Interactions between Verbal Reduplication and Compounding in Hiaki

The Uto-Aztecan language Hiaki has a rich system of verbal morphology including, among other things, V-V compounds and reduplication. In this paper I show how the interaction between these two processes sheds light on the semantics and structural relations of each.

V-V compounding in Hiaki involves compounding two (or more) verbs, each of which can have independent lexical verb status. Typically, the final verb is transitive, and the preceding verb or verb phrase behaves as its complement. However, one of the most common of the independent lexical verbs to occur as V2 is the intransitive motion verb *siime* 'go/come'.

(1) *Chepa kari-po yeu bwan-sime*
Chepa house-LOC out cry-go
'Chepa left the house crying.'

One of the central foci of the work is diagnosing the structure of these compounds, the relationship between the two Vs, and the properties of V2 –*sime*. Does V2 –*sime* retain the lexical semantics of independent *siime* or does it have a more abstract function?

Reduplication of most simple verbs in Hiaki results in a habitual reading, although with other verbs reduplication either indicates ongoing or progressive activity, or indicates plural subject. In some cases, it seems to behave as an intensifier. Reduplication can also apply to complex verbs; either or both verbs of the compound may be reduplicated (2a-d).

(2) a. *Ume o'ow-im kamion-po hap-saka*
DET.PL man-PL bus-LOC sit-go.PL
'The men are standing in the (moving) bus.'

b. *Ume o'ow-im kamion-po hap-sa-saka*
DET.PL man-PL bus-LOC sit-RED-go.PL
'The men are standing/milling about on the bus.' (bus no longer nec. moving)

c. *Chepa vui-vuiti-si-sime*
Chepa RED-run-RED-go
'Chepa is going running.' (habitually, seriously, for fitness)

d. ?*Chepa kari-po yeu vui-vuiti-sime*
Chepa house-LOC out RED-run-go
'Chepa is repeatedly running out of the house.'

The verbs above, when used independently, become habitual with reduplication. When compounded, however, things get a little more complex. These data indicate the following:

Unreduplicated compound (2a): Action of V1 is occurring along a path of motion (V1 along).

Compound with V2 reduplicated (2b): Action of V1 is occurring either while moving along multiple paths, or with several changes of direction. In the case of stance verbs, as in this example, there is a sense of shifting positions multiple times (V1 about).

Compound with V1 and V2 reduplicated (2c): multiple instances of V1 occurring on multiple paths.

Compound with V1 reduplication (2d): With a specified path, it may be interpreted as multiple instances of V1 occurring along a single path of motion. This configuration is the least common, and tends to be pragmatically odd ((2d) implies that Chepa is a crazy person).

These interactions provide support for a unified pluractional interpretation of Hiaki verbal reduplication, and for an analysis of V2 –*sime* as a grammatical indicator of 'Path' rather than as a full, semantically complete verb of motion.