

- (1) Paper Title: Asymmetries in Nominal and Verbal Reduplication in Indonesian
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## Asymmetries in Nominal and Verbal Reduplication in Indonesian

In this paper, I discuss reduplication in Indonesian. The corpus survey of four popular newspapers in Indonesia reveals a curious asymmetry: nouns allow both stem and stem-affix reduplication while verbs allow only stem reduplication. I show that the stem reduplication in verbs poses an empirical paradox for the standard version of the Lexicalist Hypothesis (LH: Chomsky 1970) that distinguishes lexical and syntactic processes in terms of productivity. I also claim that only non-lexicalist theories as in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993) that do not posit the lexicon as a pre-syntactic component can correctly account for the asymmetry noted above.

The corpus survey based on the archives of 4 popular newspapers in Indonesia below shows that a) nominal derivational affixes allow both stem and stem-affix reduplication and b) verbal derivational affixes allow only stem reduplication.

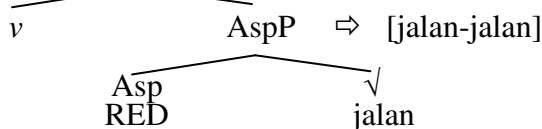
		Stem-Only Reduplication		Stem-Affix Reduplication	
		Total Tokens	Unique Forms	Total	Unique
No Affix		1014	312	N/A	N/A
Derivational	Verbal Affixes	ber-	89	37	0
		meN-	30	23	0
		di-	23	20	0
		ter-	13	9	0
	Nominal Affixes	-an	32	22	19
		peN-	0	0	8
		peN-an	0	0	2
		per-an	6	2	9
		ke-	1	1	10
		-an	1	1	8
Non-Derivational	se-	22	6	2	
	-nya	29	27	0	
	se-nya	13	9	0	

This latter finding is a problem for the standard version of the LH. According to this hypothesis, all derivational processes in the pre-syntactic lexicon should apply before productive syntactic processes. Reduplication in Indonesian is a very productive process whose semantic function is completely transparent. A reduplicated noun produces a grammatical form that is plural. Reduplication of a verb adds a connotation of variety, multiplicity or randomness. On the other hand, the prefixation of *ber-* whose semantic contribution varies and unpredictable depending on the root is a lexical process according to the LH. Then, examples of stem-only verbal reduplication in (1a-c) cannot be accounted for under LH since their formation would force reduplication as syntactic process before *ber-* affixation as lexical process. The LH would produce only ungrammatical forms in (1a'-c').

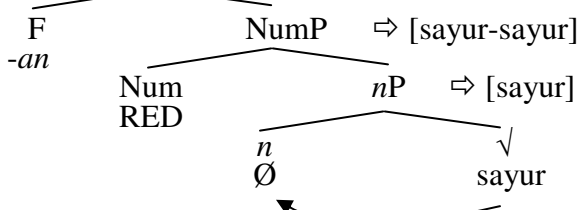
- (1) a. *belit* 'twist' ⇒ [ber [belit-belit]] 'meander' a'. \*[ber-belit [ber-belit]]  
 b. *cakap* 'talk' ⇒ [ber [cakap-cakap]] 'have a chat' b'. \*[ber-cakap [ber-cakap]]  
 c. *jalan* 'walk' ⇒ [ber [jalan-jalan]] 'go for a stroll' c'. \*[ber-jalan [ber-jalan]]

I claim within the Distributed Morphology that this asymmetry between nominal and verbal reduplication depends on morphosyntactic structures. Verbal reduplication is a type of inner aspect (3). The RED morpheme intervenes between *ber-* and the root and cannot reach up to reduplicate the affix. Second, the choice between stem and stem-affix reduplication in nouns is not irregular; the bases of the stem reduplication are simplex nouns while those of the stem-affix reduplication are deverbal (compare *sayur* 'vegetable' ⇒ *sayur-sayuran*, \**sayuran-sayuran* vs. *pikir* 'think' ⇒ *pikiran-pikiran*, \**pikir-pikiran*). This observation is correctly captured in the derivations shown in (4) and (5), respectively.

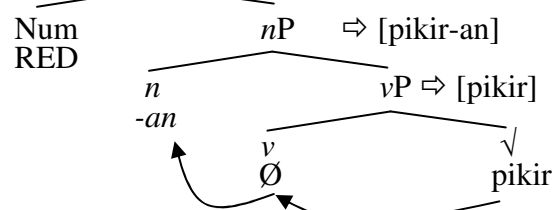
- (3) vP ⇒ [ber-[jalan-jalan]]



- (4) FP ⇒ [[sayur]-[sayur]-an]]



- (5) Num P ⇒ [[pikiran]-[pikiran]]



In (4), the Num head takes a simplex noun as correct input for reduplication. In (5), the verb is nominalized by the suffix *-an* before it serve as input for reduplication. [Word Count = 394 Words]

## References

1. Chomsky, N. 1970. Remarks on nominalizations. In: R. Jacobs & P. Rosenbaum (eds.) *Readings in English transformational grammar*. 184-221. Waltham, MA: Ginn.
2. Halle, M., and A. Marantz. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In: K. Hale and S.J. Keyser (eds.) *A view from building 20*. 111-176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

## Sources

1. Tempinteraktif (URL: [www.tempinteraktif.com](http://www.tempinteraktif.com))
2. Suarapembaruan (URL: [www.suarapembaruan.com](http://www.suarapembaruan.com))
3. Mediaindo (URL: [www.mediaindo.co.id](http://www.mediaindo.co.id))
4. Kompas (URL: [www.kompas.com](http://www.kompas.com))