Imperfectivity as a unifying feature of reduplication in Tagalog and Hiligaynon*

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A survey of functions of reduplication in various languages seems to reveal an emerging pattern with opportunities to speculate regarding language universals. In most of these surveys, broad similarities in the functions of reduplication and even many of the same apparent contradictions were seen. These likenesses have led to some interesting attempts to arrive at generalizations regarding the many functions of reduplication found in several languages, a search for some underlying mechanism to explain all the apparently divergent functions of reduplication.
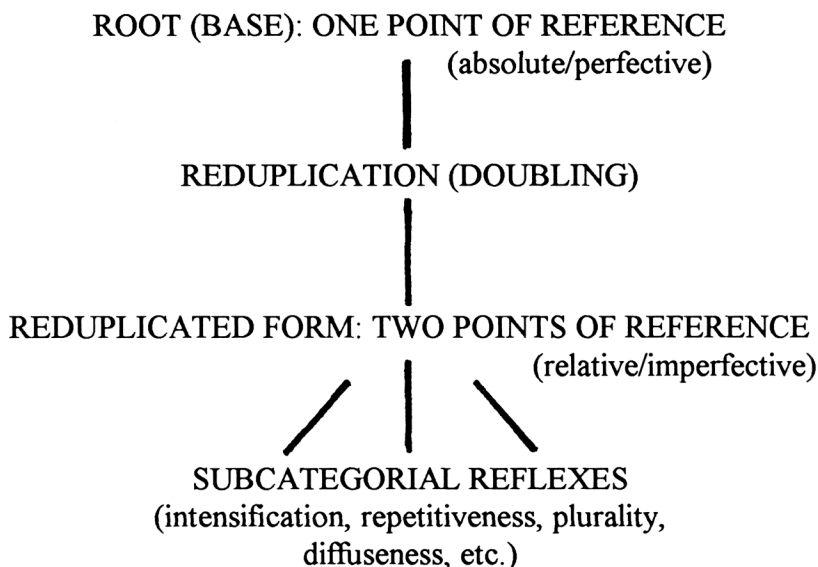
Based on her study of reduplication in Tagalog, Naylor (1986) identifies just such a mechanism. She proposes "that reduplication is a semantic system based on aspectual contrasts mediated by the iconicity of the duplicated form that is its morphological realization." (178). Viewing reduplication in this way, Naylor then identifies reduplication as a typological feature diagnostic of predominantly pragmatically based languages (Givon, 1979: 222-223).

In this paper, I will give an overview of Naylor's theory regarding the role of reduplication in aspectual distinctions within Tagalog based on her analysis of semantic and pragmatic functions of reduplication in that language. Next, I will compare reduplication in Tagalog to reduplication in the closely related Hiligaynon and point out an apparent problem in the fact that Hiligaynon does not use reduplication inflectionally, in the verbal aspect paradigm, as does Tagalog. Upon closer inspection, however, this distinction may not be significant because it arises from looking at these languages from a western point of view. When viewed from a more Austronesian vantage point, we see that the distinction between verbs and other parts of speech in many of these languages is blurred and

that aspect is a feature of many parts of speech. So the perceived discrepancy between Tagalog and Hiligaynon becomes a phenomenon that fortifies Naylor's theory.

In Naylor's model, the reduplicated word portrays a multipunctual perspective through iconicity. This multipunctuality mirrors aspectual imperfectivity. The doubling of the form that occurs in reduplication, and the resulting doubling of the point of reference, easily explains the most common meanings expressed by reduplication: repetition, emphasis, plurality. Less obvious is how such doubling can impart a subtractive or detractive meaning, or likeness of facsimile, as is often the case. Naylor explains these by pointing out that the kind of iconicity expressed in reduplication is relational, creating more than one point of reference. "Once we are able to assume a relative perspective, we can readily account for the fact that reduplication conveys both additive as well as subtractive meanings, comparative as well as other relative meanings." (182). This is represented schematically in Figure 1.

Figure 1
(Naylor)

ROOT (BASE): ONE POINT OF REFERENCE
(absolute/perfective)

REDUPLICATION (DOUBLING)

REDUPLICATED FORM: TWO POINTS OF REFERENCE
(relative/imperfective)

SUBCATEGORIAL REFLEXES
(intensification, repetitiveness, plurality, diffuseness, etc.)

This concept of aspectual imperfectivity was originally described by Comrie (1976). In his analysis, the perfective aspect views a situation from outside - looking at it in its whole, seeing the beginning, middle and end. On the other hand, the imperfective views a situation from within, looking at the internal temporal structure of a situation; looking backwards to the start and forwards to the end. Whereas the perfective can be viewed as a point or a blob on a line, the imperfective is characterized by some form of multipunctuality. The perfective represents the absolute, the imperfective the relative.

Tagalog is an excellent choice as a model of extensive reduplication. Blake (1917) writes, "Nowhere, perhaps, is this linguistic principle more productive than in the Philippine languages, and here it probably finds its highest development in Tagalog..." (425). Naylor, too, finds that unlike many other languages, reduplication is part of the "core grammar" of Tagalog, a regular and productive morphological process.

Closely related to Tagalog is Hiligaynon, a Bisayan language with some four million speakers. Both Tagalog and Hiligaynon are Austronesian languages and members of the Malayo-Polynesian sub-group (Bellwood, 1991). According to Llamzon's subgrouping of nine Philippine languages (1969), Hiligaynon is one of five that falls under the Tagalic subgroup. Since Hiligaynon and Tagalog are both Central Philippine languages, they are very closely related both areally and genetically. Yet, each language uses reduplication to a different extent. In Hiligaynon, reduplication is not as prevalent or productive a feature as it is in Tagalog, particularly as an inflectional device in the verbal aspect paradigm.

Naylor gives ten examples of the functions of reduplication in Tagalog. These are listed in Table 1 and include many of the more common functions of reduplication found in many other languages such as plurality, intensification, detractive/subtractive, facsimile, repetitiveness, and distributive.

Table 1

Functions Of Reduplication In Tagalog
(Naylor)

1. verbal imperfectivity	6. facsimile
2. pluraliser	7. detractive/subtractive
3. plural plus randomness	8. intensification
4. moderative aspect	9. repetitiveness
5. moderative plus randomness	10. distributive

Another use of reduplication that Naylor describes is referred to as "moderative aspect," a function described by Schacter and Otanes (1972) as expressing "activities performed perfunctorily, occasionally, at random, etc." (340). Perhaps one of the most significant functions of reduplication in Tagalog, thoroughly described by Naylor, is in the verbal aspect paradigm as a marker of imperfectivity. Though this particular function of reduplication in Tagalog is not shared by Hiligaynon, all of the others are used to varying degrees in both languages. In addition to the ten functions described by Naylor, one additional derivational function evident in both languages will be described here.

verbal aspect

Verbs in Tagalog are inflected for aspect. There are three aspects in addition to the infinitive. These are completed (past), contemplated (future), and incompleted (progressive). With a combination of prefix and reduplication, Tagalog inflects verbs as follows:

infinitive	*matulog* 'to sleep'
contemplated	*matutulog*
incompleted	*natutulog*
completed	*natulog* (Ramos, 1971)

This major, very productive inflectional function of reduplication in Tagalog does not occur in Hiligaynon where imperfectivity in a similar verbal aspect paradigm is marked by affix only, without reduplication:

infinitive	*magtulog*
contemplated	*matulog*
incompleted	*nagatulog*
completed	*nagtulog*

pluraliser:

Naylor documents reduplication functioning as pluraliser in Tagalog for modifiers (adjectives/adverbs) and verbs, but not for nouns. Hiligaynon does not use reduplication to pluralize adjectives, but there is an optional use of reduplication in some verbal plurals in Hiligaynon:

nagkalalaon sila 'they are all eating at the same time' can also be structured as *nagakaon sila* from *kaon*, "to eat".

nagasululugilanon sila sa sala 'they are all talking in the living room' can also be *nagasugilanon sila* from *sugilanon*. (Wolfenden, 1971: 148).

These other functions of reduplication that Naylor described for Tagalog also appear in Hiligaynon:

facsimile:

balavbalay 'doll-house' - *balay* 'house'
nanaynanay 'play mother' - *nanay* 'mother'
kabayokabayo 'play horse' - *kabayo* 'horse'
bata'bata' 'make-believe child' - *bata'* 'child'

These reduplicated forms can also be interpreted, depending on context, as 'like a child' or 'childish', and 'like a house'. In either case, the reduplicated word presents a relative perspective, a

view of the situation from within to make the comparison. In the unreduplicated version, the view is in the absolute - viewing the house, the horse, or the child in its totality, without reference to the internal structure of the situation. Reduplicated, however, a comparison is being made, the relative perspective of more than one point along a continuum.

moderative aspect:

lakatlakat 'walk a little' - *lakat* 'walk'
kaonkaon 'snack' - *kaon* 'eat'

Here, too, is a relative perspective - a comparison to the absolute represented by the unreduplicated word, a view from within the internal structure.

distributive:

sunodsunod 'one after another' - *sunod* 'next' (87-88)
isaisa 'one by one' - *isa* 'one'
tuigtuig 'annually' - *tuig* 'year'

subtractive/detractive:

dugaydogay 'a little while' - *dugay* 'long period of time'
pulapola 'faintly red' - *pula* 'red'
matahomtahom 'a little pretty' - *matahom* 'pretty'
basabasa 'damp' - *basa* 'wet'
malayolayo 'a little bit far' - *malayo* 'far'
masakit-sakit 'a little pain' - *sakit* 'pain'

This meaning is one of the more difficult to link to the iconicity of reduplication. But when considered as imperfectivity, it is quite clear that a relational situation is present: more than one point of reference presents a relative point of view that can go in either direction, meaning more or less.

intensification:

mapulapu:la 'very red' - *pula* 'red' (100)
masakitsa:kit 'very painful' - *sakit* 'pain'
mainiti:nit 'very hot' - *init* 'hot'

repetitiveness:

bunobuno 'repeated piercing' - *buno* 'pierce' (104)
balaybalay 'every house' - *balay* 'house'
liwatliwat 'repeatedly'- *liwat* 'repeat'

Note that stress and length are often contrastive in Hiligaynon. In both Hiligaynon and Tagalog, most adjectives reduplicated for intensity can be used for diminutive with a stress or vowel length change. Also, as an alternative to reduplication in each language, intensity or diminution can be added to the unreduplicated base, with another word:

stress change:

baláybaláy 'every house' vs. *balàybálay* 'doll house'
púlapú:la 'very red' vs. *pulàpóla* 'reddish'
masákitsá:kit 'very painful' vs. *masakìtsakit* 'a little painful'
maínití:nit 'very hot' vs. *mainìtinít* 'a little hot'
dúgaydú:gay 'a very long time' vs. *dugáydogáy* 'a little while'

alternate form:

mashado ka init or *mainit gid,* 'very hot' (Hiligaynon)
mainit dutay, 'a little hot' (Hiligaynon)

mashadong maganda, 'very beautiful' (Tagalog)
maganda kaonte, 'a little beautiful' (Tagalog)

I have described eight of Naylor's ten functions. The remaining two will not be listed separately because I feel they fall within other groups already described. These are "plural

plus randomness" and "moderative plus randomness." Since both Tagalog and Hiligaynon exhibit the reduplication Naylor describes for these categories, as well as for the categories "plural" and "moderative aspect," I include these types under the broader categories above.

There is at least one more function for which both languages use reduplication. This is a derivational function of reduplication that creates a noun meaning roughly "one who X'es" by adding a prefix and partially reduplicating a base noun or verb:

mananabang 'lawyer' - *tabang* 'help'
manunudlo 'teacher' - *tudlo* 'teach'
mananahi 'seamstress' - *tahi* 'sew'
manananom 'planter' - *tanom* 'plant'

In these examples, the imperfectivity is quite obvious. Reduplicating the verb 'teach' results in one who teaches - teaches over and over, habitually, as an occupation. Here again, is the view from within a situation, reference to the internal temporal structure of the activity teaching, helping, or planting over a period of time, for a particular duration.

Each of these Hiligaynon words, however, has another form that was more likely to be used by my informants. These were often borrowings such as *abogado* 'lawyer' or *maestro* 'teacher' *sastri* or another derivational form, *manugtahi* 'seamstress.'

Tagalog also has this form of reduplication:

magnanakaw 'thief' - *nakaw* 'to steal'
mananahi 'seamstress' - *tahi* 'sew'
mangagamot 'doctor' - *gamot* 'medicine'

Other sound changes in these examples are the result of assimilation involving the root and the prefix, ordered before

reduplication. These changes are beyond the scope of this paper.

In both languages, reduplication can occur with verbs, nouns, adjectives, and numerals. The difference seems to lie in the extent to which reduplication performs grammatical or inflectional processes. For instance, although Hiligaynon has the same verbal aspects as Tagalog, only Tagalog uses reduplication in their formation. Also, only in Tagalog can the plural of adjectives be formed by reduplication, and although a plural form of verbs can sometimes be made with reduplication in Hiligaynon, alternatives may be more likely to be used. And then when reduplication is chosen for one of these verbal plurals, it is used more for its emphasis than for plurality.

Again, the most striking difference is that Hiligaynon does not use reduplication for the imperfective verbal aspect, as does Tagalog. Reduplication in Hiligaynon can be characterized as predominantly derivational, while in Tagalog it is both derivational and inflectional. This distinction, however, is based on a uniquely western viewpoint. In particular, this way of looking at verbs is influenced greatly by how verbs are viewed in SAE Languages.

As pointed out earlier, aspect is not only a feature of verbs, but can be found in other parts of speech as well. And still, all of the functions of reduplication in both languages represent aspectual distinctions, as Naylor pointed out for Tagalog (178). In each of the semantic functions of reduplication in Hiligaynon, the iconicity of reduplication as a morphological process results in a relational point of reference like the multipunctual perspective of imperfectivity (Fig 1). This supports Naylor's contention "that imperfectivity of aspectual perspective is the underlying semantic-pragmatic principle that serves as the common denominator uniting the various and sometimes unrelated meanings of reduplication as a morphological process." (182). This finding, in a language in which reduplication is not found as a marker of verbal aspect distinctions, adds strength to that contention.

Editors' Note

* After graduation from WSU, Mr. Zack moved out of state and left no forwarding address. The editors made minor editorial changes. The rest of the text stands as it was originally submitted.

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