Reduplication in some Tupi-Guarani languages has been described by Françoise Rose (2005). In this article I will give an overview of reduplication phenomena in other Tupi-Guarani languages and in some languages of other families of the Tupian stock. As has been outlined by Rose (2005), I will argue that the distinction between event-internal plurality in the case of monosyllabic reduplication and event-external plurality in that of disyllabic reduplication may be confirmed in some cases but has merged into one general function in most of the modern languages. This single function is iterative or distributive plurality of the process, quantifier, or expressed quality of the subject or the object of the verb.

1 Introduction

The aim of the following contribution is to give an overview of reduplication phenomena in some languages of the Tupi-Guarani family (henceforth TG) and the Tupi linguistic stock. Building on the foundation of Rose’s (2005) seminal paper, which includes semantic and phonological interpretations of reduplication in various Tupi-Guarani languages (Emerillon, Wayãpi, Kamayurá, Tupinambá, Urubu-Kaapor, Chiriguano, and Guarayo), the goal of this article is to present new data recently obtained from other languages of this extensive linguistic stock and to examine the existing theoretical issues. Reduplication will be studied here in the following Tupi-Guarani languages: Mbyá, Paraguayan Guarani, Chiriguano, Yuki, Siriono, Parakanã, Avá-Canoeiro, Tapi-rapé, Asurini of the Tocantins River, Anambé, Araweté, Parintintin, Guajá,
Ka’apor, Kokama, Nheengatu and in some languages of other families of Tupian stock: Makurap, Tuparí (Tupari family), Juruna (Juruna family), and Munduruku (Munduruku family). As far as I am aware, there is no information available in existing linguistic descriptions about reduplication in such Tupi-Guarani languages as Kaiwá, Avá-Nhandeva, Xetá, Aché, Kayabi, Suruí, Apiaká, Amondava, Tembé and Zo’e.

2 The Nature of Reduplication

2.1 Reduplication and Lexical Repetition

Reduplication, as a word-formative device, is a morphological process. However, it is determined not by morpheme boundaries since it involves the repetition of parts of the utterance independently from the morphological segmentation, i.e. independently from the boundary between grammatical morphemes and lexical stems. It is iconic in the sense that its meaning of ‘multiplicity’ and ‘repetition’ is based on its morphology (cf. Rose 2005, 352). I shall not consider here total iconicity as it is evidenced in onomatopoeic lexemes of all languages, for instance Paraguayan Guarani pururũ ‘to be crisp, crackling (bread, pastry)’ or perere ‘to flutter (bird, hen).’ We shall not consider either the very common phenomenon of lexical repetition which is often used for emphasis (e.g. German ein weiter, weiter Weg ‘a long, long way,’ Italian una donna brutta brutta ‘a very ugly woman,’ piano piano siamo arrivati fino quassù ‘little by little we arrived up there,’ Hungarian a haja volt fekete fekete ‘his hair was deep black’).

The primary objective of this paper is to describe reduplication as a grammatical process of marking aspectual functions of verbal and nominal predicates in Tupi languages. In addition to this, we sometimes observe other functions of reduplication, such as plurality in any kind of arguments.

2.2 Functions of Reduplication

A dichotomy between monosyllabic and disyllabic reduplication has been established for several TG languages (Rose 2005, 352–357). Monosyllabic reduplication means the repetition of one syllable, either by anticipation (see ka–karaj in example (6)), or by repetition of the final syllable of the base (see je’ẽgã–gã in example (24)). Disyllabic reduplication refers to the repetition of the last two syllables of a base which itself has at least two syllables (see o–guata–guata in example (2)). The dichotomy conveys the distinction between successive and frequentative actions, respectively. However, as Rose shows, the distinction between event-internal (successive actions or successive stages of one verbal action) and event-external (actions repeated on different occasions,