplication should be fairly common cross-linguistically. Recurring semantic functions of reduplication include several which are clearly expressive in nature, including endearment, contempt, derogation, disorder, carelessness, lack of control, aimlessness, etc. (see Regier 1994 and references cited there). Moreover, reduplication is frequently used to form diminutives and augmentatives, both of which frequently acquire expressive functions. Finally, ideophones (which frequently bear expressive content) often have a reduplicated structure. In spite of these connections between reduplication and expressive meaning, relatively few cases of expressive reduplication have been documented.[1] We suspect that many more such cases exist, but have thus far been unrecognized.

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[1] One frequently cited example is discussed in Zwicky & Pullum (1987).

2. Expressive vs. descriptive meaning

Lyons (1995:44) defines EXPRESSIVE (or AFFECTIVE) meaning as "the kind of meaning by virtue of which speakers express, rather than describe, their beliefs, attitudes and feelings," in contrast to DESCRIPTIVE (or PROPOSITIONAL) meaning which determines denotations and truth values.

Kaplan (2004) distinguishes "subjective" expressives (like *ouch*), which express the speaker's attitudes and feelings, from "objective" expressives (like *oops*), which express something about situations in the external world. The definition quoted above from Lyons focuses on the "subjective" type, and these have been the focus of most work on expressives. But Kaplan claims that the difference between descriptive vs. expressive meaning is not the type of information conveyed, but rather the way in which that information is conveyed (describing vs. expressing or "displaying").[2] In section 5 below we show that emphatic reduplication in Kimaragang has objective as well as subjective expressive functions.

Expressive meaning has a number of characteristic properties which distinguish it from descriptive meaning. These include: a. INDEPENDENCE from truth-conditional content; b. NONDISPLACEABILITY (normally anchored to the perspective of the speaker at the moment of speaking); c. IMMUNITY to negation, questioning, or challenge; d. SCALABILITY and REPEATABILITY; e. DESCRIPTIVE INEFFABILITY (often difficult to paraphrase, explain, or translate). f. Markers of expressive meaning often have several possible meanings, with the correct interpretation depending heavily on context (cf. Cruse 1986, 2000; Potts 2007; Fortin 2011).

3. Expressive reduplication in Kimaragang nouns

Before getting into the details of Kimaragang verb morphology, in this section we illustrate some of the expressive uses of CV-reduplication in nouns. The most common use of CV-reduplication in nouns is to express negative attitudes toward the referent of the NP, or toward a situation within which the referent of the NP plays a central role. For example, the partial reduplication of the noun *linomumut* 'rice porridge' in (1a) expresses the speaker's feeling that plain rice porridge without any side dishes is not an adequate meal. The reduplication of the noun *bosikal* 'bicycle' in (1b) expresses the speaker's evaluation of an old, worn-out bicycle as being nearly worthless. The reduplication of the noun *boos* 'boss' in (1c) is a mark of disrespect, and the reduplication of *gata* 'frog' in (1d) expresses the inappropriate and unwelcome nature of the gift. The reduplication of the noun

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[2] It seems that Kaplan's distinction has not been widely adopted in subsequent work on expressive meaning. Perhaps Kaplan's "objective" expressive items might be better analyzed as ideophones, in the sense of Dingemanse (2012). Dingemanse characterizes ideophones as expressions which "depict" or "perform" their semantic content, rather than describing it.

tongondu 'woman' in (1e) expresses the disapproval of a jealous wife, and probably also indicates that the referent of the NP is not a relative or close acquaintance.

(1) a. *Li-linomumut*   no   nakan   ku   tu'   asot   rinapa.
DUP-rice.porridge FOC PST.eat.OV 1sg.GEN because not.exist viand
'Plain rice porridge was all I ate, because I didn't have any viand/side dish.'

   b. Ginaray   no   i   *bo-bosikal*   di   Uddui   nga'
worn.out already NOM DUP-bicycle GEN (name) but
korikot   po   sid   botung.
POTENT.arrive still at rice.field
'Uddui's bicycle is a wreck, but it can still get to the paddy field.'

   c. *O-ki-kibak*   a   *bo-boos*   nga'   agarang   mari   ilo'.
STAT-DUP-short NOM DUP-boss but fierce really that
'The boss is a little short man, but he is really harsh/fierce.'

   d. *Bu-buka-a'*   dialo   it   odia nga' *ga-gata*=i'   bala'   iri.
DUP-open-OV.ATEMP 3sg NOM gift but DUP-frog=FOC MIR this
'He/she opened the present, and it was a frog!'

   e. Isay   ot   aa'   oruol   o   ginawo   dot   miuruk-uruk   kow
who NOM NEG hurt NOM heart COMP eat.together 2pl.NOM
di   *to-tongondu*   mangakan.
GEN DUP-woman AV.eat
'Who wouldn't be hurt/upset, when you were eating together with some strange woman?'

     The expressive meaning contributed by reduplication often reinforces a part of the descriptive content of the sentence. For example, the expressive function of the nominal reduplication in (1b) reinforces the entailed descriptive content of the lexical predicate *ginaray* 'worn out', but there is no sense of redundancy as there would be if the reduplication had a purely descriptive function. As mentioned in the preceding section, expressive meaning is scalable and repeatable. Another aspect of this property is that expressive meaning is reinforceable in ways that descriptive meaning is not. Reinforcing an entailed component of meaning with additional descriptive content normally leads to unnatural redundancy (Cruse 1986:12; Sadock 1978:294).

     The exhaustive focus particle *no* in (1a) contributes the descriptive content 'only'.[3] The nominal reduplication in that example expresses the speaker's attitude toward the fact that rice porridge is the only food item available. Similar cases of expressive reduplication combining with exhaustive focus are seen in examples (2b-c) below.

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[3] The same particle appears in its aspectual sense in (1b), meaning roughly 'already'.

The expressive function of emphatic reduplication in nouns is often reinforced by emphatic reduplication of one or more verbs within the same sentence, as illustrated in (1d). The verbal reduplication in this example does not encode imperfective aspect; the clause is a simple perfective description of a telic event. Rather, it is another instance of emphatic reduplication. This example also illustrates how the verum focus (or polarity focus) clitic *=i'* is frequently used to reinforce the expressive impact of emphatic reduplication.[4]

The noun *siin* 'money' is often reduplicated when the speaker is bemoaning a lack of money, as illustrated in (2a-b). The same pattern is used with other kinds of possessions as well, as illustrated in (2c). Such cases clearly involve a negative attitude toward the situation being described, rather than a negative attitude toward the referent of the NP itself. The reduplication of the noun *wagas* 'uncooked rice' in (2b) reflects the feeling that rice is not the most appropriate or preferred contribution to make in that situation (e.g., to the bereaved family at a funeral).

(2) a. Opod   ringgit   po   ot   *si-siin*   ku   diti.
       ten   dollar   yet   NOM   DUP-money   1sg.GEN   this
       'Just ten ringgit is all the money I have left.'

    b. *Wa-wagas*   no   ot   itarabang   ya   diti   tu'   asot
       DUP-rice   FOC   NOM   IV.donate   1pl.EX.GEN   this   because   not.exist
       si-siin   ya.
       DUP-money   1pl.EX.GEN
       'We are only donating uncooked rice, because we don't have any money.'

    c. Onom   nenan   no   i   *ma-manuk*   piniara   ya.
       six   CLS   FOC   NOM   DUP-chicken   PST.raise.OV   1pl.EX.GEN
       'It was only six chickens that we raised.'

    d. *Mi-minaan*   no   dialo   *poo*ruruko'   it   *si-siin*   yo.
       DUP-AUX.PST   FOC   3sg   IV.display.ATEMP   NOM   DUP-money   3sg.GEN
       'He was (proudly) showing (all) his money.'

In contrast, the reduplication of *siin* 'money' in (2d) expresses the speaker's disapproval of the obnoxious behavior of someone that has too much money. This expressive content is reinforced by emphatic reduplication of the auxiliary verb *minaan* 'AUX-past', and by vowel lengthening in the stem prefix of the main verb *po-ruruk-on* 'show'. The contrast between the uses of *si-siin* in (2a-b) vs. (2d) is a good illustration of the variable and context-dependent nature of expressive meaning.

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[4] The CV-reduplication of the adjective *okibak* 'short' in (1c) may simply be (descriptive) intensification, but it may also be intended as emphatic reduplication to reinforce the expressive content of the nominal reduplication in that example. The reduplication of the verb root in *miuruk-uruk* 'eat together' is purely morphological, being triggered by the reciprocal prefix *pi-*.

4.   Aspectual reduplication in Kimaragang

This section provides a brief description of the descriptive uses of CV-reduplication in Kimaragang verbs, focusing on two uses which are potentially homophonous with emphatic reduplication, namely the continuous and habitual aspects. In section 5.1 we discuss morphological criteria which allow us to distinguish emphatic reduplication from these aspectual uses.

There are also a number of affixes which trigger CV-reduplication, either optionally or obligatorily. Examples include: *pi*-DUP-X 'do X frequently/quickly' (e.g. *pi-ba-basa* 'read frequently'); VOICE-*pi*-(DUP-)X 'do X reciprocally' (e.g. *m-pi-sa-sawo* 'marry each other' (AV)); *ko*-DUP-X 'cause/reason for X-ing' (e.g. *ka-pa-patay* 'cause of death'); etc. These forms will generally not be homophonous with emphatic reduplication, due to the presence of the triggering affix, so we do not discuss them further in this paper.

4.1.   Continuous aspect

Continuous aspect specifies that the described situation extends beyond the boundaries of topic time. We follow Comrie (1976) in using the label CONTINUOUS (rather than PROGRESSIVE) because this aspect can be used for states as well as events. The morphological expression of continuous aspect depends on the form of the stem. The various allomorphs are illustrated in (3). The forms listed in (3a-b) are labeled AV (Active Voice), because this is how they most commonly occur. However, these forms can also be used in non-active clauses to express a result state, e.g. *m-ogot-ogot* 'tied up'; *muu-tumbongon* 'parked'.

(3)   Allomorphs of continuous aspect in Kimaragang:

a. AV, consonant-initial root
darun 'rain'   *maa-darun* 'raining'
tulud 'fly'   *muu-tulud* 'flying'
sigup 'tobacco; to smoke'   *mii-sigup* 'smoking'
togom 'feverish'   *moo-togom* 'having a fever'
geet 'to scratch something'   *mee-geet* 'scratching'

b. AV, vowel-initial root
akan 'eat'   *m-akan-akan* 'eating'
ogot 'tie'   *m-ogot-ogot* 'tied up' (result state)
udan 'to coil, untangle'   *m-udan-udan* 'coiling'
irak 'laugh'   *m-irak-irak* 'laughing'

c. Non-AV, consonant-initial root
sigar 'turban, head-dress'   *si-sigar-on* 'being worn as a turban'
birit 'hold'   *bi-birit-on* 'being held'

kuut 'grasp'   *ku-kuut-an* 'being grasped'
rolop 'gobble up, devour'   *ro-rolop-on* 'being devoured'

d. Non-AV, vowel-initial root
akan 'eat'   *a<ka>kan-on* 'being eaten'
irak 'laugh'   *i<ra>rak-an* 'being laughed at'
inum 'drink'   *i<nu>num-on* 'being drunk'
ubat 'medicine'   *u<ba>bat-on* 'being treated
                                      (medically)'

AV forms for consonant-initial roots (*mVV*-ROOT) are unambiguously continuous aspect. Other allomorphs are potentially ambiguous, but there are certain syntactic environments where the continuous aspect is strongly preferred. These include perception complements, as in (4); picture-taking descriptions of the form 'took a picture of NP X-ing', as in (5); and bare adverbial clauses expressing simultaneous events as in (6).

(4) a. Nokito   ku   yalo   *muu-duom*   do   wagas.
        PST.see.OV   1sg.GEN   3sg.NOM   AV.CONT-chew   ACC   uncooked.rice
        'I saw him *chewing* uncooked rice.'

    b. Neemot   ku   it   karabaw   dialo   *moo-kotop*
        PST.see.OV   1sg.GEN   NOM   buffalo   3sg   AV.CONT-graze
        sid   disan   dot   talun-alun.
        LOC   edge   GEN   road
        'I saw his water buffalo *grazing* on the side of the road.'

    c. Nokorongow   oku   dot   *mii-giyak*   sid   gowuton.
        PST.AV.hear   1sg.NOM   COMP   AV.CONT-scream   LOC   jungle
        'I heard something/someone *screaming* in the jungle.'

(5) a. Minaan   ku   gambaro'   i   Paul   *muu-duom*
        PST.AUX   1sg.GEN   picture.OV.ATEMP   NOM   Paul   AV.CONT-chew
        do   wagas.
        ACC   uncooked.rice
        'I took a picture of Paul *chewing* uncooked rice.'

    b. Minaan   gambaro'   di   Welin   i   aki
        PST.AUX   picture.OV.ATEMP   GEN   Welin   NOM   Grandfather
        moo-podsu   sid   bawang   do   Togomonggis.
        AV.CONT-bathe   LOC   river   LNK   Togomonggis
        'Welin took a picture of Grandfather *bathing* in the Togomonggis river.'

(6) a. *Muu-duom*   yalo   do   wagas   di   kooli   oku.
        AV.CONT-chew   3sg.NOM   ACC   rice   COMP AV.POT.return 1sg.NOM
        'He was *chewing* uncooked rice when I got home.'

b. *Moo-kotop*   it   karabaw dialo sid   disan dot talun-alun
AV.CONT-graze   NOM   buffalo   3sg   LOC   edge   GEN road
di   talib   oku   kasarap.
COMP   AV.pass.by.ATEMP   1sg.NOM   this.morning
'His buffalo was *grazing* at the side of the road when I passed by this morning.'

c. *Maa-gamas*   i   iyay   di   sigup   yo   di
AV.CONT-cut.grass   NOM   mother   ACC   tobacco   3sg.GEN   COMP
korikot   oku.
AV.POT.arrive   1sg.NOM
'Mother was *clearing* the grass/weeds in her tobacco patch when I arrived.'

Other forms are generally not acceptable in these environments. The examples in (7) illustrate that the HABITUAL form (to be described in the next section) cannot occur in these environments.

(7) a. *Mii-sigup*/**mooN-(s)igup*   yalo   di   talib
AV.{CONT/*HABIT}-smoke   3sg.NOM   COMP   AV.pass.by.ATEMP
oku   sid   walay   yo.
1sg.NOM   LOC   house   3sg.GEN
'He was *smoking* when I passed by his house.'

b. Ginambar   oku   dialo tiya   di   *maa-tayip*/**maaN-(t)ayip*
PST.picture.OV   1sg.NOM   3sg   time   LNK   AV.{CONT/*HABIT}-type
oku   bala'   diri.
1sg.NOM   MIR   this
'He/she took a picture of me *typing* (to my surprise)!'

The examples in (8) illustrate how these syntactic environments can be used to disambiguate reduplicated verb forms. The reduplicated forms used in these examples are ambiguous between continuous and emphatic uses, but in these contexts only the continuous reading is possible.

(8) a. Neemot   ku   i   baju ku,   *bo-boju-on*   di   Medol.
PST.see.OV 1sg.GEN   NOM   shirt 1sg.GEN   CONT-wear-OV   GEN   Medol
'I saw my shirt *being worn* by Medol.'

b. *Bo-boyuk-on*   dialo   i   tanak yo   di   korikot   oku.
CONT-rock-OV 3sg   NOM child 3sg.GEN   COMP AV.POT.arrive 1sg.NOM
'Her child was *being rocked* by her in the cloth swing when I arrived.'

c. *Mirak-irak*   yalo   dit   ginambar   ku.
AV.CONT-laugh   3sg.NOM   COMP PST.picture.OV   1sg.GEN
'He was *laughing* when I took his picture.'

d. Nokito   ku   dot   *a<ka>kan-on* do   tasu   i   manuk.
   PST.see.OV 1sg.GEN COMP CONT-eat-OV GEN dog   NOM chicken
   'I saw the chicken *being eaten* by a dog.'

4.2. Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect is marked by two primary allomorphs: vowel lengthening for prefixed base forms, as in (9), and CV-reduplication as in (10).[5] Habitual forms of vowel-initial base forms like those in (11) are best treated as vowel lengthening, and not CV-reduplication applied to a single vowel. A distinct pattern of CV-reduplication, skipping the initial vowel as illustrated in (3d), is used for continuous aspect and emphatic reduplication. The contrast between vowel lengthening vs. CV-reduplication gives rise to minimal pairs like: *u-umbuson* 'habitually used as vegetable (OV)' vs. *um<bu>buson* 'used as vegetable (OV)' (continuous/emphatic).

(9) prefixed base forms:

BASE FORM		HABITUAL	
manakaw (m-poN-*takaw*)	'steal' (AV)	maanakaw	'habitually steals; thief'
momudut (m-poN-*wudut*)	'lie' (AV)	moomudut	'habitually lies; liar'
mogintong (m-pog-*intong*)	'look at' (AV)	moogintong	'seer'
mogurab (m-pog-*urab*)	'hunt w/ blowgun' (AV)	moogurab	'hunter'
mokirayow (m-poki-*rayow*)	'to seek praise; show off' (AV)	mookirayow	'habitually showing off'
pokigangatan (poki-*gangot*-an)	'place to seek firewood' (DV)	pookigangatan	'place firewood is habitually sought'
kopolidon (ko-*palid*-on)	'place where one may get lost' (LV)	koopolidon	'place where people always get lost'
pangalasan (poN-*olos*-an)	'borrow from' (DV)	paangalasan	'habitually borrowed from'
pongolopot (Ø-poN-*lopot*)	'use for wrapping' (IV)	poongolopot	'normally used for wrapping'
padagang (Ø-po-*dagang*)	'to sell' (AV)	paadagang	'sells for a living; dealer'

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[5] For some speakers, vowel lengthening also applies to the reduplicated syllable in forms like (10). (Vowel lengthening in such forms appears to be an option for marked emphasis for all speakers.) For these speakers, habitual aspect will rarely if ever be homophonous with emphatic reduplication.

(10) non-prefixed base forms: consonant initial

BASE FORM		HABITUAL	
l<um>agu	'sing' (AV)	lu-lumagu	'habitually sings' (e.g. when drunk)
t<um>angi	'dissolve' (AV)	tu-tumangi	'soluble'
r<um>asak	'dry up' (AV)	ru-rumasak	'habitually dries up (river)'
sambayang-on	'worship at' (LV)	sa-sambayangon	'place one normally worships'
rusap-on	'make traditional medicine' (OV)	ru-rusapon	'commonly used for traditional medicine'

(11) non-prefixed base forms: vowel initial

BASE FORM		HABITUAL	
akan-on	'eat' (OV)	a-akanon	'edible'
umbus-on	'cook vegetables' (OV)	u-umbuson	'used as a vegetable'
olos-on	'borrow' (OV)	o-oloson	'habitually borrowed'

5. "Emphatic" reduplication in Kimaragang

We begin this section by discussing morphological criteria for distinguishing emphatic reduplication from other uses of CV-reduplication, then go on to discuss the most common semantic functions of emphatic reduplication.

5.1. Identifying emphatic reduplication

As we have seen, CV-reduplication in Kimaragang verbs is potentially ambiguous. In addition to the syntactic contexts discussed in section 4.1, there are certain morphological properties that help us to distinguish emphatic reduplication from purely aspectual uses of CV-reduplication (continuous or habitual). First, past tense inflection cannot co-occur with continuous or habitual aspect, as illustrated in (12-13), but is common with emphatic reduplication (see examples in sections 5.2-5.3). The reduplicated forms in exx. (12b) and (13b) are morphologically possible, but cannot be interpreted with continuous or habitual meaning; they can only be cases of emphatic reduplication. (The most common allomorph of continuous aspect, *mVV-*, never co-occurs with past tense.)

(12) Continuous:
   a. Nemot   ku   ilo'   tanak *bo-boyuk-on*   di   tidi.
      PST.see.OV 1sg.GEN that.NOM child DUP-swing-OV GEN   mother
      'I saw the child being rocked in the *bayuk* (cloth swing) by its mother.'

   b. *Nemot ku ilo' tanak *bi-b<in>ayuk-Ø* [DUP-<PST>swing-OV] di tidi.

(13) Habitual:

    a. Siri ot *sa-sambayang-on* ku   dit   mii-sikul   oku   po

        there NOM DUP-worship-LV 1sg.GEN COMP CONT-school 1sg.NOM still

        'That is where I used to worship/attend church when I was in school.'

    b. *Siri ot *si-s\<in\>ambayang-on* [DUP-\<PST\>worship-LV] ku dit miisikul oku po.

Second, only emphatic reduplication allows "infixing" reduplication with consonant-initial base forms. CV-reduplication which expresses continuous or habitual aspect always seems to copy the initial CV of the base, when the base begins with a consonant; but in emphatic reduplication it is possible to copy a non-initial CV, as in *ma\<nga\>ngakan* (from *mangakan* 'eat.AV'); *mo\<ni\>niag* (from *moniag* 'forbid.AV').

In such cases the copied CV generally contains the first root vowel (roots: *akan* 'eat'; *tiag* 'forbid'). However, emphatic reduplication also allows some variation in the site of the CV copying, e.g. *moki\<tu\>tulung* vs. *mo\<ki\>ki-tulung* 'ask for help (AV)' (root: *tulung* 'help'); *poki-a\<ka\>kan-an* vs. *poki-\<'a\>'akan-an* 'ask/want to eat (DV)'. This variable position of the CV-reduplication is found only with emphatic reduplication.

Finally, transitive Active Voice forms (and certain other prefixed forms) exhibit contrastive allomorphs for all three categories under discussion: *mii-tiag* (continuous), *mooniag* (habitual), *mo\<ni\>niag* (emphatic) 'forbid'; *maa-takaw* (continuous), *maanakaw* (habitual), *ma\<na\>nakaw* (emphatic) 'steal'.

This evidence makes it clear that emphatic reduplication is a distinct morphological category, and not just a polysemous sense of one of the descriptive aspectual categories. Having established the formal distinctness of emphatic reduplication, we now proceed to illustrate its expressive functions. We will ignore here the use of verbal reduplication to reinforce expressive reduplication of nouns, as seen in examples (1d) and (2d), and focus on the purely verbal functions. We begin with the most common "subjective" expressive functions (in Kaplan's terms), which express the speaker's attitudes and feelings, and then illustrate the "objective" expressive functions, which express something about situations in the external world.

5.2.   "Subjective" expressive uses of emphatic reduplication

The core subjective meaning of emphatic reduplication seems to be that the speaker feels the described situation to be newsworthy or noteworthy in some way. Some typical examples are presented in (14). The situation described in (14a) is

inherently newsworthy because it flouts conventional expectations.[6] The situation described in the first clause of (14b) is newsworthy because it is unexpected given the circumstances described in the second clause. The situation described in the second clause of (14c) is newsworthy because it contradicts the speaker's previous belief, which is described in the first clause. In this example the use of emphatic reduplication to express surprise reinforces the meaning of the mirative particle *bala'ay*.

(14) a. Okon.ko' *ki-k\<in\>asut-Ø*   dialo it kasut yo,
      NEG DUP-\<PST\>shoe-OV 3sg NOM shoe 3sg.GEN
      nisawit nogi sid kayab.
      PST.IV.hang PRTCL LOC shoulder
      'He didn't wear his shoes on his feet, he hung them over his shoulder instead.'

    b. *Mi-minawus* no i raami dot yangko otomow po.
       DUP-\<PST\>AV.burn ASP NOM straw COMP although green still
       'The straw burned completely, even though it was still green.'

    c. Tantaman ku sompusasawo yaalo', *mi-ob\<pi\>pinee* bala'ay.
       think 1sg married.couple 3pl RECIP-\<DUP\>sibling MIR
       'I thought they were husband and wife, but it turns out they are brother and sister.

Further examples involving unexpected situations are presented in (15). Notice that in all four of these examples, the emphatic reduplication of the verb is reinforced by the presence of the verum focus (or polarity focus) clitic *=i'*.

(15) a. *Ti-t\<in\>\<um\>ingab=i'* yalo dat tampasuk tangansow.
     DUP-\<PST\>\<AV\>bite=FOC 3sg.NOM ACC cassava tough
     'He/she (actually) did take a bite of that tough old cassava.'
     [perhaps he said he would not eat it, but then ate it anyway]

    b. "Aku mangakan do sungot" ka dialo,
      NEG.1sg AV.eat ACC sago.grub say 3sg
      dot *mina\<nga\>ngakan=i'*.
      COMP \<DUP\>AV.PST.eat=FOC
      'He said, "I'm not going to eat sago grubs," but he *did* eat them.'

    c. *Mino\<ki\>ki-tulung=i'* yalo dogon dot yangko
      \<DUP\>AV.PST.ask.for.help=FOC 3sg.NOM 1sg.ACC COMP although

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[6] Notice that the attitude expressed by emphatic reduplication in example (14a) takes scope over the entire sentence, including the sentential negation marker *okon ko'* in the first clause. We return to the issues of scope and negation in section 6 below.

mamabakak dogon dot araat oku yoku.
AV.mock 1sg.ACC COMP evil 1sg.NOM 1sg.NOM.EMPH
'He/she actually (had the nerve to) ask me for help, even though he/she mocks me (saying) that I am evil!'

d. *Si-sinumadayan*=i' i iyay sid botung,
DUP-PST.AV.all.day=FOC NOM mother LOC rice.field
yangko asot *lu-lutu* diri.
although NEG.exist DUP-wrapped.food this
'Mother worked all day long in the rice field, even though she didn't bring any lunch.' [suggests that Mother was not planning to or not expected to work all day]

As (15c) and the first clause of (15d) illustrate, emphatic reduplication is often used for situations that are not only unexpected but also unwelcome. (The nominal reduplication in the second clause of (15d), which parallels the examples in (2) above, further indicates the speaker's unhappiness over the situation.) For this reason, emphatic reduplication is often used for expressions of disapproval and/or scolding, as illustrated in (16). Notice that the disapproval expressed by emphatic reduplication in (16a) reinforces the speaker-oriented particle *katoy*, which also indicates disapproval.

(16) a. Aso no weeg, minaan katoy dialo *bu-buak-o'* modsu.
not.exist ASP water AUX.PST PTCL 3sg DUP-waste.OV AV.bathe
'There is no water left, he wasted it when he was bathing.'

b. *Mi-minakut* ko no dogo dot okon.ko'
DUP-AV.PST.accompany 2sg.NOM FOC 1sg.ACC COMP NEG
katatad ko dino mamanaw.
AV.POT.endure 2sg.NOM that AV.walk
'You came with me, but you don't have the endurance to walk (the whole way).' [as if speaking to small child].

c. *Si-sirung-on* dialo i sirung ku koniab.[7]
DUP-sun.hat-OV 3sg NOM sun.hat 1sg.GEN yesterday
'He wore my sun hat yesterday.' [suggests it was done without prior knowledge or permission of owner, without good reason, and that the speaker is annoyed]

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[7] A *sirung* is a sun hat made of palm leaves. Examples like (16c) show that tense marking is optional in emphatic reduplication. The past tense form would be obligatory in a simple neutral description of the situation: *S<in>irung-Ø* (past)/**Sirung-on* (non-past) *dialo i sirung ku koniab*. 'He wore my sun hat yesterday.' This neutral description implies there was a valid need and the hat was borrowed with permission, in contrast to the reduplicated version in (16c).

d. *Su-sumapul*   po   yalo   do   sawo   do   tulun.
DUP-AV.salvage FOC 3sg.NOM ACC spouse GEN person
'He just scooped up another man's wife.' (rather than courting an unmarried woman in the expected way)

5.3.   "Objective" expressive uses of emphatic reduplication

Emphatic reduplication seems to have some recurring uses which express aspectual features of the described situation, but it is not clear that it has any core aspectual meaning. Several of these recurring uses are illustrated in the examples below, and they do not seem to share any component of meaning in common. Notice also that that this "aspectual" use of emphatic reduplication is compatible with either an unbounded/imperfective interpretation, as seen in (17–18), or a bounded/perfective interpretation, as seen in (19). We tentatively identify the reduplication in these examples as having an objective expressive function. [8] We provide further supporting evidence for this proposal in section 6.

(17) Inceptive / 'begin to'
   a. It   kayu   dot *su-sumuni*   ot   awasi onuwon do   giriyan.
   NOM wood REL DUP-AV.sprout NOM good take.OV ACC fence.pole
   'Saplings that are just beginning to grow/sprout are the best ones to take for fence poles.'

   b. *Lu-lumeeng*   no   yalo   tu'   buason   no   diiri.
   DUP-AV.grow.old ASP 3sg.NOM because gray.haired ASP this
   'He/she is beginning to get old because his/her hair is turning gray.'

   c. *Ru-rumangkama*   no   diiri i   bayag   di   iyay.
   DUP-AV.creep   ASP this NOM sweet.potato GEN mother
   'Mother's sweet-potato plants are beginning to spread.'

(18) 'Do briefly'
   a. Pongindad   po   sino=d   sulap toruay,   *gu-gumamas*
   AV.wait.for.IMPER ASP there=LOC hut short.time DUP-AV.cut.grass
   oku   po siti tanaman ku   do   toruduy.
   1sg.NOM ASP here planted.DV 1sg.GEN GEN string.bean
   'Wait there in the garden shack a little while, I'm going to clear the grass around my string beans (briefly).'

   b. Kada'   po mindoo,   *gu-gumustan*   oku   po.
   NEG.IMPER ASP AV.descend DUP-AV.back.up 1sg.NOM ASP
   'Don't get out (of the car) yet, I'm going to back up (a little bit).'

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[8] As noted in footnote 2, an alternative approach might be to classify these "objective" expressive functions of emphatic reduplication as ideophonic uses (Dingemanse 2012).

c. *Tu-tumanud* oku po dialo dot ruay id botung.
 DUP-AV.accompany 1sg.NOM ASP 3sg LNK short.time LOC rice.field
 'I'm going with him to the rice field for a short time.'

(19) 'Do first' / 'prior' (sequential action)
 a. *Si-sinumalam* po it musu om tampar-o'
  DUP-AV.PST.shake-hands ASP NOM enemy and hit-OV.ATEMP
  nogi yalo.
  PRTCL 3sg.NOM
  'His enemy shook hands with him and then hit him.'

 b. *Pi-pisokon* po i tapuy sid ropuan om eduan nogi.
  DUP-extinguish-OV ASP NOM fire LOC firebox and leave.DV PRTCL
  'Put out the fire in the kitchen first, and only then you can leave it.'

5.4. Other uses of emphatic reduplication

Another recurring use of (what seems to be) emphatic reduplication is for expressing softened commands or urging someone to do something, often with the implication that 'this is for your own good'. This use is difficult to classify as either expressive or descriptive; we present some examples here, but do not attempt further analysis in the present paper.

(20) a. *Tu-tumingab* po pogi dat guol milom opuunan.
  DUP-AV.bite FOC PRTCL ACC taro lest cursed.DV
  'Take a bite of the taro so you don't suffer a curse.'

 b. *Su-sumopung* mosik, eduan ko dialo sumikul.
  DUP-AV.early AV.get.up leave.DV 2sg.NOM 3sg AV.school
  'Wake up early (tomorrow) or he might leave you behind going to school.'

 c. *Ju-jumaga* sid K.K. tu' orompit o sogee
  DUP-AV.guard LOC (name) because crowded NOM headhunter
  tidino ka=bo.
  now HEARSAY=PRTCL
  'Be careful while you are in KK, because they say the place is full of head-hunters.'

6. Emphatic reduplication is "immune" to negation and questioning

Potts (2007) argues that expressive content constitutes a separate dimension of meaning from the descriptive propositional content of the sentence. One of the key pieces of evidence which supports this analysis is the fact that expressive meaning is immune to negation, questioning, or challenge. In this section we show that meanings contributed by emphatic reduplication cannot be interpreted within the scope of negation or questioning.

Kimaragang, like Malay/Indonesian, has two distinct morphemes which can be used to negate sentences (Kroeger 2014a,b). *Amu* (short form: *aa*) is the standard (clause-level or predicate) negation marker, corresponding to Malay *tidak*, and *okon ko'* is the "external" (sentence-level or propositional) negation marker, corresponding to Malay *bukan*. Expressive functions of emphatic reduplication are never interpreted under the scope of negation. Notice in the following examples that the negation is crucially part of the content which the speaker regards as being newsworthy. This is true even with "external"/sentence-level negation, as seen in (21c), which repeated from (14a).

(21) a. Aa   no   díiri *mi-mindakod*   yalo   sid   walay   ya,
       NEG ASP this   DUP-AV.ascend   3sg.NOM LOC house 1pl.EX.GEN
       dinumangki   dit   kikaraja   no   it   tanak ya.
       PST.AV.jealous COMP exist-work ASP NOM child 1pl.EX.GEN
       'He doesn't enter our house anymore, he got jealous because our child has a job already.'

   b. Amu *ko<yu>yuu*   dialo i   tusing yo   sampay
      NEG <DUP>IV.POTENT.part.with 3sg NOM shoe   3sg.GEN until
      dudunon   yo   modop.
      sleep.with.OV 3sg.GEN   AV.sleep
      'She is very fond of [lit: 'can't part with'] her cat, she even sleeps with it.'

   c. Okon ko' *ki-kinasut* dialo it kasut yo, nisawit nogi sid kayab.
      'He didn't wear his shoes on his feet, he hung them over his shoulder.'

In section 5.3 we suggested that the use of emphatic reduplication to mean 'begin to X' is an (objective) expressive function, rather than a descriptive aspectual function. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the inceptive component of meaning cannot be negated in such constructions. Example (17c), repeated here as (22a), can be paraphrased using the predicate *timpuun* 'begin' as in (22b). As the contrast in (23) demonstrates, the 'begin' component of meaning can be negated when it is encoded by a separate predicate (23a), but not when it is expressed by emphatic reduplication (23b).

(22) a. *Ru-rumangkama*   no   diiri i   bayag   di   iyay.
       DUP-AV.creep   ASP this   NOM sweet.potato GEN mother
       'Mother's sweet-potato plants are beginning to spread.'

   b. Tumimpuun no   rumangkama i   bayag   di   iyay.
      AV.begin   ASP AV.creep   NOM sweet.potato GEN mother
      'Mother's sweet-potato plants are beginning to spread.'

(23) a. Okon ko' tumimpuun nogi rumangkama i bayag di iyay, oleed no diiri.
       'Mother's sweet-potato plants are not beginning to spread, it has been a long time already.'

    b. *Okon ko' ru-rumangkama* nogi i bayag di iyay, oleed no diiri.
       (intended meaning as in 23a)

In contrast, descriptive aspectual meanings such as those expressed by habitual, continuous, and frequentive aspects do fall within the scope of negation, as illustrated in the following examples:

(24) a. habitual aspect:
      Okon.ko' *paa-dagang*   yalo   do   tubat.
      NEG   AV.HABIT-sell 3sg.NOM ACC   medicine
      'He is not a medicine dealer/seller.' (does not imply the person never sells or has never sold medicine, only that it is not a habitual action)

    b. continuous aspect:
      Okon.ko' *mii-rilik*   yalo   dit   tinumalib   oku,
      NEG   AV.CONT-clear.brush 3sg.NOM COMP AV.PST.pass 1sg.NOM
      mingkaso   nopo.
      AV.play   only
      'He wasn't clearing brush when I passed by, he was just playing around.'

    c. frequentive aspect:
      Sagay   noobas   no ino   tanak do   kandayon nopo,
      reason PST.accustomed ASP that.NOM child COMP hold.OV   only
      amu *kopirurumak*   nu   bala.
      NEG   AV.FREQ.lay.down 2sg.GEN   MIR
      'No wonder your baby is accustomed to being held all the time, you do not lay him down frequently.'

By saying that emphatic reduplication is immune to questioning, we mean that the expressive meaning contributed by emphatic reduplication can never be the focus of a question, nor can it be part of the "at-issue" content (the content which is being questioned). It appears that emphatic reduplication cannot occur in Yes-No questions, as illustrated in (25–26), the interrogative versions of examples (15a) and (16a).

(25)   *Ti-tinumingab*=i'   yalo   dat   tampasuk tangansow oy?
       DUP-PST.AV.bite=FOC 3sg.NOM ACC cassava   tough   Q
       (intended: 'Did he/she actually take a bite of that tough cassava?')

(26)   *Aso   no   weeg, minaan dialo *bu-buak-o'*   modsu   oy?
       not.exist ASP water AUX.PST 3sg   DUP-waste.OV AV.bathe Q
       (intended: 'There is no water left, did he waste it when he was bathing?')

Emphatic reduplication can occur in the presupposition of a content (Wh-) question, as seen in the following examples, but in such cases the scolding or complaining attitude expressed by reduplication is never part of the "at issue"

content of the question. For example, the two questions in (28) have exactly the same "at issue" content. Our primary language consultant explained the difference by saying that the two sentences mean the same thing, but the reduplicated version (28a) sounds like the speaker is angry, while this is not the case with the non-reduplicated version (28b).

(27) a. Nunu ot   *mi-minangan*   nu   sid   talob   tu'
      what   NOM DUP-AV.PST.do   2sg.GEN   LOC   market   because
      linumiyot   ko=i'   oy?
      AV.PST.disappear   2sg.NOM=FOC   Q
      'What did you do at the market that took you so long?'

    b. Nokuro.tu' amu ko   *si-sinumobut*   siti=d   dagay   owo?
      why   NEG 2sg.NOM DUP-AV.PST.arrive here=LOC 1pl.EX PRTCL
      'Why didn't you come to visit us?'

(28) a. Isay ka   ot   *min<tu>tulis*   diti tobon diti?
      who   PRTCL   NOM   <DUP>AV.write.on   this wall   this
      'Who was it that wrote on this wall?'

    b. Isay ka ot *mintulis* diti tobon diti?
      (same meaning as previous example)

In contrast, descriptive aspectual content which is encoded by reduplication can be part of the "at issue" content of the question. The habitual meaning is an important part of the "at issue" content in (29a), and the continuous/progressive meaning is an important part of the "at issue" content in (29b).

(29) a. *Moonungu*   ino   karabaw duyu   oy?
      AV.HABIT-gore   that.NOM   buffalo   2pl.GEN   Q
      'Is your buffalo in the habit of goring people?'

    b. *Mii-sigup*   yalo   di   talib   ko   sid   walay   oy?
      AV.CONT-smoke   3sg.NOM   COMP   AV.pass   2sg.NOM   LOC   house   Q
      'Was he smoking when you passed by the house?'

7.   Emphatic reduplication is distinct from focus

One might expect to find a strong correlation between newsworthiness and information structure, and in particular with focus. There is probably a statistical tendency for emphatic reduplication to occur on focused items more often than on presupposed items, but this correlation is not absolute.

Emphatic reduplication is clearly compatible with focus. We have seen a number of examples in which emphatic reduplication occurs on a predicate that bears the verum focus (or polarity focus) clitic *=i'*. Similarly, we have seen emphatic reduplication on nouns that are marked with the exhaustive focus particle *no* as in (1a), (2b-c).

However, we have also presented examples of emphatic reduplication occurring on elements which are presupposed, as in (27-28). These observations indicate that the expressive meaning contributed by emphatic reduplication is orthogonal to focus structure.

8.   Conclusion

We have presented morphological and syntactic criteria for distinguishing emphatic reduplication from other, purely aspectual, uses of CV-reduplication in verbs. In contrast to those other uses, emphatic reduplication does not change the basic meaning of a sentence. Moreover, emphatic reduplication is immune to negation and questioning, as expected for purely expressive content.

We have suggested that the primary function of emphatic reduplication is to mark the current proposition as being "newsworthy" in some sense. In Kaplan's terms, this is an example of "internal" expressive meaning. A number of secondary functions are attested as well, some of which seem to be "external" or ideophonic in nature. Evidence from negation and questioning indicates that these functions too contribute expressive rather than descriptive content. However, there is much more to be investigated in this area. To cite just one example, emphatic reduplication frequently occurs in verbs of slicing and chopping, especially when the described situation involves cutting something into small pieces. It seems that some roots in this class rarely occur in their unreduplicated forms. This pattern seems likely to be another ideophonic-type function, but has not yet been investigated in any detail.

Other minor uses exist which are not mentioned here, and in some examples it is not clear whether emphatic reduplication makes any contribution at all to the meaning of the utterance. Again, this kind of situation is not uncommon in the realm of expressive content. It remains to be seen whether a more unified analysis can be developed for the various uses of emphatic reduplication.

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